

Hooke, Nathaniel

The Roman history from the building of Rome to the ruin of the
Commonwealth

Bd.: 2 (1821)

London 1821

H.ant. 441 e-2

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10433219-6

H. ant. 441 ^e - 2



RT HONBLE JOHN WYNNE.
HASLEWOOD.

THE
ROMAN HISTORY,
FROM THE
BUILDING OF ROME
TO THE
RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

—◆—
BY NATH. HOOKE, Esq.
—◆—

A NEW EDITION, IN SIX VOLUMES;

CAREFULLY CORRECTED BY THE
REV. J. R. PITMAN, M. A.

VOL. II.

London :

Printed by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square :

FOR PRIESTLEY AND WEALE, HIGH STREET, BLOOMSBURY;
J. HEARNE, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD; AND
M. DOYLE, HIGH HOLBORN.

1821.

ROMAN HISTORY

RECORDS OF ROME

RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS

BY ALTHUS HOOKER, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION, IN SIX VOLUMES

REPRINTED BY THE

REV. J. R. PITMAN, M.A.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

JOHN W. PATERSON, 10, N. B. ST.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION, 410 FIFTH AVENUE, N. Y.

AND THE NEW YORK BOTANICAL GARDEN, BRONX, N. Y.

IN HOURLY HIGH SCHOOL

B S B
MÜNCHEN

79/91/40236

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK II.

CONTINUED.

CHAP. XXX.

SECT. I. The consuls take the field. Valerius defeats the Æqui and Volsci; and Horatius the Sabines. Nevertheless the senate, being dissatisfied with their too popular administration, and being especially moved by a speech of C. Claudius, who inveighs bitterly against them, reject their petition for a triumph. Hereupon they apply to the people, and obtain of them, by means of the tribunes, what the senate had refused. II. The tribunes form a design of getting themselves perpetuated in the tribuneship, and Horatius and Valerius in the consulate. Duilius, disliking their project of his colleagues, contrives to defeat that part of it which related to the consuls, by engaging these to declare publicly, that they will not hold over after their year is expired, though the people should desire it. He then holds the assembly for electing tribunes; and by his influence, joined with the senate's, five new ones are chosen: after which, finding that he cannot prevail with the tribes to fill the other five places with new magistrates, he dismisses the assembly, referring the completion of the whole number of ten tribunes to the five already elected. These five, among those they associate with them in their office, name two patricians. (Lartius Herminius and T. Virginus are chosen consuls.) TREBONIUS ASPER, one of the plebeian tribunes, shortly after gets a law passed, forbidding the tribunes the practice of co-optation. III. The next year (when M. Geganius and C. Julius are consuls) produces nothing remarkable. But in the succeeding consulate (of T. Quinctius Capitolinus and Agrippa Furius), the old dissensions are renewed; insomuch that though the Æqui and Volsci, taking advantage of these disorders, ravage the country to the very gates of Rome, the tribunes oppose the necessary levies of troops to repulse them; but Quinctius gets the better of this opposition, by a speech he makes to the people. The consuls rout the enemy, and make a great slaughter of them. IV. The Roman people dishonour themselves by a judgment they give in a cause referred to their arbitration, by the cities of Ardea and Aricia.

Co-optation.
305.
Trebonian Law.
306.
307.
Quinctius Capitolinus.
Unjust decree of the Roman people.

§. I. AND now the main affair of the republic was to revenge herself on her enemies abroad, who had taken advantage of her late intestine divisions and anarchy to invade and pillage the Roman territory. Valerius was appointed to march against the united forces of the Æqui and Volsci, and Horatius against the Sabines.

Year of
R O M E
304.
B. C. 448.

Sixtieth
consulship.

Year of
R O M E
304.

B. C. 448.

Sixtieth
consulship.
Livy, b. 3.
c. 57.
c. 60. et
seq.

D. Hal. b.
11. p. 727.

Livy, b. 3.
c. 63.

D. Hal. b.
11. p. 728.

But before the consuls left Rome, the two last tables of laws, which had not yet been established in due form, received the proper sanction, and, being engraven in brass, were fixed up in the Forum.

Each consul obtained a complete victory. Nevertheless, the senate, being dissatisfied with these magistrates, on account of their excessive popularity, and the little regard they had shewn for the honour or interest of their own order (even less than the tribunes), decreed only one day's supplications (or solemn thanksgivings), in the name of both; but the people, of their own motion, prolonged the ceremony all the next day.

In the meantime, the generals returned and appeared with their legions in the Campus Martius; and hither they summoned the senators. Of this, several of the chief among them very much complained, as if the senate was held in the midst of arms, with a view to keep it in awe. The consuls hereupon removed the assembly to the Flaminian Meadows, and there presented their petition for a triumph. Many of the fathers stood up, and warmly opposed their request; but C. Claudius especially spoke with great bitterness on this occasion. Directing his speech to the consuls: "Did you not solemnly promise us, that the abdication of the decemvirs should be followed by a general pardon? And yet no sooner had we obliged those magistrates to depose themselves, but some of them were murdered, and others constrained to banish themselves from their country to save their lives. Appius, the head of the Claudian family, the chief of the decemvirs, was strangled in prison, without the least form of justice, and without so much as being heard in the assembly of the people, lest, moved to pity by the tears and desolation of a family that has deserved so well of the republic, they should have overlooked his faults. Our consuls, the heads and protectors of the senate, they, who ought to have exposed their very lives for the preservation of

its dignity, have basely connived at the murder of the unfortunate Appius, and prosecuted nobody for it."

Year of
R O M E
304.

The senate, exasperated still more against the consuls by this discourse of C. Claudius, declared them unworthy of the honours they sued for, and they were given to understand that they ought to be well content if they escaped punishment. Valerius and Horatius, provoked at the intended ignominy, carried their complaints before the assembly of the people, and there the tribune Icilius demanded the triumph in their behalf. Many senators went to the Forum, to prevent the effects of this cabal, and, among them, C. Claudius. Though he had always been averse to the government of the decemvirs, yet he could never pardon the two consuls for having delivered up his nephew to the fury of the tribunes. With great vehemence he cried out to the people, that it was over the senate, and not over the enemy, that the consuls desired to triumph; that they sought a reward for a particular favour done to the tribune, not for any worthy deed, any real merit; that the commons had no right to bestow the honours of the triumph, nor had ever before pretended to it; that this was a prerogative which belonged to the senate only; and that the republic would never be free and quiet till the two orders in the state forbore to encroach upon the rights and privileges of each other. No regard was had to these remonstrances: the tribes unanimously decreed the triumph to the consuls; and that it was afterward thought a legal one, may be well concluded from its having a place in the Capitoline Fasti.

B. C. 448.

Sixtieth
consulship.

Livy, b. 3.
c. 63.

Ibid. and
D. Hal. b.
11. p. 729.
Livy, b. 3.
c. 64.

§. II. THE tribunes did not stop here. The power they had in the commonwealth, by their good understanding with the two consuls, encouraged them to form the design of getting themselves continued in the tribuneship after the expiration of their year; and, to keep their ambition in countenance, they moved likewise that Valerius and Horatius might be continued in

Year of
R O M E
304.

B. C. 448.

Sixtieth
consulship.

the consulship. They pretended that the senate had entered into a plot against the rights and immunities of the people; and that the new laws would be in great danger of being annulled, if, before they were solidly established, other consuls of quite contrary dispositions to those of the present should be chosen to the government.

Luckily for the commonwealth, it had fallen to Duilius to preside in the comitia (the same Duilius who had put a stop to the prosecutions against the adherents of the decemvirs). He, foreseeing the mischievous consequences of the measure proposed by his colleagues, declared, that he would not admit them for candidates, nor make any account of votes given in favour of any one of them. And when, upon their pressing him either to leave the assembly free, or to resign his presidentship, a warm dispute arose, he sent for Valerius and Horatius to his tribunal, and there asked them privately, what they intended to do, at the next comitia for creating consuls? They answered, "Create new consuls." The president instantly advancing with them into the assembly, put this question to them before the multitude: "If the Roman people, mindful of the part you acted in recovering the public liberty, and mindful of your other services, both at home and abroad, should, in consideration of your merit, re-elect you to the consulship, what resolution would you take?" Their answer to this imported the same intention which they had expressed in their answer to the first question. Duilius praised them highly for not following the example of the decemvirs; and then held the comitia for electing tribunes. After five new ones had been chosen, the president, perceiving that the other candidates would not be able to engage a majority for them because of the busy opposition of his nine colleagues, dismissed the assembly: nor did he appoint another day for the meeting of the tribes to complete the number of ten tribunes. He alleged

that he had satisfied the law ; which no where required, that the whole number of tribunes should be chosen at one and the same time ; but, on the contrary, had expressly directed, that, in case the whole number of ten tribunes were not chosen on the day of election, those who were chosen should themselves nominate persons to fill the vacant places.

Year of
R O M E
304.
B. C. 448.

Sixtieth
consulship.

It was in this manner that Duilius, to the satisfaction of both senate and commons, defeated the ambitious attempt of his colleagues ; and, when he had reminded the last that there could not be fifteen tribunes in the republic, he laid down his magistracy.

The five new tribunes presently discovered, that they were under the influence of the senate ; for among those they named to be their colleagues in the tribuneship (which naming was then called co-optation), were Sp. Tarpeius and A. Æternius, old senators, and who had both possessed the consular dignity in the year 299.

Livy, b. 3.
c. 65.

At the election of consuls for the year 305, the fasces were transferred from Valerius and Horatius to Lartius Herminius and T. Virginius. These magistrates being no zealots for either party, their government was entirely pacific. But L. Trebonius, one of the tribunes, extremely angry at the management of Duilius (in the late election of tribunes, which had opened a way for patricians into that college), made heavy complaints of it to the commons. He gave himself entirely up, during the whole year, to cross the senate in every thing, whence he acquired the surname of Asper.* And in order to prevent for the future any tribunes (gained over by the senate) from doing as Duilius had done, he proposed a law, which he got passed, and which from his name was called *Lex Trebonia*, by which it was ordained, That whoever should hereafter hold the comitia for electing tribunes of the commons, should not dissolve the assembly till the number of ten tribunes was completed

Year of
R O M E
305.
B. C. 447.

Sixty-first
consulship.

*Crabbed.

by the votes of the tribes. This law put an end to the practice of co-optation.

Year of
R O M E
306.
B. C. 446.

Sixty-
second con-
sulship.

§. III. M. GEGANIUS and C. Icilius succeeded Herminius and Virginius in the consulate. The plebeians began now to complain, and not without cause, that the young patricians treated them injuriously; and though the graver and wiser part of the senate did not approve of the haughty and outrageous behaviour of those youths, yet they would not abandon them to the fury of the tribunes. They thought it better (says Livy) if the bounds of equity must be transgressed, and one party must overbear the other, that their own people should have the ascendant: so difficult a matter is it to act with moderation in the maintenance of liberty, every one under pretence of levelling, exalting himself in proportion as he lowers another. While men are endeavouring to get free from the fear of others, they make themselves be feared; to avoid oppression, they oppress; as if there was a necessity that we must either do injustice or suffer it.

Year of
R O M E
307.
B. C. 445.

Sixty-third
consulship.
Livy, b. 3.
c. 66.

* A fourth
time.

The consuls found means to quiet the cabals of the tribunes on this occasion without employing invectives against them, or suffering the majesty of the senate to be offended. There was neither contention at home, nor war abroad, when they resigned the fasces to T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and Agrippa Furius. But this calm did not last long. The young nobles could not forbear insulting the plebeians, nor these submit to be insulted. The aggressors were cited to appear before the people: fierce contentions and scuffles always followed. The report of these new dissensions was to the Æqui and Volsci as the signal for taking arms. They assembled their forces, fell first upon the Latin territory, and meeting with no resistance, advanced so near to Rome, as to drive off the cattle that were grazing before the Æsquiline gate. The consuls would have raised troops to repulse these invaders, but the com-

mons, at the instigation of their tribunes, refused to list themselves. Hereupon the consul Quinctius, a man illustrious by several victories, respected for the purity of his manners, and the wisdom of his counsels, having convened a general assembly of the people, spoke to them to this effect :

Year of
R O M E
307.
B. C. 445.

Sixty-third
consulship.

“ Though I am not conscious, O Romans, of any crime, by me committed, it is yet with the utmost shame and confusion that I appear in your assembly. You have seen it—posterity will know it—in the fourth consulship of Titus Quinctius, the Æqui and Volsci (scarce a match for the Hernici alone) came in arms to the very gates of Rome, and went away again unchastised ! The course of our manners, indeed, and the state of our affairs, have long been such, that I had no reason to promise myself much good ; but could I have imagined that so great an ignominy would have befallen me this year, I would by death or banishment (if all other means had failed) have avoided the station where I now am. What ! might Rome then have been taken, if those men who were at our gates had not wanted courage for the attempt ?—Rome taken whilst I was consul !—Of honours I had sufficient—of life enough—more than enough—three consulships—I should then have died.

Livy, b. 3.
c. 67, 68.

“ But who are they whom our dastardly enemies thus despise ? The consuls ? or you, Romans ? If we are criminal, depose us ; punish us yet more severely. If you are in fault—may neither gods nor men punish your faults ! only may you repent.

“ No, Romans, the confidence of our enemies is not owing to their courage, or to their belief of your cowardice : they have been too often vanquished not to know both themselves and you. Discord, discord is the ruin of this city. The endless disputes between the senate and the commons are the sole cause of our misfortunes. While we will set no bounds to our domination, nor you

Year of
R O M E
307.
B. C. 445.

Sixty-third
consulship.

to your liberty ; while you impatiently endure patrician magistrates, and we plebeians, our enemies take heart, grow elated and presumptuous.

“ In the name of the immortal gods, what is it, Romans, you would have ? You desired tribunes : for the sake of peace we granted them. You were eager to have decemvirs : we consented to their creation. You grew weary of these decemvirs : we obliged them to abdicate. Your hatred pursued them when reduced to be private men ; and we suffered you to put to death or banish patricians of the first rank in the republic. You insisted upon the restoration of the tribuneship : we yielded. We quietly saw consuls of your own faction elected. You have the protection of your tribunes, and the privilege of appeal : the patricians are subjected to the decrees of the commons : under pretence of equal and impartial laws, you have invaded our rights ; and we have suffered it, and we still suffer it. When shall we see an end of discord ? When shall we have one interest, and one common country ? Victorious and triumphant, you shew less temper than we under our defeat. When you are to contend with us, you seize the Aventine Hill, you can possess yourselves of the Mons Sacer. The enemy is at our gates, the *Æsquiline* is near being taken, and nobody stirs to hinder it. But against us you are valiant, against us you can arm with all diligence. Come on, then, besiege the senate house, make a camp of the Forum, fill the gaols with our prime nobles ; and when you have achieved these glorious exploits, then at least sally out at the *Æsquiline* gate with the same fierce spirit against the enemy. Does your resolution fail you for this ? Go, then, and behold from our walls your lands ravaged, your houses plundered and in flames, the whole country laid waste with fire and sword. Have you any thing here to repair these damages ? Will the tribunes make up your losses to you ? They will give you words as

many as you please ; bring impeachments in abundance against the chief men in the state ; heap laws upon laws ; assemblies you shall have without end : but will any of you return the richer from those assemblies ? You imagine, perhaps, that those flatterers, those popular men, who will neither let you live in quiet at home, nor take arms against our foreign enemies, are animated by a zeal for your interests. It is honour, it is profit to themselves they seek. When domestic peace and unanimity reign, they find, they have no business, are of no consideration ; and they had rather be leaders in tumults and seditions, than not bustle about, and make a figure. Romans, beware of such friends ; undeceive yourselves. Do but resume your former spirit and manners, and there is no punishment to which I will not submit, if I do not, in a few days, disperse and put to flight the invaders of our country, the pillagers of our lands. This terror of war (with which you seem to be so grievously struck) shall quickly be removed from Rome to their own cities."

Year of
R O M E
307.
B. C. 445.
Sixty-third
consulship.

Never, says Livy, were the commons more pleased with the flattering speeches of a tribune, than they were with the reproachful one of this generous consul. The senate was no less charmed with his conduct ; the wisest and most eminent men of that body declared, that other consuls had either betrayed the dignity and rights of the senate, to win favour with the multitude, or, by the rough imprudent measures they had taken to keep them under, had only exasperated them to a higher pitch : but that Quinctius, without forgetting the honour of the senate, had wisely suited his discourse to the times, and had shewn that he had nothing at heart but the union of the two orders, and the majesty of the Roman name.

Livy, b. 3.
c. 69.

Consuls and tribunes, senate and people, all concurred unanimously in taking arms. The contention now was, who should appear most forward, so that the levies

Year of
R O M E
307,
B. C. 445.

Sixty-third
consulship.

Livy, b. 3.
c. 70.

were quickly made ; each cohort chose its centurions, and had two senators placed at the head of it ; and all things were done with so much expedition, that the army, that very day, marched ten miles on its way. The next, the consuls came in sight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* fought with great courage and resolution, but victory declared for the Romans. The first advantage gained was by the Roman cavalry under S. Sulpitius, one of the consuls' lieutenants. They put the enemies' horse to the rout, and then falling upon the main body of their infantry, both terrified and disordered it. *Quinctius* (who commanded the right wing of the Romans) soon after forced the *Volsci*, who faced him, to give ground. But *Agrippa Furius* in the left wing met with a more obstinate resistance from the *Æqui*. Impatient of being less successful than the other generals, he snatched some of the ensigns from the officers who bore them, and threw them into the midst of the enemies' battalions. By this he turned the scale in his favour. His soldiers, by the vigorous effort they made to recover those ensigns, rendered the victory complete on the side of the Romans. The consuls instantly marched to the enemies' camp, entered it without opposition, and found there, besides other effects which the *Æqui* and *Volsci* had carried off, out of the territory of Rome, a very rich booty.

Livy remarks it, as a thing extraordinary, that the consuls, at their return, did not demand a triumph, nor the senate make them the offer of one. He conjectures, that *Quinctius* and *Furius* were ashamed to ask, in recompence of one victory, an honour which the fathers had refused to *Valerius* and *Horatius*, for the reward of two ; lest, if they should obtain their request, it might be thought that more regard was shewed to persons than to merit.

c. 71, 72.

§. IV. THIS would have been a glorious year for the

republic, if the Roman people had not dishonoured themselves by their manner of deciding a cause, at this time, referred to their arbitration. It was a dispute between the inhabitants of Ardea* and those of Aricia, concerning a large tract of land, to which each of those cities laid claim. The tribes were assembled, the witnesses were heard, and the votes were just going to be taken, when one Scaptius, a very old man of the meanest of the people (having obtained, by the interposition of the tribunes, permission to speak, after it had been refused him by the consuls), pretended to have known the district in question above forty-seven years; that it formerly belonged to Corioli, and consequently now to the Romans, who, he said, ought therefore to make no scruple of seizing it. This motion (though, according to Livy, the man spoke truth) gave the consuls a great deal of concern, when they found it favourably listened to. They sent for the chief men of the senate, and, jointly with them, used their utmost endeavours to dissuade the people from taking a step which must cast a blemish on the Roman probity: but they strove in vain; the people adjudged the territory to themselves.

Year of
R O M E
307.
B. C. 445.

Sixty-third
consulship.

* In Latium.

CHAP. XXXI.

308. **Canuleius.** SECT. I. The commons of Rome (in the consulate of M. Genucius and C. Curtius) demand that plebeians may be admitted into the consulship, and that the law prohibiting patricians and plebeians from intermarrying may be repealed. Canuleius, one of the tribunes, declares to the senate in the most solemn manner, that he will constantly oppose all levies of troops, let the want of them be never so pressing, till these concessions are made to the people. II. C. Claudius, in a private assembly of the oldest senators, moves to have recourse to arms and violence, rather than yield to these demands. But T. Quinctius and the majority of the assembly, think it better to comply than come to a rupture with the people. Claudius hereupon, to hinder the debasing of the consulship, makes this new proposal, that instead of consuls, a certain number of military tribunes be chosen partly out of the senate, and partly from among the commons; and that these new magistrates be invested with consular power. This project being approved, the senate is assembled, and the tribunes are called to it, to give their reasons in behalf of the new laws which they demand. Canuleius, instead of speaking to the matter in hand, inveighs against the consuls for holding secret assemblies, from which Horatius and Valerius are excluded. The consul, Genucius, gives a satisfactory answer to this complaint. After Valerius and Horatius have spoken in favour of the people, and Claudius against them, the consul's brother, T. Genucius, makes the proposal which had been suggested by C. Claudius. In conclusion it is approved by senate and people, and six military tribunes (three of each order) are to take the place of two consuls. III. But when the day of election comes, the people will not give their voices to any but patricians; and only three military tribunes are elected. These are obliged soon after to abdicate on account of some defect in their inauguration; and two consuls (L. Papirius and L. Sempronius) are chosen to govern the republic the remainder of the year. IV. Under the succeeding administration of T. Quinctius Capitolinus (a fifth time consul) and M. Geganius (a second time), the censorship is established.
- Military tribunes.
- 309.
310. **Censors.**

Year of
R O M E
308.
B. C. 444.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 1.

§. I. By the late victory, so suddenly obtained over the Æqui and Volsci, the commons became sensible of their own strength, and the need which the senate had of them. This made them carry their pretensions farther than ever.^a They grew every day more untractable and more enterprising. C. Canuleius, one of the tribunes, proposed, that, by a decree of the people, the law (in the twelve tables) which forbade patricians to intermarry with the plebeians, should be repealed: and, soon after, nine of the tribunes moved, that a new law should be made, qualifying plebeians to stand for the consulship. M. Genucius and Caius Curtius, the present consuls, thought to defeat these projects by leading the citizens into the field. The Ardeates had revolted, on account of the unjust proceeding of the people of Rome in their affair, and it was said, that the Veientes had begun hos-

^a According to Tacitus, (Annal. b. 11. c. 22.) the people obtained this year the right of naming the quæstors, a prerogative which the consuls had hitherto enjoyed. Plutarch attributes the choice of the quæstors to the people, from Poplicola's time.

tilities. There was a rumour also that the Æqui and Volsci were preparing to renew the war. Countenanced by these alarms, the senate ordered troops to be raised with the same diligence as the last year. But then Canuleius in the most peremptory manner protested, that, while he had breath, no levies should be made unless the laws proposed by him and his colleagues were first received. This said, he straight went out of the senate-house, and convened the people. The consuls, full of indignation, inveighed in the sharpest terms against the tribunes, whose madness, they said, was no longer to be endured; that they raised a war within the city, more dangerous than that without it; that no domestic peace could be maintained in a state which had senators and tribunes; that the conscript fathers must absolutely resolve either to resign their own authority, or abolish that plebeian magistracy. “What a detestable project is this of C. Canuleius? He is for mingling, by shameful marriages, the blood of the nobles with that of the commons. If he brings this about, those who are born of such marriages will hardly know, whether they belong to the patrician or plebeian body, and the auspices, public and private, will be confounded. And, as if it was not enough to destroy all distinction of birth, and to break through all rights both Divine and human, the colleagues of Canuleius, those other disturbers of the public quiet, have the boldness to lift their eyes to the very consulship itself. We are now just on the point of seeing that great dignity fall a prey to the Canuleii and the Iciliii. But let those new men be assured, that the gods, protectors of this empire, will never suffer it; and that we ourselves will rather die a thousand deaths, than bear so great an infamy.”

Year of
R O M E
308.
B. C. 444.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 2.

While the consuls were thus exasperating the senate against the tribunes, the tribunes were exciting the anger of the plebeians against the consuls. These left the senate-house, and repaired to the Forum. “What

Year of
R O M E
308.
B. C. 444.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

an insult upon us (cried Canuleius)! If we are not so rich as the patricians, are we not citizens of Rome as well as they? Inhabitants of the same country? Members of the same community? The nations bordering upon Rome, and even strangers more remote, are admitted not only to marriages with us, but to what is of much greater importance, the freedom of the city. Are we, because we are commoners, to be worse treated than strangers? And when we demand that the people may be free to bestow their offices and dignities on whom they please, do we ask any thing unreasonable or new? Any thing more than a restitution of the people's natural right? What occasion then for all this uproar, as if the universe was falling to ruin? (They were just going to lay violent hands upon me in the senate-house.) What? must this empire then be unavoidably overturned, must Rome of necessity sink at once, if a plebeian, worthy of the office, should be raised to the consulship? The patricians, I am persuaded, if they could, would deprive you of the common light. It certainly offends them to see that you breathe, that you speak, that you have the shapes of men.—Nay, but to make a commoner a consul would be, say they, a most enormous thing.—Numa Pompilius, however, without being so much as a Roman citizen, was made king of Rome. The elder Tarquin, by birth not even an Italian, was nevertheless placed upon the throne. Servius Tullius, the son of a captive woman (nobody knows who his father was), obtained the kingdom as the reward of his wisdom and virtue. In those days, no man in whom virtue shined conspicuous was rejected or despised on account of his birth and descent. And did the state prosper the less for that? Were not those strangers the very best of all our kings? And supposing now that a plebeian should have their talents and merit, must not he be suffered to govern us because he is a plebeian? Shall we rather have consuls resembling the patrician decemvirs, the most

detestable of mortals, than such as resemble the very best of our kings, who were new men?

“ But we find, that upon the abolition of the regal power, no commoner was chosen to the consulate. And what then? Before Numa’s time there were no pontifices in Rome. Before Servius Tullius’s days there was no *census*, no division of the people into classes and centuries. Who ever heard of consuls before the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud? Dictators, we all know, are of modern invention; and so are the offices of tribunes, ædiles, quæstors. Within these ten years we have made decemvirs, and we have unmade them. Is nothing to be done but what has been done before? That very law forbidding marriages of patricians with plebeians, is not that a new thing? Was there any such law before the decemvirs enacted it? and a most shameful one it is in a free state.

Year of
R O M E
308.

B. C. 444.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

“ Such marriages, it seems, will taint the pure blood of the nobility. Why, if they think so, let them take care to match their sisters and daughters with men of their own sort. No plebeian will do violence to the daughter of a patrician. Those are exploits for our prime nobles. There is no need to fear that we shall force any body into a contract of marriage. But to make an express law prohibiting marriages of patricians and plebeians, what is this, but to shew the utmost contempt of us, and to declare one part of the community to be impure and unclean? Why don’t they lay their wise heads together to hinder rich folks from matching with poor?

“ They talk to us of the confusion there will be of families, if this statute shall be repealed. I wonder they don’t make a law against a commoner’s living near a nobleman, or going the same road that he is going, or being present at the same feast, or appearing in the same market-place. They might as well pretend, that these things make confusion of families, as that inter-

Year of
R O M E
308.
B. C. 444.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

marriages will do it. Does not every body know that the children will be ranked according to the quality of the father, let him be patrician or plebeian? In short, it is manifest enough, that we have nothing in view but to be treated as men and citizens; nor can they who oppose our demand have any motive to do it but the love of domineering.

“ I would fain know of you, consuls and patricians, Is the sovereign power in the people of Rome or in you? I hope you will allow, that the people can at their pleasure either make a law, or repeal one. And will you then, as soon as any law is proposed to them, pretend to list them immediately for the war, and hinder them from giving their suffrages by leading them into the field?

“ Hear me, consuls: whether the news of the war you talk of be true, or whether it be only a false rumour spread abroad for nothing but a colour to send the people out of the city, I declare, as tribune, that this people, who have already so often spilt their blood in our country's cause, are again ready to arm for its defence and its glory, if they may be restored to their natural rights, and you will no longer treat us like strangers in our own country. But if you account us unworthy of your alliance by intermarriages, if you will not suffer the entrance to the chief offices in the state to be open to all persons of merit indifferently, but will confine your choice of magistrates to the senate alone, talk of wars as much as ever you please; paint in your ordinary discourses the league and power of our enemies ten times more dreadful than you do now; I declare, that this people, whom you so much despise, and to whom you are nevertheless indebted for all your victories, shall never more enlist themselves; not a man of them shall take arms, not a man of them shall expose his life for imperious lords, with whom he can neither share the dignities of the state, nor in private life have any alliance by marriage.”

After long speeches made on both sides, the consuls and tribunes fell to altercation. Canuleius asked the consuls, what reason could be assigned, why a plebeian might not attain to the consulship? It was answered (perhaps with truth, says Livy, but to little purpose on the present occasion), “that no plebeian had a right to the auspices; and that the decemvirs had prohibited marriages between persons of different orders, that the auspices being taken only by patricians whose blood was pure and unmixed, there might be no profanation of that religious rite.” No words can express the indignation of the people at this answer: to hear that they were excluded from taking the auspices as men hateful to the gods on account of their birth.

Year of
R O M E
308.

B. C. 444.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 6.

The fury of the multitude rose to such a height, that the senate found it necessary to let Canuleius's law concerning marriages pass. They hoped that this concession would induce the other tribunes to give over entirely the pursuit of the law relating to the consulship, or at least to suspend it till the conclusion of the war: but their hope proved vain: those tribunes, though the alarm from abroad daily increased, still opposed the musters, and pushed their point with the same zeal as before: nay, they all publicly swore by their faith (the most solemn oath then in use among the Romans), that they would not be diverted from their purpose by any persuasion whatsoever.

D. Hal. b.
11. p. 731.

§. II. THESE violent proceedings greatly distressed the consuls. They saw plainly that they must yield the victory either to the commons at home, or to the enemy abroad. They held private councils at their own houses, with the senators of their party. C. Claudius, who had received from his ancestors an hereditary hatred, as it were, to the faction of the people, spoke first, and gave it as his opinion, that the senate should rather have recourse to arms, than yield the dignity of the consulship to the people; and that without distinction they ought

Livy, b. 4.
c. 6.

Year of
R O M E
308.
B. C. 444.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

D. Hal. b.
11. p. 732.

to treat as public enemies all persons, let them be private men or magistrates, who should attempt to change the form of the government. But the two Quinctii, who abhorred all thoughts of shedding Roman blood, put the senate in mind of the solemn engagement they had entered into with the commons, to hold the persons of the tribunes sacred and inviolable; and they advised them rather to yield up part of their prerogatives, than run the hazard of a civil war.

All the rest of the assembly having declared themselves of this opinion, C. Claudius rose up again: "I submit; the sentiment of so many wise and worthy men is not to be contradicted: but since you think it proper to admit plebeians into the government, let us endeavour to satisfy this restless people, without debasing the majesty of the consulship. And in order to this, I propose, that, instead of consuls, we elect such a number of military tribunes as shall be agreed upon, to be chosen one half out of the senate, the other from among the plebeians, and that these magistrates be invested with consular power. The people by this means will be satisfied; and the consulate in more favourable times may resume its ancient splendour and majesty." Great praises were given to Claudius, and the whole assembly agreed to the proposal. Then addressing his speech to M. Genucius, first consul: "In order to succeed in this design, I would advise you to convene the senate, send for the tribunes of the people, and, when the assembly is formed, declare that you invite all who love their country, to speak their minds freely with relation to the new laws demanded by the people. Then gather the opinions; and, instead of beginning with T. Quinctius, me, or any other of the ancient senators, begin with Valerius and Horatius. When these have delivered their sentiments, then ask ours. For my part, I shall declare my thoughts freely, and oppose the pretensions of the tribunes with all my might, as indeed I think it my duty to do. But

if you are willing to have military tribunes, let your brother T. Genucius make the motion. He is the fittest person to make it; and I can assure you, it will not be in the least suspected if it comes from him."

Year of
R O M E
308.
B. C. 444.

All approved of this scheme. The consuls soon after convened the senate; and when they had recommended concord and moderation to the assembly, invited the tribunes to give their reasons in behalf of the new laws. Canuleius, instead of speaking to the matter in question, ran wholly into bitter complaints against the two consuls for holding secret assemblies, from which, he said, all the senators, who were friends to the people, had been excluded, and particularly Valerius and Horatius, than whom there were not wiser men, nor men of more merit in the republic.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

D. Hal. b.
11. p. 733.

The consul, Genucius, replied, that they had indeed assembled some of the older senators, but only to consult with them, whether it would be better instantly to propose the new laws to the senate, or to defer it till the end of the campaign: that if they did not invite Valerius and Horatius to that council, it was purely to avoid making the people suspect that these senators had changed their party. He added, "And to convince you that my colleague and I are impartial, we shall give you this proof of it. Though it be the custom for the consuls to ask the opinions of the oldest senators first, yet, as you do not believe them to be friends to the people, we will now change that method, and begin with Valerius and Horatius." Then addressing himself to Valerius, he invited him to declare his opinion.

P. 734.

Valerius made a long preamble, expatiating upon his own services to the republic, and upon those of his ancestors. He then turned his panegyric upon the people, and recounted their merit. He added, that no city could be called free, where the citizens were not all upon an equality with regard to rights and privileges; and that he saw no reason why the plebeians should be excluded

Year of
R O M E
308.
B. C. 444.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

from the consulate. However, he at the same time declared, that he thought the consideration of this affair ought to be deferred to the end of the war; and he exhorted the tribunes of the people to desist from their opposition to the levies which the consuls demanded. On the other hand, he exhorted the consuls to make it their first business, as soon as the war should be happily concluded, to procure a *senatus-consultum*, for empowering the assembly of the people to decide upon the affair in question; and he was for having the two parties come immediately to a formal written agreement to do as he advised. Horatius, whose opinion was asked next, spoke much to the same effect.

D. Hal. b.
11. p. 735.

This advice raised a murmur in the assembly; for it was not thoroughly liked, either by those who were against the law, or by those who were for it. The first were pleased with the motion for postponing the affair, but they could not digest the proposal of resuming it after the end of the war. On the other hand, the favourers of the people, though glad to find that those two eminent senators held the law to be reasonable, were yet uneasy at the thoughts of any delay in passing the *senatus-consultum*.

The consuls then asked the opinion of C. Claudius, who was looked upon as the main pillar and support of the patrician faction. He pronounced with great spirit a studied harangue against these new pretensions of the people. He enumerated all their deviations from the excellent manners and institutions of their forefathers, and concluded against suffering the new proposal to be brought into deliberation, either now, or at any time hereafter.

Claudius's speech did not fail to produce a commotion in the assembly. The consul, M. Genucius, to put a stop to it, called upon his brother Titus to give his opinion. This senator declared, that it was with the greatest concern he beheld the commonwealth afflicted

with two scourges at the same time, a foreign war and domestic feuds; that he found there was no avoiding one of two evils, the strengthening of the enemy by a continuation of the intestine broils in the republic, or the hurting of the constitution by new concessions to the people: that, the case being so, he was of opinion rather to yield up part of the prerogative of the nobility to the plebeians, than abandon the territory of Rome to be ravaged by strangers. He added, "But since the ancient senators are so averse to the thoughts of seeing the consular dignity in the hands of plebeians, a medium may perhaps be found to satisfy both parties. What if we should suppress for a time that dignity, and create, in the room of two consuls, six military tribunes, who shall have the same functions and the same authority? Let three of the number be patricians, and the other three be plebeians. Next year the senate and people may decide, in a general assembly, whether they will restore the consulship, or continue to elect military tribunes."

Year of
R O M E
308.
B. C. 444.

Sixty-
fourth con-
sulship.

This proposal (of which Claudius was the true author) was approved by plurality of voices. T. Genucius had the praises of both the senate and the people, for his happy thought: the senators were glad to have excluded the plebeians from a dignity which they hoped to re-establish with all its prerogatives in more favourable times; and the people, without disturbing themselves about an empty name, could not contain their joy at seeing themselves at length admitted to share in the government of the commonwealth.

D. Hal. b.
11. p. 736.

§. III. Some days after, an assembly was held for the election of these new magistrates. Several of the chief plebeians, and especially those who had been tribunes, appeared in the Forum, clothed in white, and solicited the people for their voices; but the multitude, satisfied with having it in their power to raise plebeians to the government, would give their votes to none but patri-

Livy, b. 4.
c. 6.
D. Hal. b.
11. p. 736.

Year of
R O M E
308.
B. C. 444.

First mili-
tary tri-
bunes.

cians; so that only three military tribunes were chosen, A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Attilius, and T. Cecilius, or Clelius.^b Livy adds, "Where shall we now find in any one man that moderation, that equity, that greatness of soul, which were then conspicuous in a whole people?" Dionysius, on the contrary, imputes their behaviour, on this occasion, to nothing but that levity, so natural to the multitude in all ages and nations.

But these new magistrates were obliged to abdicate within three months after their election, upon account that C. Curtius, who had presided at it, gave notice, that in taking the auspices (a ceremony which always preceded the elections of the curule magistrates), the due forms had not been strictly observed. The Romans were very scrupulous in the least circumstances that concerned their religion; but perhaps the patricians created this scruple only with a view to restore the consular office. The military tribunes had no sooner resigned their authority, but an interrex was named, that the commonwealth might not remain without a head. The main question now was, whether consuls or military tribunes should be appointed to the government? The senators failed not to declare for the former; the people at first for the latter; but as they knew themselves resolved to choose none but patrician governors, they soon grew indifferent; and the tribunes themselves chose rather to proceed to an election where they could not be candidates, than to one where they were sure to suffer the disgrace of being rejected as unworthy. And thus by the joint consent of the senate and people, the interrex appointed consuls for the remaining part of the year.^c L. Papirius Mugillanus, and L. Sempronius Atratinus, brother to one of those patricians who

Livy, b. 4.
c. 7, 8.

^b Livy makes the military tribunes to take place in the year 310. The Fast. Cap. in 309.

^c D. Hal. says, that the assembly of the people chose these consuls. And Livy means no more, by imputing the choice to the *interrex*, than that the *interrex* presided in the assembly. Vid. vol. i. p. 36.

had abdicated the military tribuneship, were the persons named.

Nothing considerable happened during the government of the late military tribunes, or during the present consulship. The union between the two orders in the republic kept the neighbouring powers quiet; and even the Ardeates submitted, and renewed their alliance with Rome. The senate gave them good words concerning the restitution of their lands in due time; but they could not reverse a decree of the people.

§. IV. IN the following consulate of M. Geganius and T. Quinctius,* the censorship was erected. This new dignity, which at first seemed of but small importance, became, in time, by the power annexed to it, the pinnacle of honour, and the most formidable magistracy in the republic.

As the spirit of conquest was what chiefly prevailed in this nation, King Servius Tullius, in order to have a sure supply of men and money, decreed, as has been already shewn, that every five years an enumeration should be made of all the Roman citizens, with an exact valuation of every man's wealth. The prince or magistrate by this means could know immediately how many inhabitants Rome had that were capable of bearing arms, and what contributions might be raised for the expense of war.

But the consuls (almost continually employed in foreign wars) not having had leisure in more than seventeen years to make that enumeration which was called the census, it was proposed, for the ease of the consuls, that two magistrates should be created, who, with the title of censors, should every five years take that general review of the whole Roman people.

The tribunes, although always upon their guard against every thing offered by the senate, did not oppose the establishment of this new magistracy. Nay, they did not so much as demand that the plebeians

Year of
R O M E
309.

B. C. 443.

First mili-
tary tri-
bunes.

Year of
R O M E
310.

B. C. 442.

Sixty-
sixth con-
sulship.
*5th time
consul.

Year of
R O M E
310.
B. C. 442.

Sixty-sixth
consulship.

should be allowed a share in it. The reason of this might be, that they thought that the powers and prerogatives of the censorship would be inconsiderable, or that the commons gained a sufficient advantage by the diminution that was made of the consular authority, the constant object of their envy and emulation.

Papirius and Sempronius, the consuls of the preceding year, were the first censors; and this dignity was unanimously conferred upon them, to make them amends for the short duration of their consulate, which they did not enter upon till after the abdication of the military tribunes.

While the consuls performed the censorial functions, their whole business in that article had been to take an exact account of the names, estates, ages, and conditions, of all the masters of families, and the names and ages of their children and slaves. But as men generally study how to enlarge their own authority, the censorship was no sooner dismembered from the consulship, and made a distinct magistracy, than the censors began to take upon them the reformation of manners. The senators and knights, in process of time, became subject to their censure as much as the meanest of the people.

When the censors made their general review, the citizens of all ranks trembled at the sight of their tribunal; the senators, through fear of being expelled the senate; the knight, with apprehension of being deprived of the horse which the republic kept for him; and the commoner, with dread of being removed from a higher tribe to a lower, or quite disabled from giving his vote in the assemblies, or condemned to pay a fine. So that this wholesome terror was the support of the sumptuary laws, the bond of concord, and as it were the guardian of modesty and virtue.^d

^d After the second Punic war the censors were always created out of such persons as had been consuls, though it sometimes happened otherwise before. Their

CHAP. XXXII.

SECT. I. The Romans put an end to the civil war among the Ardeates. II. The next 311.

year's consuls, M. Fabius and Posthumius Æbutius, make the Ardeates some amends for the wrongs the Romans had done them on occasion of their contest with the Aricians. This year proves a year of peace, as does also the following year, when the government is in the hands of C. Furius and M. Papirius. III. 312.

But in the succeeding consulate of Proculus Geganius and L. Menenius, a Roman 313.

knight, named Sp. Mælius, aspires to the sovereign power. Being a rich corn- Sp. Mælius, merchant, he, during a dearth of provisions, wins the meaner sort of people by a the corn-free distribution of corn, and some of their tribunes by money. He causes great merchant.

quantities of arms to be brought into his house by night. His designs are discovered by Minucius, superintendent of provisions, in the consulate of T. Quinctius Capitolinus (now a sixth time consul) and Agrippa Menenius. Quinctius on 314.

this occasion names his brother, Quinctius Cincinnatus, dictator, who appoints Servilius Ahala to be his general of the horse. Mælius being summoned to appear before the dictator's tribunal, and not obeying, is slain by Servilius. Three of the tribunes, provoked at this action, stir up the people to mutiny; and the patricians, to pacify them, consent to the creation of military tribunes for the next year. None but patricians are chosen to that office. 315.

§. I. WHILE the consuls were thus removing from themselves some part of the burden which had been annexed to their office, a neighbouring city found them new employment abroad. The Ardeates were involved in a civil war, occasioned by a dispute between two private citizens of Ardea, one of a noble family, the other of a plebeian, who had both fallen in love with the same young woman. She herself was a plebeian, and her guardians were for giving her to a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious widow, was fond of matching her with a man nobly born. It became a party quarrel, and rose to such a height, that the plebeians left the city in great numbers, encamped on a hill in the neighbourhood, and from thence sent out parties that pillaged and laid waste the lands of the nobility. The mutineers were joined by the Volsci, and, having chose themselves a commander named Cluilius,

Year of
R O M E
310.

B. C. 442.

Sixty-sixth
consulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 9.

station came in time to be reckoned more honourable than the consulship, though their authority in matters of state was not so considerable; and the badges of the two offices were the same, only that the censors were not allowed the lictors to walk before them as the consuls were.

The censorship continued no longer than to the time of the emperors, who performed the same duty at their pleasure: and the Flavian family, i. e. Vespasian and his sons, took a pride (as Mr. Walker on Coins and Medals observes) to be called censors, and put this among their other titles upon their coin. Decius, the emperor, entered on a design of restoring the honour to a particular magistrate, as heretofore, but without any success. Kenn. Antiq. p. 2. b. 3. c. 7. Vide Trebell. Poll. in Decio.

Year of
R O M E
310.
B. C. 442.

Sixty-sixth
consulship.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 10.

laid siege to Ardea. The nobles applied to the Romans. The senate sent an army to their relief, under the command of the consul Geganius, who invested the besiegers, reduced them to surrender their arms, and made them pass under the yoke.

But though Geganius returned to Rome with all the glory of a conqueror, his triumph being attended with uncommon pomp and solemnity, yet his colleague, Titus Quinctius, who had continued in Rome, was, for his admirable conduct in the civil government, and his impartiality in the administration of justice, more esteemed and respected than he. Nobody ever knew better than Quinctius how to temper severity with mildness.

The senators thought him sometimes too severe to the people, and yet the people were perfectly satisfied with his goodness to them. It is easy to imagine, that, during such a wise administration, the people did not think of changing the form of government, and creating military tribunes.

Year of
R O M E
311.
B. C. 441.

Sixty-seventh
consulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 11.

§. II. M. FABIVS and Posthumius Æbutius, being chosen consuls for the new year, made it their business to bury in oblivion the remains of that infamy which the Roman people had brought upon themselves, by the unjust judgment formerly passed in relation to the Ardeates. They prevailed on the senate to pass a decree for sending a colony to Ardea, to defend and repopulate the city, much depopulated by the civil war. It was agreed, but secretly, for fear of the tribunes, that no lands, except those formerly in dispute, should be divided among the new colony, of which the greater part should not be Romans, but Rutuli (whose capital city was Ardea), and that no Roman should have any portion of the lands till all the Rutuli of the colony were provided for. This was in reality annulling the judgment of the people by an act of power. And accordingly, Agrippa Menenius, T. Clælius, and M. Æbutius, the

commissioners for making the distribution, were (after a faithful discharge of their trust) cited to appear before the people. But these three patricians avoided the prosecution, by declaring themselves citizens of Ardea, and continuing there.

The next year of C. Furius and M. Papirius was as peaceful as the foregoing; not but that some tribunes of the commons, always restless, endeavoured to revive the pretensions of the people, relating to the partition of the lands. They even threatened, according to their old custom, to oppose the raising of soldiers; but as there were no wars then to be carried on, this menace was fruitless and despised.

Year of
R O M E
312.
B. C. 440.

Sixty-
eighth con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 12.

§. III. ALL was quiet, when the next year, in the consulate of Proculus Geganius and L. Menenius, there happened a dreadful famine, which occasioned seditions, by means whereof a private man (if we may credit Livy) was near getting possession of the sovereign power. The senate imputed this scarcity of corn to the laziness and negligence of the plebeians, who, intoxicated with the seditious harangues of the tribunes, were always sauntering in the Forum, and, instead of cultivating their lands, wasted their time in idle reasonings about state affairs. On the other hand, the multitude (who always grumble at those who are at the helm) imputed the dearth entirely to the want of care in the consuls. At length the people, with the senate's approbation, appointed L. Minucius, an active prudent man, to be principal purveyor and superintendent of provisions. Minucius sent his agents into the neighbouring countries all round to buy corn; but with little success. A Roman knight, whose name was Sp. Mælius, one of the richest private men in the commonwealth, had been beforehand with him at the markets in Hetruria, and had bought up, in that province, so much corn, at his private expense, as hindered the agent of the public from making the necessary provision at a reasonable price.

Year of
R O M E
313.
B. C. 439.

Sixty-ninth
consulship.
C. 13.

Year of
R O M E
313.
B. C. 439.

Sixty-ninth
consulship.

Mælius, with a liberal hand, distributed among the necessitous the corn he had amassed. It is said, that the popularity he acquired, by this means, gave him good ground to hope being one day raised to the consulship. But this, it seems, was not enough to satisfy his ambition. Nothing less than regal power would content him.

Year of
R O M E
314.
B. C. 438.

Seventieth
consulship.
* Sixth
time consul.

During the public calamity new consuls were chosen, T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and Agrippa Menenius; but Minucius was continued in his office. His commission frequently obliging him, either by himself or his agents, to have intercourse with the same sort of men with whom Mælius trafficked in his private capacity, the purveyor, by their means, learned that this ambitious knight, under cover of that liberality, which drew crowds of people to his gate, formed assemblies in his house; nay, he got information that great quantities of arms were often carried thither by night.

He afterward learned, that there was a conspiracy laid to change the form of the government; that Mælius aspired to the royalty; that the people were to take arms in his favour; and that the tribunes had consented to sell the public liberty.

Minucius, having discovered the whole secret of this conspiracy, immediately gave an account of it to the senate. Heavy reproaches were thrown upon the consuls of the preceding year, and on those of the present, for that so important a discovery should be first made by the purveyor-general; whereas the consuls ought not only to have been acquainted with Mælius's wicked designs more early, but before this time to have punished him. Quinctius replied, that as to the latter, the consuls were unjustly blamed; that they wanted neither courage nor resolution to punish so horrid an attempt; but that the consular authority was too much restrained by the laws of appeal; that, if ever the business should be brought before a general assembly, Mælius would infallibly escape from justice, by the favour of the mul-

titude, who were devoted to him ; that, in the present danger, the republic stood in need of a magistrate, not only firm and resolute, but above the laws ; and that, therefore, he would name to the dictatorship his brother, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a man whose prudence and steady courage were answerable to that supreme authority. Cincinnatus would have declined the office, on account of his great age, being now past fourscore ; but the consuls and the whole senate declaring, that no man was so fit for it as he, and insisting upon his charging himself with the care of the commonwealth, in this critical juncture, he at length acquiesced, praying to the gods, that the public weal might not suffer through his infirmities.

Year of
 R O M E
 314.
 B. C. 438.
 Seventieth
 consulship.

He named Servilius Ahala to be his general of the horse, and the next day placed guards in all parts of the city, as if some foreign enemy had been at the gates of Rome. This precaution surprised all who knew nothing of the conspiracy ; every body inquired the reason of so strange a novelty, and why a dictator should be named in the midst of peace. But Mælius plainly saw, that the power of that supreme magistrate was wholly bent against him ; and, therefore, to strengthen himself by the assistance of the multitude, he was now more liberal and bountiful than ever.

Livy, b. 4.
 c. 14.

The dictator, finding that nothing but a stroke of authority could crush so dangerous a plot, caused his tribunal to be carried into the Forum, and ascended it guarded by his lictors armed with their axes. He then sent Servilius, his master of the horse, to cite Mælius to appear before him. Mælius, surprised, and in doubt what course to take, delayed to obey, and sought to make his escape. Servilius commanded a lictor to arrest him ; which the lictor having done, Mælius cried out, that the senate wanted to destroy him only out of jealousy, and because he had consecrated his estate to the relief of the poor ; he implored the assistance of the

Year of
R O M E
314.
B. C. 438.

Seventieth
consulship.

multitude, and conjured his friends not to suffer him to be murdered in their presence. The people hereupon, encouraging one another, rescued him out of the lictor's hands. Mælius threw himself into the crowd, to escape; but Servilius pursued him, overtook him, and with a stroke of his sword killed him outright. Then, all sprinkled with the blood of the slain, he presented himself before the dictator: "Mælius (said he) refused to obey your summons, and endeavoured to raise a rebellion; he has by this hand received his due punishment." "'Twas greatly done (replied the old man), "you have saved the liberty of the commonwealth."

Livy, b. 4.
c. 15, 16.

He then convened a general assembly of the people, laid before them the crimes of Mælius, and pronounced that he was justly slain.^e The knight's house, by the dictator's order, was rased to the ground. Prodigious quantities of corn were found there, which Minucius selling to the people at low rates, they made no opposition to a decree which ordered a statue to be erected to his honour, as the reward of his vigilance.

But three of the tribunes, who were doubtless the confidants and accomplices of Mælius, could never forgive either Minucius or Servilius the death of that ambitious corn-merchant; they made loud complaints of the murder; and the tribunes in general were so much provoked against the senate, that they absolutely opposed the election of consuls: the patricians, to avoid a tumult, were forced to consent, that military tribunes should be chosen to the government for the next year.

Year of
R O M E
315.
B. C. 437.

Second
mil. trib.

Some tribunes of the commons flattered themselves, that they should have a great sway in this election; but, notwithstanding all their cabals, the people, contented with being allowed to stand candidates, gave their votes to patricians only. Mamercus Æmilius, Julius Iulus, and L. Quinctius (the son of the dictator who had just taken off Mælius), were the persons elected.

^e See what is said on this matter, in the note at the end of chap. xiv.

CHAP. XXXIII.

SECT. I. Fidenæ revolts from the Romans, and puts itself under the protection of Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. The Romans prepare for war, and thinking it advisable to have consuls to conduct it, M. Geganius (a third time) and L. Sergius are chosen; but these soon resign the care of the war to a dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, who defeats the enemy in a pitched battle, wherein Cornelius Cossus, a legionary tribune, kills Tolumnius and strips him of his armour. II. In the following consulate of M. Cornelius and L. Papirius, a tribune, named Sp. Mælius, commences a prosecution against Servilius and Minucius, for the death of Mælius the corn-merchant. The historians are not agreed about the issue of it. III. The Veientes and Fidenates renew the war during the consulate of Julius Iulus and L. Virginius, when the Romans are sorely distressed by a plague. Q. Servilius Priscus, being named dictator, routs the enemy and takes Fidenæ. It is uncertain what magistrates were chosen to govern the republic the next year; but whoever they were, they resigned their authority to Mamercus Æmilius, who is again named to the dictatorship, upon a rumour that all Hetruria is preparing for war. This rumour proves groundless. Æmilius, through zeal for the public liberty, gets a law passed restraining the office of censor to eighteen months' duration. He then resigns the dictatorship. C. Furius and M. Geganius, the censors, in revenge deprive him of the common privileges of a citizen. Æmilius nevertheless protects those his bitter enemies from the fury of the populace, who are ready to murder them. IV. The senate are obliged to humour the people, by suffering military tribunes to be created for the next year. However, none but patricians are chosen. Nothing memorable happens during their administration, but a plague, which ceases in the following year, when the republic is again governed by military tribunes, all patricians. The rich plebeians complain of the poorer sort for their having constantly refused to elect any of them to that magistracy. A law is passed, forbidding those who stand for offices to wear garments of an extraordinary whiteness: the senate, fearing lest some of the chief plebeians should get into the military tribuneship, determine, if possible, to restore the consulship (from which plebeians are excluded). A war with the Æqui favours this design. T. Quinctius (son of Lucius) and C. Julius are chosen consuls; but these disagreeing, through jealousy, the senate judge it necessary to have a dictator. The consuls refuse to name one. The senators, provoked hereat, rashly apply to the tribunes to interpose in the affair. The tribunes threaten the consuls to have them carried to prison if they do not comply. Posthumius Tubertus is named dictator. He defeats the enemy and returns triumphant to Rome. V. The Æqui, in the following consulate of C. Papirius and L. Julius, obtain a truce for eight years. (A regulation is made, that fines shall for the future be paid in money instead of cattle.) The Romans continue in peace, during this and the succeeding consulate of L. Sergius (a second time consul) and Hostus Lucretius. The next year, when T. Quinctius (a second time) and A. Cornelius Cossus are consuls, Rome is afflicted by a famine and a plague, which occasions the people to have recourse to foreign superstitions, but these are soon prohibited. VI. The Veientes, in the following consulate of L. Papirius (a second time consul) and Servilius Ahala, make incursions on the Roman lands. Disputes arising between the senate and people about the prerogative of proclaiming this war, the Romans do not take the field till the next year, when the people prevail to have military tribunes in the government, but they are all patricians. These not acting in concert are defeated by the enemy; whereupon Mamercus Æmilius (who had been degraded by the censors) is a third time raised to the dictatorship. He gives the Veientes a total overthrow, and takes their camp, as also Fidenæ, which had again revolted from the Romans.

§. I. THE tranquillity of the new administration was disturbed by the defection of Fidenæ, a city about five miles distant from Rome, on the side of Sabinia. It had been a Roman colony ever since Romulus's time. The Fidenates had frequently revolted; and now again,

Year of
R O M E
315.

B. C. 437.

Second
mil. trib.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 17.

Year of
R O M E
315.
B. C. 437.

Second
mil. trib.

throwing off the yoke, they put themselves under the protection of Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. Nor did the Fidenates stop at rebellion only, but murdered four ambassadors, whom the Romans sent to them to ask the reason of their conduct. Livy relates, that they did this enormous deed by order of the king, whose aim (he supposes) was to extinguish in them all hope of a reconciliation with Rome. The prospect of coming soon to a bloody battle (for the war was already begun) determined the republic to choose consuls rather than military tribunes for the ensuing year.

Year of
R O M E
316.
B. C. 436.

Seventy-
first con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 41.
c. 18—20.

M. Geganius (a third time) and L. Sergius were elected. It fell to the latter to conduct the war. But though he gained some advantage over the enemy, it cost the Romans dear, and they did not think fit to continue at the head of the army a general, who was so prodigal of Roman blood. The senate ordered a dictator to be created, and Mamercus Æmilius was nominated by the consuls. The very report of the election of a general, whose merit was equal to his employment, abated the confidence of the Veientes and Fidenates, who durst not appear in the field till they were joined by the Falisci. The dictator defeated these confederates in a pitched battle. Tolumnius was slain in the action by Cornelius Cossus, a legionary tribune, who stripped him of his armour and royal robes. And these spoils, called *opima spolia*, Cornelius afterward carried on his shoulders in the dictator's triumph, and then deposited them in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. They were the second of the sort known in Rome. The first were borne by Romulus, who killed King Acron in single combat.

Year of
R O M E
317.
B. C. 435.

Seventy-
second con-
sulship.

§. II. IN the following year (of the consuls M. Cornelius and L. Papirius) one Sp. Mælius, a tribune of the people, and a relation of the famous corn-merchant, cited Minucius and Servilius Ahala to answer for what they had done against his kinsman Minucius for having

brought a false accusation against him, and Servilius for having put to death a Roman citizen, before condemnation.

Year of
R O M E
397.
B. C. 435.

Livy intimates that these prosecutions were fruitless, and that the tribune only brought himself into contempt by them : but others relate that Servilius was condemned to banishment, from which Cicero pretends that he was afterward recalled. As for Minucius, we do not find that he suffered any thing from the resentment of the prosecutor.

Seventy-
second con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 21.
Val. Max.
b. 5. c. 3.
Cic. pro
Domo.
§. 32.

§. III. THE chief concern of the Romans at this time was to preserve themselves from the plague, with which they were grievously afflicted. And it raged with greater fury, in the following consulship of Julius Iulus* and L. Virginius. While Rome was in this distress, the Veientes and Fidenates came and encamped almost close to the city, on the side of the gate Collina. The senate, being terrified at so near an approach of the enemy, thought it necessary to nominate a dictator ; and the consuls pitched upon Quinctius Servilius Priscus, who commanded all those whose health would permit them, to march out of the city. Upon this the enemy immediately retired : but Servilius came up with them near Nomentum, routed them, and afterward took the city of Fidenæ by sap. However, this being looked upon as a civil war, because Fidenæ was a Roman colony, the general was not granted a triumph, though he probably assumed then the name of Fidenas. This success was followed by a census of the Roman people, which, after the establishment of the censors, never failed to be renewed every five years.

* A third
time.

Year of
R O M E.
318.
B. C. 434.

Seventy-
third con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 22.

Fast. Cap.

It is not agreed, whether Rome in the beginning of the year 319 was governed by the former consuls, Julius Iulus and L. Virginius, or by new ones, M. Manlius and Q. Sulpicius, or by three military tribunes. But be that as it will, it is certain that these tribunes or consuls were so little concerned in the events of the year, that they

Year of
R O M E
319.
B. C. 433.

Seventy-
fourth con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 23.

Year of
R O M E
319.
B. C. 433.

Seventy-
fourth con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 24.

were soon forgotten. A rumour being spread abroad, that all the nations of Hetruria were to take arms in favour of the Veientes, Mamercus Æmilius, a man illustrious both in peace and war, was raised a second time to the dictatorship, a dignity in which he had before acquired great glory against the same enemies. But the news of this dreadful league proving false, and Æmilius finding himself deceived in his hopes of signaling his second dictatorship by a new victory, resolved however to leave some monument of his zeal for the public liberty. He observed to the people in a general assembly, that their ancestors, in order to preserve their freedom, had established in the republic no officer whose authority was to last above a year : but that this wise precaution had not been remembered in the late creation of censors, who were allowed a five years' magistracy ; that it was a grievous thing to be subject five years (a great portion of a man's life) to the censure of the same persons : and that a law therefore ought to be made for shortening the duration of that office to eighteen months.

This discourse was received with great applause, especially by the people ; and the next day the law, with their approbation, was passed and published in form. Then Æmilius : " To convince you, Romans, that I am in earnest, when I express so great a dislike to magistracies of long continuance, I now resign my own." The multitude, with acclamations of joy, and with expressions of the greatest esteem and affection, conducted him back to his house. But C. Furius and M. Geganius, the present censors, shewed a most extravagant resentment of the injury which they pretended was done them, by this abridging of the duration of the censorship. Æmilius had no sooner abdicated his authority, but in virtue of the power belonging to their office, they struck his name out of the roll of his tribe, took from him, as from a scandalous wretch, the privilege of voting, and loaded him with a tribute eight times

greater than he used to pay. But this persecution, instead of dishonouring him, gave him a new lustre; all the shame fell upon the persecutors. The senators themselves, notwithstanding they disliked the new law, were yet more displeased with the severe and arbitrary conduct of the censors; making this natural reflection, that though they might themselves be for a time possessed of the same power, they should probably be much longer subject to it. And as for the people, full of indignation, they would have torn Furius and Geganius to pieces, if Æmilius had not been so generous as to save them.

Year of
R O M E
319.
B. C. 433.

Seventy-
fourth con-
sulship.

§. IV. THE tribunes of the commons, by renewing their ordinary harangues against the electing of consuls, prevailed to have military tribunes chosen for the next year; nevertheless, in spite of all their interest and intrigues, the people, still prepossessed in favour of the nobility, as to their capacity for government, and the command of armies, gave their voices again to three patricians, M. Fabius, M. Fostius, and L. Sergius. Nothing remarkable happened in their year, except a plague, which ceased in the following year of L. Pinarus, L. Furius, and Sp. Posthumius. And then ambition raised some fresh disturbances at Rome. The wealthy plebeians complained of the inferior sort, as not well enough affected to their interests, having never chosen any but patricians to be military tribunes, notwithstanding the law, which allowed them to choose three plebeians to that dignity. They met at the houses of the tribunes of the commons, to consult upon this matter, and there they came to this conclusion, that the neglect which had been shewn them was owing to the various arts used by the nobles to gain the people's favour in elections, and it was resolved to propose a law, forbidding any pretenders to the superior offices to go about, as had been the custom, in garments of an extraordinary whiteness (whence they were called candidates),

Livy, b. 4.
c. 25.

Year of
R O M E
320.
B. C. 432.

Third mil.
trib.

Year of
R O M E
321.
B. C. 431.

Fourth mil.
trib.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 25.

Year of
R O M E
321.
B. C. 431.

Fourth mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 26.

Year of
R O M E
322.
B. C. 430.

Seventy-
fifth consul-
ship.

to solicit the people's votes ; a matter which, as Livy tells us, would, in his days, have been thought of small moment, and scarce worthy of a serious debate, but which at this time raised a very warm contention between the two parties. The tribunes prevailed, the law was passed, and the present animosity of the people against the patricians gave reason to believe that the former would no longer refuse their voices to the chief plebeians for the military tribuneship. The senate, to avert this danger, turned their thoughts to get consuls chosen for the next year. The formidable preparations which the Æqui and Volsci made for war at this time favoured the design. As there were no plebeians who had ever commanded armies, and none but old captains and the chief men of the senate were fit for that employment, the people were indifferent, whether consuls or military tribunes were chosen this year. Thus the senate being left masters of the election, the consulship was restored, and T. Quinctius, the son of Lucius, and C. Julius Mento, attained that dignity. A better choice could not have been made, with respect either to birth or capacity in the art of war : but jealousy and division arising between them, it is said they were beaten near the Algidus.^f The senate, to prevent the consequences of their defeat, resolved to have recourse to a dictator. But the two consuls, on whom the nomination of him depended, though they differed in all other respects, united to cross the senators in this particular. They were probably offended at the diffidence shewn of their abilities ; but whatever was the cause of their noncompliance with the senate's desire, they continued obstinate in their determination, till expresses upon expresses bringing accounts of the mischievous progress of the enemy's arms, Q. Servilius Priscus, a consular person, turning to the tribunes of the people, who were then in the senate-house, ex-

^f Livy speaks doubtfully, and seems here to be much in the dark. He gives no account of what became of the consul's army after the defeat ; nor how the generals came to be so suddenly in the senate-house after it.

horted them to interpose their authority, and oblige the consuls to name a dictator. Those plebeian magistrates joyfully laid hold of so fair an occasion to extend their power, and having withdrawn awhile to consult, returned with this declaration: That it was the pleasure of the tribunes, that the consuls should obey the senate, or be led to prison, if they persisted in their disobedience. Hereupon, the two magistrates submitted, upbraiding the senators, however, that it was by them the consular authority was betrayed and subjected to the yoke of the tribunitian power. The conscript fathers, indeed, seem to have been so much exasperated against the two magistrates, and so intent upon vanquishing their obstinacy, as not to be duly sensible of the breach they made in their own authority. After some dispute between the consuls about the person who should be dictator, they drew lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to T. Quinctius; and he named his father-in-law Posthumius Tubertus, who appointed L. Julius Iulus to be his general of the horse.

Year of
R O M E
322.
B. C. 430.

Seventy-
fifth consul-
ship.

Posthumius was an old captain, of great valour and experience, but naturally harsh and severe. The knowledge of his temper, and the power of life and death which the dictatorship gave him, made all who were summoned run obediently to range themselves under his ensigns. Leaving the defence of the city to the consul C. Julius, and giving to the other consul, T. Quinctius, the command of one half of the army, he marched away, and soon came up with the enemy. Observing that they were lodged in two separate camps, he posted his troops likewise in two camps, about a mile from theirs. Daily skirmishes ensued, in which the Romans had generally the advantage. This took from the enemy the hope of conquering in the plain field. They attacked therefore the consul's camp in the night. But neither did they succeed in this enterprise. By the able conduct of the dictator and his generals, the Ro-

Livy, b. 4.
c. 27—29.

Year of
R O M E
323.
B. C. 429.

Seventy-
sixth con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 30.

mans, after a bloody conflict, proved victorious. Posthumius led back his army to Rome, and when he had been honoured with a TRIUMPH, laid down the dictatorship.

§. V. THE next year, in which C. Papirius and L. Julius were consuls, the Æqui, being humbled by former losses, desired to enter into alliances with the republic, on the same foot with the Latins and Hernici. But their envoys perceiving that the Romans were not inclined to a union upon any other terms than a submission at discretion, they proposed only a truce, which was granted for eight years. The Volsci at this time quarrelled among themselves, and from disputes and reproaches came to seditions and battles. By this means Rome was left in perfect tranquillity, and nothing remarkable was done there during the present consulship, but the settling, by a law, the value of the oxen and sheep, paid by way of fines for disobedience to magistrates; and the fines were ordered to be paid in money for the future, each ox valued at 100 asses of brass, and each sheep at ten. The tribunes were the first projectors of this new regulation; but the consuls, having notice of the design, proposed the law themselves, by which they gained the favour of the people.

Y. of R.
324.

Y. of R.
325.

L. Sergius and Hostus Lucretius passed their consulship in greater inaction than their predecessors. The republic enjoyed a profound peace. But the next year, when T. Quinctius (a second time) and Cornelius Cossus were raised to the consulate, a calamity more grievous than war fell upon Rome, and almost upon all Italy. An extreme drought occasioned a famine, which was followed by a dreadful plague, that spared neither man nor beast. And not only the bodies of the Romans were distempered, says Livy, but their minds too were infected with various superstitions; and these chiefly of foreign growth. Rites and ceremonies and expiatory sacrifices, never before practised at Rome, were introduced by crafty knaves, who, pretending to prophecy,

imposed on the credulity of the people. The chief magistrates, well apprized of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the ædiles to put a stop to this disorder, and to see, that no other gods were worshipped but the Roman, nor these worshipped in any other manner than that which was established by law.

Year of
R O M E
325.
B. C. 427.

Seventy-
eighth con-
sulship.

§. VI. THE Veientes, after their defeat near Nomentum, in the year 318, had obtained a truce for eight years; but, before this time was expired, they had ravaged the lands of the republic. The senate therefore, in the consulship of L. Papirius* and Servilius Ahala, thought it proper to revenge this injury. The only question was, in what manner war should be declared against them. The senate pretended that their decree would be sufficient: on the other hand, the people urged, that to determine affairs of peace and war was their peculiar province. This was not disputed, but the senators alleged, that the question at present was not about a new war, but about a war already begun, and only suspended by a truce. The tribunes carried their point by threatening to hinder the levies, if the consuls did not apply themselves to the people to obtain a declaration of war against the Veientes. These disputes produced these two effects: they delayed the vengeance of the Romans, and made the people insist upon having the government of the republic placed the next year in the hands of military tribunes, and not of consuls.

Year of
R O M E
326.
B. C. 426.

Seventy-
ninth con-
sulship.

*A second
time.

Four patricians were chosen, T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Furius, M. Posthumius, and A. Cornelius Cossus; and they took their employments by lot. Cossus stayed at Rome, the other three marched against the Veientes. But these generals not acting in concert, when they came to an engagement with the enemy, the Roman army was routed. However, it happened very fortunately, that the nearness of the camp saved the troops from slaughter, and their disgrace was greater

Year of
R O M E
327.
B. C. 425.

Fifth mil.
trib.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 31, 32.

Year of
R O M E
327.
B. C. 425.

Fifth mil.
trib.

than their loss. But as it had not been usual for them to suffer any disgrace, the whole city was in consternation at the news of this shameful action. The people demanded to have the generals deposed, and at the same time to have a dictator named. A difficulty arose in relation to this last demand. It had been the prerogative of the consuls to nominate a dictator, and there were no consuls now in being. The augurs being consulted thereupon, declared that Cossus, who had had no share in the late disaster, might lawfully name a dictator. Accordingly, he named Mamercus Æmilius, that great man, who had been in the same post twice before, and whom the censors had degraded, and sunk to a level with the lowest of the people. Æmilius appointed Cossus to be his general of the horse.

In the meantime, the inhabitants of Fidenæ massacred the Roman colony there, and revolted a seventh time to the Veientes, who passed the Tiber, and encamped near the city. The dictator with his infantry attacked them furiously; but his left wing was awhile amazed and terrified by the enemy's new manner of fighting.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 33.

Florus, b.
1. c. 12.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 34.

The Fidenates opened one of the gates of their city, and sent out some soldiers with lighted torches in their hands, and dressed in habits like those usually given the Furies. These ran like mad enthusiasts through the Roman battalions, and threatened them with fire and sword at the same time. But the dictator upbraided his men with cowardice, "What! (said he) are you as much afraid of smoke as a swarm of bees? Make use of your swords to wrest these torches out of the enemies' hands, and then go and set fire to their city with them." The Romans recovered their courage, and Cossus with his cavalry falling upon the enemy at the same time, the latter were entirely defeated: both Fidenæ and the camp of the Veientes were taken and plundered, and the prisoners were partly distributed by lot to the Roman officers, and the rest sold for the benefit

of the public. This glorious expedition being finished in sixteen days, Æmilius led back his troops to Rome, had the honours of a triumph, and then laid down his dictatorship, leaving it a question, whether his bravery or his moderation were the greater.

Year of
R O M E
327.
B. C. 425.

Fifth mil.
trib.

CHAP. XXXIV.

SECT. I. Military tribunes are chosen to the government the two following years; 328. but the choice falls only on patricians. The tribunes of the commons use their utmost endeavours to dissuade the people from this preference of the nobles to them, in the elections. The senate, to counterplot them, before the new elections come on, contrive to send away the principal of the plebeians into the field against the Volsci. In their absence, Appius Claudius (son of the decemvir), Appius one of the military tribunes, holds an assembly for electing consuls, and C. Sempronius and Q. Fabius are chosen. II. Sempronius brings the whole Roman army into danger of being cut to pieces by the Volsci. An officer of horse, named Tempanius, by his bravery and prudence, prevents the defeat of the Romans. He arrives at Rome before the consul, and gives testimony in favour of his conduct. III. The people condemn Posthumius (one of those military tribunes who by their disunion had lost a battle in the year 327) in a fine. Tempanius is made one of the tribunes of the commons. His general, Sempronius, being prosecuted by the people for his misconduct, he takes his part, and engages the tribune Hortensius, the accuser, to drop the prosecution.

Year of
R O M E
328.
B. C. 424.

§. I. THE two following years were spent in making truces with the Veientes and Æqui, and in other negotiations, and in celebrating the great games of the Circus. The government was in each of these years committed to four military tribunes.^s The tribunes of the commons prevailed so far; but they had still the mortification to see patricians only elected.

It is impossible to express the rage and indignation of these plebeian magistrates. They reproached the people with ingratitude. They told them plainly that great recompences were necessary to encourage men to great actions, and that for their parts they would throw up all care of the plebeian interest, if their zeal and labours were never to be rewarded with honours. That

Year of
R O M E
329.
B. C. 423.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 35.

^s Year of Rome 328.

A. Sempronius,
L. Flurius,
L. Quinctius,
L. Horatius.

Year of Rome 329.

Ap. Claudius,
Sp. Nautius,
L. Sergius,
Sex. Julius.

Year of
R O M E
329.
B. C. 423.

it was much better to repeal the law which qualified the plebeians for the tribuneship, than to see it thus rendered fruitless in all the elections by the cabals of the patricians; and that it would be less shame to the commons to be wholly excluded from the privilege of standing candidates, than to be always rejected as incapable or unworthy.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 36.

These discourses, often repeated, made an impression upon the multitude; and at the same time the richest and most eminent men of the plebeians gave out, that if they could once be chosen to the government, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the citizens, procure the establishment of new colonies, and cause a tax to be laid upon the landed men to provide pay for the soldiers in time of war: in a word, they forgot nothing that might engage the people to raise them to the dignity of military tribunes.

The patrician magistrates, who were then in possession of that dignity, to avoid the shame of having plebeians for their successors, privately agreed with the senate to lead out of Rome (under pretence of making an incursion upon the lands of the Volsci, who, they gave out, were preparing with all diligence for war) the chief of the people, and especially those who aspired to the military tribuneship; and during the absence of the army to proceed to an election of consuls. Three of the military tribunes took the field, leaving Appius (the decemvir's son), their colleague, to guard the city, and preside at the intended election. Appius was a young man, bold and enterprising, and had been educated from his very cradle in an hereditary aversion to the people's power. No sooner were the tribunes with great numbers of the plebeians gone into the field, but laying hold of the opportunity, he, pursuant to a decree of the senate, held the *comitia* for electing consuls. C. Sempronius Atratinus and C. Fabius Vibulanus were chosen: and the people and their tribunes, at their return, found

the election too strongly settled to think of reversing it. They afterward shewed their resentment, by prosecuting one of the consuls as a criminal, on account of the ill success he had in the war against the Volsci.

Year of
R O M E
330.
B. C. 422.

§. II. This warlike people, who had long fought with the Romans for empire and dominion, did this year make, as it were, a last effort to avoid receiving the yoke of their old enemies. They raised a great number of troops, made choice of able captains, and omitted none of those wise precautions which may be looked upon as the surest presages of good success. Rome sent against them her first consul, Sempronius, a man full of courage, familiar with his soldiers, and therefore greatly beloved by them, but who was himself more a soldier than a captain, and seemed to think that valour alone was sufficient to supply all the duties of a general. The two armies soon came in view of each other. Sempronius despised enemies whom the Romans had so often vanquished; and, as if he had been sure of winning the victory with only his infantry, left his horse in a place where he could receive no manner of assistance from them. The fight began with equal fury on both sides. The Romans advanced daringly, and charged the enemy with their usual valour. But as they fought with more fury than order, and as the Volsci, drawn together in firm and close battalions, defended themselves with great courage, victory began to declare for the side where was most discipline. The Volsci, led by an experienced general, pressed on briskly, and broke the legions. The Romans, instead of attacking, thought now only how to avoid the attack of the enemy. They gave back, and lost ground apace. The consul perceiving it, hasted to the place where there was most danger. He fought with his own hand, and tried to animate his soldiers by his example and reproaches, but in vain. He called and he threatened: nobody gave attention to his orders. At length all the legions fell into confusion, and the

Eightieth
consulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 37.

c. 38.

Year of
R O M E
330.

B. C. 422.

Eightieth
consulship.

Val. Max.
b. 3. c. 2.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 39.

battle had been quite lost, but for the valour and prudence of Sex. Tempanius, an old captain of horse.

Sempronius, who, as was said before, had flattered himself that he should be able to defeat the enemy with only his foot, had left his horse in a place hemmed in with bogs, where it was impossible for them to fight. Tempanius observing the disorder the legions were put into, leaped to the ground, and addressing himself to his companions, "Follow my lance (said he) as if it were a standard; and let us shew the enemy, that as well on foot as on horseback, nothing can withstand us." The whole body of horse dismounted after his example, and followed him. Tempanius, at the head of them, marched straight against the enemy, and restored the fight. The legions, at the sight of this succour, resumed courage, and returned to the charge with fresh fury. The general of the Volsci could not conceive whence this new body of infantry should come. But as he found himself pressed by them, he sent orders to his troops to open their ranks, and give passage to the soldiers which Tempanius commanded, and then to close again, in order to separate them from the Roman legions. The Volsci did as they were ordered. Tempanius and his men, carried on by the heat of their courage, and imagining they were following victory, and a routed enemy, rushed still forward: but it was not long before they found themselves cut off from the Roman main body, by some of the enemy's battalions, that stood now in close array. Tempanius did his utmost to force his way through them, and rejoin the consul; but he could not break their order. In this extremity he spied an eminence, of which he presently took possession.

A part of the Volscian troops immediately attacked him, believing it impossible for him to make a long resistance: but Tempanius throwing his men into a ring, defended himself with invincible bravery; and this diver-

sion saved the Roman army. The consul, however, at the head of the legions, strove in vain to join Tempanius. The Volsci, though they lost abundance of men in this last conflict, kept their ground every where ; nor could the Romans break one of their battalions. They fought till it was night, without either of the generals being able to perceive on which side lay the advantage ; and nothing but want of light made the battle cease.

Year of
R O M E
330.
B. C. 422.

Eightieth
consulship.

Both armies, believing themselves losers, equally feared to renew the fight the next morning ; nay, the terror in both was so great, that they hastily quitted their camps in the night, leaving many of their wounded and a great part of their baggage behind them, and retired to the mountains that were nearest to them.

Tempanius continued to be invested till after midnight ; but then the assailants receiving notice that their main army had abandoned their camp, fled likewise in a fright. The Roman, who doubted not but the Volsci would attack him again when light returned, was very much surprised when at day-break he saw neither friends nor enemies. He could not imagine what was become of two great armies, who, not many hours before, had stretched over the whole plain. He went down with a few of his companions, and took a view, first of the Volscian camp ; not a man was to be seen in it, except those of the wounded, who had not been able to follow the main body of the army. Then calling down all his soldiers from the hill, he entered the Roman camp, and there found the like solitude. Not knowing to what place the consul was retired with his troops, and fearing the return of the Volsci, upon the first discovery of their error, he took up the wounded Romans, and marched straight to Rome. Some runaways from the battle had got to the city before him ; and, because they had seen him and his followers cut off from the main army, and surrounded by the enemy, they had given out, that the whole body of cavalry was cut to pieces. The return,

Livy, b. 4.
c. 39.

c. 40.

Year of
R O M E
330.

B. C. 422.

Eightieth
consulship.

therefore, of these brave men, occasioned an excessive surprise and joy.

It happened, that the people were actually assembled when Tempanius arrived at Rome. The tribunes of the commons thought this to be a favourable opportunity of humbling a consul. They obliged Tempanius to appear in the assembly before he set foot in his own house; and Cn. Julius, one of those plebeian magistrates, asked him aloud, whether he thought Sempronius had chosen a proper time to come to an engagement with the enemy, had supported his line of battle with reinforcements, or in any respect acted the part of a good general? He added, "You are to answer these questions upon your honour, as you are a man of veracity and bravery. Finally, tell us, what is become of Sempronius and our legions; whether they abandoned you, or you deserted them; and whether we are vanquished or victorious?" Tempanius, far from seeking to make his own advantage of Sempronius's disgrace, answered, That it did not become a private officer to pretend to judge of the capacity of his general: that the people had given their opinion of it when they chose him consul: that he had seen him fight at the head of the legions with invincible bravery, and expose his own person in all the places where there was most danger: that the great distance between them, after their separation, and the confusion which always happens in so obstinate a fight, had kept him from knowing every thing that passed where the consul was engaged; but that he could, however, assure them, by what had appeared to him upon a view of the field of battle, that the Volsci had not lost fewer men than the Romans. He added, that as upon his separation from the main body of the legions, he had been so fortunate as to get possession of an eminence, on which, notwithstanding all the assaults of the enemy, he had preserved those that were trusted to his command; so he presumed the con-

Livy, b. 4.
c. 41.

sul, in that general disorder, had gained the mountains, and there intrenched himself. Tempanius then desired leave to retire, in order to get the wounds dressed which he had received in the fight. The whole assembly gave yet greater praises to the discretion and modesty of his answer, than to the valour and good conduct with which he had fought against the enemies of his country.

Year of
R O M E
330.
B. C. 422.

Eightieth
consulship.

§. III. HOWEVER, the people were so much out of humour with their generals, that they hastened the condemnation of Posthumius, one of the three military tribunes, who, by their disunion, had lost a battle in the year 327. The tribunes of the commons had, in the beginning of the present year, cited both him and his colleague, T. Quinctius (the third was dead), to answer for their misconduct; but the prosecution had been suspended by the apprehension of a war with the Volsci. Posthumius was now condemned to pay a large fine;^h but Quinctius was universally acquitted by the tribes, on account of his own signal services (when consul under the dictator Posthumius), as well as those of his father Cincinnatus, and his uncle Capitolinus; which latter interceded for him.

Year of
R O M E
331.
B. C. 421.

Eighth
mil. trib.^s

As for Tempanius, the people, in reward of his services, chose him sometime after to the tribuneship, together with three other officers, who like him had distinguished themselves in the war. In this post he gave new proofs of the generosity of his soul. For L. Hortensius, one of the tribunes, having cited Sempronius, after the year of his consulate was expired, to answer before the assembly of the people for his conduct in the last battle, Tempanius and his three colleagues above-mentioned, generously made themselves his advocates, and entreated Hortensius not to persecute a brave general, who had been only unfortunate on that occasion.

Livy, b. 4.
o. 42.

^s L. Manlius Vulso, Q. Antonius Merenda, L. Papirius Mugillanus, L. Servilius Structus.

^h Ten thousand asses. Decem milibus æris gravis damnatur. 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* Ar-
buthnot.

Year of
R O M E
331.
B. C. 421.
Eighth mil.
trib.

Hortensius, believing that these tribunes, though they affected to act the part of intercessors, had resolved to interpose their authority in favour of the accused, turning to Sempronius, asked him, What was become of his patrician spirit, and of that courage which a consciousness of innocence would give him, that he, a consular, should shelter himself under the shadow of the tribunes? Then turning to his colleagues, "But if I persist in my prosecution of this man, what is the part you will act? Will you rob the people of their judicature, and overturn the power of the tribunes?" Tempanius and his colleagues replied, That the Roman people had indisputably a supreme authority over Sempronius, and all the members of the republic; and that, as for themselves, they had neither the inclination nor the power to deprive the people of their right of judging the accused: but that, if the entreaties they made in behalf of their general, who had been to them a father, could not prevail, they would change their habit, as he had done. "Nay (cried Hortensius), but that shall never be; the commons of Rome shall not see their tribunes in mourning. I have done. I have nothing farther to say against a man, who, by his behaviour in command, could make himself so dear to his soldiers." And thus he dropped the impeachment.

CHAP. XXXV.

SECT. I. The next year, in the consulate of T. Quinctius Capitolinus and Numerius 332.

Fabius, new dissensions arise in the republic, on occasion of a proposal to add two quæstors to the two already established. The tribunes insist that of the four Four one half shall be always plebeians. The senate oppose this, but are willing to leave quæstors. the people free in their choice. The tribunes, not content, protest, by way of revenge, against holding the *comitia* for electing consuls. The two parties come at length to this compromise, that military tribunes shall be elected to the government, and that the people shall be free to choose patricians or plebeians to the quæstorship. Notwithstanding all that the tribunes of the commons can do, the people choose not only the military tribunes but the quæstors too out of the patricians only. The tribunes of the commons, to vent their rage, renew the prosecution against Sempronius (whose kinsman, A. Sempronius, one of the new military tribunes, had presided in the assembly for choosing quæstors), and they get him fined. 333.

II. The following six years, to the year of Rome 340, the state is governed by military tribunes. In 334 a conspiracy of the slaves is discovered 334. and prevented. In 335 the Romans have a war with the Labicani and Æqui 335. united. The three military tribunes quarrel about the command of the army, one of the three being to stay in the city. Q. Servilius, formerly dictator, the father of one of them orders his son to remain at Rome: the other two take the field, and command alternately. The Roman army is routed. Young Servilius names his father to the dictatorship: this great man in eight days recovers the affairs of the republic, and then resigns his office. The year 336 is a year of peace. In 336. the year 337 the tribunes revive the old quarrel about the distribution of the conquered lands. Appius's advice to the senate, to raise a division among those magistrates, is followed with success. Six of them side with the patricians. The like good understanding is maintained the next year (338) between the nobles and 338. some of the tribunes. III. But in 339 the affair of the Agrarian law is revived. 339. Posthumius, one of the military tribunes and general of the army, having promised the soldiers the plunder of Bola taken from the Æqui, afterward break his word with them. Sextius, one of the tribunes of the commons, to make the soldiers amends, proposes that a colony of them shall be settled at Bola, and its territory divided among them. Posthumius (who had been called to Rome to oppose Sextius's proceedings) threatens that it shall be the worse for his men if any such step be made in their favour. The tribune takes advantage of this proud and imprudent menace to incense the people against the general; and a report of it being made in the camp, the soldiers mutiny and wound one of the quæstors; and Posthumius, at his return to the camp, attempting to punish the guilty, is stoned by the soldiers. The senate, fearing lest the people, in order to screen the murderers, should choose plebeian military tribunes for the next year (340) use all 340. their endeavours to get consuls elected, and they prevail. The fasces are transferred to A. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus, who shew great moderation and prudence in the prosecution of the criminals. IV. Nothing very memorable, except a plague and famine, happens in the three following consulates. But in the year 344, when Cn. Cornelius and L. Furius (a second time) are consuls, three tribunes of the name of Icilius prevail with the people to choose three 344. of the four quæstors out of the plebeians. The senate is likewise forced to con- Plebeian sent to the choosing of military tribunes for the next year, but find means to dis- quæstors. appoint the Icili in their expectation of being raised to that dignity. Three pa- 345. tricians are chosen. These being ordered by the senate to name a dictator, on occasion of a war with the Volsci, two of them refuse. The senate hereupon has recourse, as formerly, to the tribunes; but these return a disdainful answer, and will not meddle in the dispute. Servilius Ahala, the third military tribune, names P. Cornelius dictator, who quickly puts an end to the war. Servilius's two col- 346. leagues, in anger against the senate, propose military tribunes at the next election: however patricians are chosen, and so likewise the next year. The tribunes of 347. the commons, provoked to the utmost, revenge themselves by opposing the levies for a war with the Veientes, who had insulted the Roman ambassadors; and they make the old affair of the Agrarian law their pretence. The senate get the better Pay allow- of this opposition, by decreeing that the infantry shall hereafter have pay out of ed to the the public treasury during the service. The people joyfully confirm this decree, infantry. and readily offer themselves to be enlisted.

Year of
R O M E
332.

B. C. 420.

Eighty-first
consulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 43.

§. I. THE affection which four tribunes of the commons had shewed to a patrician, and the compliance of Hor-tensius with their desires in his favour, seemed to pro-mise a better understanding, and more union, between the senate and people, than there had been of late : but the very next year, in the consulate of T. Quinctius Ca-pitolinus and Fabius Vibulanus, new dissensions arose with relation to the quæstorship. [The institution of this office is ascribed by Plutarch to Poplicola, who (according to the same author) left the choice of the quæstors to the people. Their business was to collect the taxes, defray the expenses of war, and keep exact accounts of their receipts and disbursements of the pub-lic money, of which they were the treasurers, and for which they were accountable. And, lastly, the Roman eagles were deposited with them, and they delivered them out at the consuls' command, when the Romans marched into the field.]

To this time only two of these officers had been an-nually chosen, who never stirred from Rome. The consuls proposed that two others should now be added, to attend the generals in the field, take account of the spoils won from the enemy, sell the booty, and, above all, provide for the subsistence of the army. The senate warmly seconded this proposal, till the tribunes de-manded that some of the quæstors should henceforward be plebeians. (Hitherto the quæstors had been chosen out of the patricians only.) Both consuls and senate, at first, opposed this demand with all their might, after-ward they yielded thus far, that in the election of quæs-tors, as in that of military tribunes, the Roman people, if they thought fit, should choose as many plebeians as patricians. But the tribunes demanding that two of the quæstors should always indispensably be plebeians, the senate, rather than submit to this, dropped the de-sign of increasing the number of those officers. The tribunes, in revenge, renewed the proposal of the *division*

of the lands; nor would they suffer the present consuls to hold the comitia for electing new ones, but insisted on having military tribunes for the next year. The senate were now more than ever concerned to hinder this, lest, if the plebeians were chosen to the government, the Agrarian law should take place. The obstinacy of the two parties, in holding to their demands, threw the republic into a kind of anarchy: for the tribunes sometimes even opposed the senate's meeting to name an interrex; but they constantly hindered this officer's holding any assembly for the choosing of consuls. At length L. Papirius Mugillanus, being interrex, by expostulations and soft persuasions, brought each of the parties to yield something of its pretensions, in order to a reconciliation. The senate agreed to let military tribunes be chosen instead of consuls; and the tribunes of the commons consented that, in the election of the four quæstors, the people should give their votes as they pleased, either to patricians or plebeians; and thus the dispute ended.

The assembly for the election of military tribunes was held first; and, notwithstanding all the credit and intrigues of the tribunes of the commons, four patricians were chosen, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Sp. Furius Medullinus, M. Manlius, and A. Sempronius Atratinus (cousin to the consul of the same name): Sempronius presided in the election of quæstors.¹ Antistius and Pompilius, two tribunes of the commons, asked the quæstorship, the first for his son, the second for his brother; yet none but patricians were promoted to that office: the people had not power to deny it to men whose fathers and ancestors had been honoured with the consulship. The tribunes of the commons, enraged almost to madness at this preference, cried out, "What!

Year of
R O M E
332.
B. C. 420.

Eighty-first
consulship.

Year of
R O M E
333.
B. C. 419.

Ninth mil.
trib.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 43.

¹ By a letter from Cicero to Curius (Ep. 30. lib. vii. ad Famil.) it appears, that, in their time the quæstors were elected in *comitia tributa*. But I find no reason to believe, that at this time they were elected in those assemblies, nor so long as the people chose the quæstors out of the patricians only.

Year of
R O M E
333.
B. C. 419.

Ninth mil.
trib.

two tribunes of the commons, one recommending his son, the other his brother, and both disregarded! There must infallibly have been some deceit in gathering the votes, and A. Sempronius ought to be called to account for it." But as he was a man of known probity, and his innocence and the dignity with which he was then invested, set him above their reach, they turned all their fury against C. Sempronius, his relation, before spoken of, and revived the prosecution against him (for his ill conduct in the last battle), which Hortensius, at the request of Tempanius, had dropped. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-seven days. During this interval, Sempronius constantly attended the senate, and, being resolved not to lose his character there by a timorous behaviour, zealously opposed the request of the tribunes, concerning the partition of the lands; and he behaved himself with the same steadiness on his trial: but, notwithstanding all the solicitations of the senate in his favour, he was fined 15,000 asses. [48*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*]

Year of
R O M E
334.
B. C. 418.

Tenth mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 4.

o. 45.

* 15 miles
from Rome.

§. II. IN the following military tribuneship of Agrippa Menenius, Sp. Nautius, P. Lucretius, and C. Servilius, a plot was formed by the slaves, to set fire to the city, and seize the capitol; but this secret was revealed by some of the conspirators, and the mischief prevented. Soon after, Lavicum,* a city included in the Latin confederacy, gave the Romans some reasons to suspect her fidelity. And the next year (in which the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, M. Papirius, C. Servilius, and L. Sergius) produced the entire revolt of the Lavicani, who joined the Æqui, pillaged the territory of Tusculum, and encamped with their new allies under the Algidus. It was ordered by the senate that two of the military tribunes should take the field, and the third continue to govern the city. Upon this a contest arose between the three, no one of them being willing to stay at home. The senate was offended at these disputes; and Q. Servilius Fidenas, formerly dic-

Year of
R O M E
335.
B. C. 417.

Eleventh
mil. trib.

tator, put an end to them by his paternal authority, commanding his son, C. Servilius, one of the three governors, to stay in Rome. But the two generals agreed no better in the field than they had done in the city; each was for fighting the enemy his own way; they despised each other, and the troops were divided into two parties. When the news of this discord came to Rome, Q. Servilius apprehended the consequences of it, and advised his son to raise more troops to be in readiness at all events: and the advice proved serviceable. For, the two generals having at length agreed to command the troops alternately each his day, Sergius soon after imprudently hazarded a battle, and by a stratagem of the enemy, who designedly gave ground to draw him into an ambush, was entirely defeated. He took refuge with his broken troops in Tusculum. Upon this news the senate ordered a dictator to be created; and the younger Servilius nominated his father, who (as some say) appointed his son general of the horse. The father and son left Rome at the head of a new army (that which had fled to Tusculum being recalled) and encamped within two miles of the enemy. The dictator being there informed that they were grown negligent and presumptuous, he marched with haste to attack them, routed them, invested Lavicum, their place of retreat, and took it by assault. And all this being done in eight days, he returned to Rome, and immediately laid down his office.

The succeeding military tribunes, P. Lucretius, L. Servilius, Agrippa Menenius, and Sp. Veturius, gained no other glory but that of preserving the republic in the same tranquillity in which they found it.

But the next year (when A. Sempronius, M. Papirius, Q. Fabius, and Sp. Nautius, governed the commonwealth) Sp. Mæcilius, a fourth time tribune of the people, and Metilius, now tribune a third time, renewed the proposal of *an equal distribution of the lands* conquered

Year of
R O M E
335.
B. C. 417.

Eleventh
mil. trib.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 46.

C. 47.

Year of
R O M E
336.
B. C. 416.

Twelfth
mil. trib.

Year of
R O M E
337.
B. C. 415.

Thirteenth
mil. trib.

Year of
R O M E
337.
B. C. 415.

Thirteenth
mil. trib.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 43.

from the enemies of Rome. This tended to a confiscation of the estates possessed by a great part of the nobility. The city of Rome had been built upon ground originally belonging to the city of Alba, and had scarce any territory but what had been since won sword in hand. Under pretence of buying or renting parcels of this acquisition, those of the patricians, whose ample share in the government furnished them with opportunities, had possessed themselves of large tracts, to which they could not produce any just title. The tribunes were for resuming these lands, and making a fair partition of them among all the citizens, nobles, and commons. To defeat this project, the SENATORS had meetings, public and private. The youngest of them, Appius Claudius (grandson of the decemvir), is said to have spoken to this effect; That it had been a constant tradition in his family, that relief against the tyranny of the tribunes was to be found no where but in their own college. That the best way to frustrate the designs of Mæcilius and Metilius was to engage some one of their colleagues to oppose them: that it would be no difficult matter for the nobles, by condescensions and caresses, to gain over those who were but newly come into office, made no figure, and were perhaps jealous of the authority assumed by the two leading tribunes. And he exhorted the fathers to try the experiment.

This advice they unanimously approved, and Appius was highly praised for having thus shewn that he did not degenerate from the virtue of his ancestors. The chief men of the senate immediately applied themselves to gain some of the tribunes; and by entreaties and remonstrances they succeeded so well, that of the ten they won over six to oppose the promulgation of the law. Mæcilius and his colleague reproached them as traitors, enemies to the people, and slaves to the senate; but it was all in vain, they were forced to desist from their enterprise.

The senate, by means of a good intelligence with the majority of the tribunes, remained the directors of affairs the following year also. L. Sextius, one of the college, to make his court to the people, having proposed to send a colony to Volæ, a little town which they had lately taken from the Æqui, the other tribunes opposed it, and declared that, during their tribuneship, they would never suffer any new law to be offered, which had not been first approved by the senate. But this influence of the conscript fathers in the tribunitian college did not last long: the affair of the Agrarian law was revived the next year.

Year of
R O M E
338.

B. C. 414.

Fourteenth
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 49.

Year of
R O M E
339.

B. C. 413.

Fifteenth
mil. trib.

§. III. THE Æqui, having retaken Volæ, P. Posthumius Regillensis, one of the military tribunes, a good soldier, but an imperious, obstinate, wrong-headed man, was sent with an army to recover it. After some skirmishes with the enemy in the field, he invested that place. Before he led his troops to the assault, he promised them, for their encouragement, that, if they took the town, they should have the plunder. The place was won; but the general, who naturally hated the plebeians, of whom the greatest part of his army consisted, broke his word, and sold all for the public treasury.

Sextius, one of the tribunes of the commons, soon after brought on anew the affair of the conquered lands. Posthumius was hereupon sent for to Rome to assist his colleagues in opposing the tribune's enterprise. Being come, he, in full assembly of the people, dropped an expression, that seemed to speak him a fool or a madman. Sextius, having proposed to the assembly to pass a decree for dividing the city and territory of Volæ among the soldiers who had made the conquest, affirming that they had the best right to the benefit of it, Posthumius hastily cried out, "Woe be to my soldiers, if they stir."

Y. of R. 338.

Cornelius Cossus,
Quinctius Cincinnatus,
Valerius Volusus,
Fabius Vibulanus.

Y. of R. 339.

Q. Fabius,
Cn. Cornelius,
P. Posthumius,
L. Valerius.

Year of
R O M E
339.
B. C. 413.

Fifteenth
mil. trib.

So proud and unjust a saying offended the senators no less than the multitude: Sextius, bold and eloquent, took advantage of the general discontent, and, directing his speech to the people, “Do you hear how Posthumius threatens his soldiers, as if they were so many slaves? And yet this brute of a man you think more worthy of the military tribuneship than any of us, whose whole study is to procure you lands, and houses, and a comfortable retreat in your old age, and to defend you upon all occasions against such proud and cruel adversaries. Can you then have any reason to wonder that of late so few of your tribunes shew much zeal for your interests? What have we to expect from you? Honours? You bestow them upon your enemies. Posthumius’s words have indeed shocked you, filled you with horror. But, what then? If you were just now to go to an election, you would prefer this cruel threatener to your best friends, to those who have nothing at heart but your welfare.”

Livy, b. 4.
c. 50.

Zonaras,
b. 7.

This discourse did not fail to inflame the people; and when the threats of Posthumius were reported in the camp, they occasioned such a commotion and murmuring in the army, as came little short of downright sedition. P. Sestius, one of the quæstors, having in the absence of his general ordered a lictor to seize a soldier who was more mutinous than the rest, his fellow-soldiers rescued him, and one of them gave the quæstor a severe blow with a stone. Posthumius, informed of this tumult, hastened to the camp, and exasperated the troops more than ever by the strictness of his inquiries, and the cruelty of his punishments. He commanded the most guilty of the mutineers to be put to death under the hurdle, a kind of execution which has been before mentioned. The manner of it was this: The criminal was laid at his length in a shallow water, under a hurdle, upon which they heaped stones, and so pressed him down till he was drowned. But in vain did the general

now pass this sentence against the seditious : the rest of the soldiers tore them out of the hands of the executioners, and set them at liberty. Posthumius, transported with rage, came down from his tribunal, and, preceded by his lictors, broke through the press, in order to lay hold on the criminals. He found no respect remaining among the soldiers either for his orders or his person ; they opposed force with force, and being urged to fury, stoned him to death. This was the first instance, from the foundation of Rome, of a Roman general slain by his troops.

Year of
R O M E
339.
B. C. 413.

Fifteenth
mil. trib.

Florus, b. 1.

When the news of the tragical end of Posthumius came to the city, his colleagues, who resided there, zealous to revenge his death upon the rebellious soldiers, decreed, with the senate's approbation, that informations should be taken concerning it : the tribunes of the commons interposed. This contest depended upon another. The conscript fathers thought it of the utmost importance to avoid an election of military tribunes for the next year, lest the commons, to screen the guilty soldiers, should choose governors out of the plebeians. They would therefore have made a decree, that consuls should be chosen in the next comitia. The passing of this decree was opposed by the tribunes of the commons, and the contention lasted so long, that the republic fell into an interregnum. In the end, the senate carried their point. Fabius Vibulanus, being interrex, assembled the comitia by centuries, and they chose M. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus, consuls. These were good-natured men ; and, for that reason, as it was thought proper not to be too rigorous in punishing the soldiers who had murdered their general, were unanimously appointed by the senate and people to inquire into the crime. Necessary it was to make examples ; but this was done with moderation ; and those few, who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the lictors. The consuls thought it more advisable to suppose the army in

Livy, b. 4.
c. 50.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 51.

Year of
R O M E
340.
B. C. 412.

Eighty-
second con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
340.
B. C. 412.

Eighty-
second con-
sulship.

general to be innocent, than to drive them into an open revolt by too strict an examination.

It had been happy if the senate and consuls had, to so prudent a management, added the partition of the territory of Volæ among the people: they had indeed no plausible pretence not to do it, there being as yet no private occupiers of it to be disturbed in their possessions. And this would have been the most effectual way to silence the factious complaints of the tribunes, and abate the ardour of the people for the division of the public lands conquered before. But the commons now saw with indignation, that the secret design of the senate and nobility was to keep them always in poverty, as well for their own interest as to make them more submissive and dependent. Before it be long we shall see them prosecute their pretensions with more fury than ever.

In the meantime, the consul Furius marched against the Volsci, who had pillaged the territory of the Hernici. At his approach the enemy disappeared; and he took from them Ferentinum, which he gave to the Hernici, with the lands about it, to compensate their losses.

Year of
R O M E
341.
B. C. 411.

Eighty-
third con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 52.

§. IV. THE tribunes made no opposition to the election of consuls for the next year; and Q. Fabius and C. Furius were chosen. But L. Icilius, a tribune, began to resume the affair of the conquered lands with immoderate heat. A plague that raged in the city put a stop to his career. This calamity was of course followed by a scarcity of provisions; for, the citizens being also the husbandmen, the lands were left untilld while the distemper prevailed; and the loss of one harvest was sufficient to reduce Rome to extreme want.

Year of
R O M E
342.
B. C. 410.

Eighty-
fourth
consulship.

The famine was severely felt in the succeeding consulship of M. Papirius and C. Nautius: however, care was taken to get corn from Hetruria and Sicily; and Rome, by extraordinary good fortune, continued this year without commotions at home or abroad.

No sooner did the plague and famine cease, but the Æqui renewed their incursions upon the territories of the Latins and Hernici, faithful allies of Rome. M. Æmilius and C. Valerius were now consuls. It fell to the latter to conduct the war; but when he would have levied troops, the tribune Mænius opposed it upon the old pretence of the Agrarian law. In the meantime, the Æqui insulted the Romans, and took from them the fort of Carventum.* This disgrace not only increased the hatred of the nobles to Mænius, but induced the other nine tribunes to assist the consul in making the levies, and punishing those persons who refused to serve.

Year of
R O M E
343.
B. C. 409

Eighty-
fifth con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 53.

* In La-
tium.

The Romans recovered the fort, and found in it a considerable booty, which the enemy had laid up there; but Valerius, being dissatisfied with his men, on account of their backwardness to enlist themselves for the war, he sold all, and put the money into the quæstor's hands.

It was the custom, in the triumphal procession, for the soldiers to chant satirical verses on the victor who enjoyed that honour. In Valerius's ovation they did something particular, and, by way of revenge, they divided themselves into two choirs, and while one made the air resound with songs against their general, the other sung verses in praise of Mænius; and every time his name was repeated, the people in the streets clapped their hands, and made acclamations, and even drowned the noisy music of the soldiers.

This behaviour of the citizens alarmed the senate, and obliged them to bestir themselves, to hinder an election of military tribunes for the next year, lest Mænius should be chosen for one. The fathers prevailed; consuls were elected; and the choice fell upon Cn. Cornelius and L. Furius.*

Year of
R O M E
344.
B. C. 408.

Eighty-
sixth con-
sulship.

* A second
time.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 54.

Under their administration three tribunes of the name of Icilius, all three kinsmen, and of a family in which to hate the patricians was hereditary, undertook to de-

Year of
R O M E
344.
B. C. 408.

Eighty-
sixth con-
sulship.

prive them of the quæstorship, which hitherto had never been out of their order, though plebeians were qualified to stand for it. The Icilii talked much of glorious projects they had formed in favour of the commons; but at the same time declared, that they would not stir one step towards the execution of them, unless the plebeians would assume so much courage at least as to raise some of their own body to the quæstorship. The multitude, possessed with hopes of the mighty advantages they were to reap from the zeal of their present tribunes, gave their votes, in the election of quæstors, to Q. Silius, P. Ælius, and P. Pupius, all three plebeians; and of the patricians who put up for that dignity, none but Cæso Fabius Ambustus could obtain it.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 55.

The tribunes of the commons, elated with this victory over the nobility, flattered themselves, that the quæstorship would now open them a way to the military tribuneship, the consulate, and the triumph. They would not hear, therefore, of an election of consuls for the next year; they opposed the publication of a decree of the senate for that purpose; they cried out, that it was high time for the plebeians to have their share in the government. The disputes on this head grew warm, when, luckily for the Icilii, news came that the Æqui and Volsci were again in motion. The tribunes opposed the levies, which, in pursuance of a *senatus-consultum*, the consuls would have made. Two of the Icilii constantly attended upon these magistrates, each watching his man, to hinder him from raising troops, or holding the comitia for choosing new consuls. The business of the third Icilius was to manage the multitude, and let them loose, or restrain them, as he judged proper. Things were at this pass, when news was brought that the Æqui had retaken the fortress of Carventum. This gave the tribunes a farther advantage, the want of an army being now more pressing. In short, the senate were forced to consent to an election of military tri-

bunes ; but, to disappoint the Icilii, they annexed this proviso to their decree : That none of the present *tribunes of the commons* should be chosen to the *military tribuneship*, or continued in their office the next year.

Year of
R O M E
344.
B. C. 408.

The levies now went on without opposition. The consuls marched to recover Carventum, but they lost a great deal of time before it, and were forced to raise the siege at last. They took however Verrugo from the Volsci.

Eighty-
sixth con-
sulship.

Though the commons had carried their point, of obtaining comitia for electing military tribunes (instead of consuls) for the next year ; yet the fathers got the victory at the elections : three patricians were chosen, and no plebeian. It is said, that the nobles made use of a stratagem (and were reproached with it at that time by the Icilii), which was this : they engaged a great number of the meanest and most worthless of the plebeians to stand candidates, mixing them with the worthy candidates of the same order. The people were so disgusted with the appearance of the former, that they would not give their voices to the latter, nor to any but patricians.

C. Julius Iulus, P. Corn. Cossus, and C. Servilius Ahala, were declared military tribunes ; but did not long continue in the supreme command. The Volsci having set on foot a very formidable army, the senate, according to custom, resolved to send a dictator against them. As the absolute authority of that magistrate in a manner swallowed up the power of all the inferior officers, Julius and Cornelius opposed his nomination, alleging that they did not want courage and experience to command an army, and that it was unjust to deprive them of a dignity, which they had so lately obtained by all the votes of their fellow-citizens.

Year of
R O M E
345.
B. C. 407.

Sixteenth
mil. trib.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 56.

The senate, exasperated at their refusal to name a dictator, had recourse to the tribunes of the commons, as they had done before upon the like occasion. But

Year of
R O M E
345.
B. C. 407.

Sixteenth
mil. trib.

the tribunes of this year observed a different conduct from that of their predecessors. Overjoyed to see this dissension between the military tribunes and the senate, they answered, with a scornful raillery, That for their part they could give no help in the affair; that they were only plebeians, not citizens, nor even to be reckoned in the number of men; that if ever the honours and dignities of the republic were made common to them with the patricians, they should then take care that no proud magistrate disobeyed the decrees of the senate; but that, in the meantime, the patricians themselves, as they had thrown off all respect for laws and magistrates, might also, if they pleased, assume the power and functions of the tribunes, and do their own business as they could.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 57.

The contests drawing to an end, and the enemy still advancing towards the frontier, Servilius Ahala, the third military tribune, declared publicly, that the good of his country was more dear to him than the friendship of his colleagues; and that, if they would not choose a dictator, he would take upon him to name one himself: and accordingly, being supported by the whole senate, he named to that highest magistracy, P. Cornelius Rutilus, who afterward appointed Servilius to be general of the horse.

The war was of no long continuance; the Volsci were defeated near the city of Antium, their territory plundered, and a great number of prisoners taken. After this expedition, the dictator laid down his authority, and the military tribunes resumed theirs. Julius and Cornelius Cossus, discontented with the senate for having, by the creation of a dictator, frustrated their hopes of acquiring glory in this war, made no mention of electing consuls for the ensuing year, but appointed an assembly for choosing military tribunes. The conscript fathers were much alarmed to see their interest thus betrayed by men of their own order; and therefore, as

they had, the last year, by setting up *unworthy* candidates from among the plebeians, given the people a dislike to all the *worthy*; so now they effected an exclusion of all plebeians, by setting up for candidates the most illustrious members of their own body, men whom they knew to be esteemed by the commons. C. Valerius, C. Servilius,* L. Furius, and Fabius Vibulanius,† all eminent patricians, were chosen to the military tribuneship.

Year of
R O M E
345.
B. C. 407.

Sixteenth
mil. trib.

Year of
R O M E
346.
B. C. 406.

The truce with the Veientes being at this time expired, the Romans sent heralds to them to renew their demand of satisfaction of damages formerly sustained. These heralds meeting on the road some envoys going from Veii to Rome, consented, at their request, to proceed no further, till the latter had been heard by the senate. The Veientan ministers obtained of the conscript fathers to desist from their demands, till some civil broils which were then at Veii should be quieted; a conduct which Livy remarks as an instance of great generosity in the Roman senate, who, had they consulted nothing but their own interest, could not have had a more favourable occasion of falling upon a rival state.

Seven-
teenth mil.
trib.

*A second
time.

† A third
time.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 58.

The same year the Volsci retook Verrugo from the Romans, and put the garrison to the sword, the senate being dilatory in sending succours to it. However, the military tribunes revenged this loss: they surprised the Volscian troops, when scattered about the country to plunder, and cut them to pieces.

The senate kept their ascendant in the election of magistrates for the next year, and procured the military tribuneship for C. Cornelius, L. Valerius,* Cn. Cornelius, and Fabius Ambustus, all patricians, and of the best families in the commonwealth.

Year of
R O M E
347.
B. C. 405.

Eighteenth
mil. trib.

*A second
time.

During their administration, the Veientes having insulted the ambassadors of the republic, the senate ordered a declaration of war against Veii to be immediately

Year of
R O M E
347.
B. C. 405.

Eighteenth
mil. trib.

proposed to the people. The Roman youth, upon the first rumour of this design, began to murmur at it: "The war with the Volsci is not yet ended: we have lately had two garrisons cut in pieces, and the places (though recovered) are not defended now but with much danger. Not a year passes without a battle; and yet, as if we had not fighting enough, we must begin a new war against powerful neighbours, that may engage all Hetruria in their cause."

The tribunes did not fail to encourage them in this opposition to the government. "In truth (said they), the chief war you have to sustain is that which the senate has so long carried on against the commons of Rome. They send you into the field only to be slaughtered, or else to keep you at a distance from the city, lest, if they allowed you any repose, your minds should run upon liberty and colonies, or the public lands, or freedom in giving your votes in the assemblies, and you should concert measures for promoting your own interests, with reference to these matters."

Whenever the tribunes met with any of the veteran soldiers, they took them by the hand, entered into familiar discourse with them, inquired how many years they had served, and, making them shew their scars, asked them whether they had room for any more wounds, or could spare any more blood for the service of the commonwealth. By these and other arts of management, in which the tribunes were indefatigable, they made the commons utterly averse from a war with the Veientes; so that the patricians, perceiving that their bill, if now offered, would be rejected, deferred it to another time.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 59.

However, it was agreed, that three of the military tribunes should lead an army against the Volsci. At the approach of it the enemy disappeared, and left their country open to be pillaged. The Roman generals hereupon divided their forces into three bodies, and made incursions into it on different sides. Fabius laid

siege to Anxur (afterward called Terracina), a wealthy city, and having taken it by assault, divided the spoil equally among the soldiers of all the three armies, telling his own men, that the troops of his colleagues, by hindering succours from coming to the relief of the place, had contributed to the taking of it as much as if they had been present in the action. This generosity (not usual of late) to the soldiers, paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobles and commons. And this was entirely accomplished by a decree of the senate, soon after passed, That for the future the Roman infantry should be maintained in the field at the public expense. Hitherto all the citizens had used to go to war at their own charges; and oftentimes, when the campaign was too long, the lands, especially those of the poorer plebeians, lay fallow. This occasioned borrowing, exorbitant usury, complaints, and seditions. The senate, to prevent these disorders, decreed of themselves, and without being importuned by the people or their tribunes, that for the future the soldiers should have *pay* out of the public money; and that, to furnish this expense, a new tax should be raised, from which no citizen whatsoever should be exempt.

Year of
R O M E
347.
B. C. 405.
Eighteenth
mil. trib.

Upon the first news of this *senatus-consultum*, the people were transported with joy: they ran in crowds from all parts of the senate-house, and, taking the senators by the hand, as they came out, said, that now indeed it appeared, they were justly called fathers; and declared themselves ready to spill the last drop of their blood for their country, so tender and generous a mother to all her children.

Livy, b. 4.
c. 60.

In this universal gladness, the tribunes of the commons were remarkable for their gloomy and envious countenances. Union always hindered them from making a figure in the state. They gave out that the senate bestowed largesses at a very cheap rate; that the people must be very blind if they did not perceive that

Year of
R O M E
347.
B. C. 405.

Eighteenth
mil. trib.

this their pay would come out of their own pockets; nay, that it was not just to make those citizens, who had always served at their own charge, and had completed the time of their service, contribute to the support of the new soldiers who succeeded them in the armies; and they proclaimed, that they would protect all those who should refuse to pay the tax. These declarations made some impression upon the people: the senators, nevertheless, went on with their undertaking, and began the contribution themselves, paying their own contingents fairly, according to the real value of their estate; and their example was followed by the chief men among the plebeians.

As in those days there was no silver money, carts loaded with weighty pieces of brass were every day seen going to the treasury with the contributions of the rich: the poorer sort, pleased with this sight, and, animated by the commendations given by the nobles and the soldiers to those of the commons who submitted to the impost, listened no longer to the declamations of their tribunes, but ran every one eagerly to pay the tribute, according to his proportion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

SECT. I. The Romans invest Veii. In the two first years of the siege (which lasted 348. ten) there is little action. The third year (350 of Rome) the tribunes of the com- 350. mons made a stir about the hardship the soldiers suffer by being detained in the camp all the winter. Appius Claudius, military tribune (grandson of the decemvir), Appius assembles the people, and inveighs against their tribunes for their seditious be- Claudius V. haviour. His harangue has little effect; but a loss which the besiegers sustain before the place, animates the plebeians with a zeal to push on the siege with vi- gour. The senate for the first time allow pay to the horse. II. The year follow- Pay allow- ing, Sergius and Virginus (two of the military tribunes), having the conduct of ed to the the siege, quarrel and divide the troops between them. The Falisci and Capenates horse. (people of Hetruria) come to the assistance of the Veientes, and fall upon one side 351. of Sergius's camp, while the besieged sally out and attack the other. Virginus refuses to assist his colleague: the troops of the latter are routed. Hereupon the two generals are both recalled. All the military tribunes of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are chosen. The tribunes of the commons 352. raise such disturbances at Rome about the levies, that in the election of those magistrates the people cannot agree in the choice of more than eight. The majority of those eight name two more, in defiance of the Trebonian law. C. Trebo- nius, one of the present tribunes, draws the hatred of the people upon three of his colleagues on this account, but they artfully divert it from themselves by turning it against Sergius and Virginus (the generals of the last year), who are both fined for misconduct. III. The tribunes renew the domestic broils; but all is quieted Plebeian by the choosing some plebeians into the military tribuneship. At the next elec- military tions the *comitia* choose five plebeians to that dignity, and only one patrician. tribunes. The arms of the republic prosper; but there happens a great mortality among 353. men and cattle. To avert this evil the ceremony of the lectisternium is observed. 354. IV. The senate take advantage of the people's fears and superstition, to get the military tribuneship for patricians only; pretending that the gods were angry at 355. the choice which had been made of plebeians to that magistracy. The lake of Alba overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, and an old Veientan sol- dier having delivered a prophecy, that Veii should not be taken before the water of that lake was all run out, deputies are sent from Rome to consult the oracle of Delphos. These return the next year with an answer agreeable to the old man's 356. prophecy. Canals are made to drain the lake. Some defect being discovered in the inauguration of the present military tribunes, they all abdicate, and six new 357. ones are chosen, all plebeians. Their administration not being prosperous, Ca- Camillus millus is named dictator. V. He takes Veii by sap. takes Veii.

§. I. THE senate's view, in allotting funds for the pay- Year of ment of the troops, was not only to ease the people, but R O M E 347. also to enable the state to carry on the war further, and B. C. 405. maintain it longer. Before this regulation they could Eighteenth mil. trib. not so properly be said to make war as incursions, which were generally terminated by one battle. These expeditions rarely lasted above twenty or thirty days; the soldiers, for want of pay, not being able to keep the field for a longer time together. But now, when the senate found themselves in a condition to maintain an army abroad as long as they pleased, they began to form great designs; and, all opposition to a war with the Veientes

Year of
R O M E
348.
B. C. 404.

Nineteenth
mil. trib.
Livy, b. 4.
c. 61.

being over, they resolved to besiege Veii itself, one of the strongest places in Italy, the bulwark of Hetruria, and which yielded to Rome neither in the courage nor in the wealth of its inhabitants.

The siege was begun in the year 348 of Rome, when the Romans, for the first time, chose six military tribunes.^k The states of Hetruria held a general council, to debate, whether they should unite their forces in the defence of the Veientes or not; but came to no agreement upon this head.

Year of
R O M E
349.
B. C. 403.

Twentieth
mil. trib.

The next year, when Rome was again governed by six military tribunes,^l the siege was carried on with less vigour than in the beginning, part of the Roman forces being called away to a war with the Volsci.

Year of
R O M E
350.
B. C. 402.

Twenty-
first mil.
trib.
Livy, b. 5.
c. 1.

Livy tells us, that the year following the republic chose eight military tribunes; among whom he reckons M. Furius Camillus and M. Posthumius Albinus; but in this he seems to have been mistaken; for, beside that the electing of eight was illegal, those two senators, according to the Capitoline Fasti, were censors this year, and there were but six supreme governors,^m of whom Appius Claudius, grandson of the decemvir, was one.

Sig. in Fa-
stos. Pig-
nius in An-
nal.

Happily for the Romans, the Veientes at this time chose themselves a king; a proceeding which so displeased the other states of Hetruria, who not only abhorred all royalty, but had a particular dislike to this king, that they came to a resolution to refuse their assistance to the besieged, so long as these should continue under regal government.

^k C. Julius Iulus, a second time,
T. Quinctius Capitolinus,
Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus,

M. Æmilius Mamercinus,
L. Furius Medullinus, a second time,
A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.

^l P. Cornelius Maluginensis,
Cn. Cornelius Cossus, a second time,
K. Fabius Ambustus,

Sp. Nautius Rutilus, a third time,
C. Valerius Potitus, a third time,
M. Sergius Fidenas.

^m M. Æmilius Mamercinus, a second time,
M. Furius Fusus,
Ap. Claudius Crassus,

L. Julius Iulus,
M. Quinctius Varus,
L. Valerius Potitus, a third time.

We may judge of the strength of Veii by the length of the siege, which (with various fortune) lasted ten whole years ; though perhaps this might be chiefly owing to the frequent changing of the generals who commanded the Roman armies. Doubtless these changes hindered the Romans from making a swifter progress in conquest. Had they been constantly governed by some one of those illustrious dictators, who were their last refuge in cases of extreme danger, they had soon been masters of Italy ; but such is the usual conduct of a republic, jealous of her liberty, she checks the rapidity of her victorious generals, lest she herself should become a part of their conquests. It was at this siege that the Romans are thought to have first invented those lines of circumvallation and contravallation, which have been since so much in use, at least this is the first time they are mentioned in Roman antiquity.

Year of
R O M E
350.
B. C. 402.

Twenty-
first mil.
trib.

The military tribunes, considering that Veii could not be taken but after a long siege, and then rather by famine than force, formed a design of keeping the army in the field all winter, and they began to erect wooden barracks for the men. The soldiers made no opposition to it, choosing rather to live in the camp at the public expense, than in Rome at their own : but the tribunes of the commons had no sooner heard of this, than they immediately made it a pretence to raise an outcry against the senate. They said in every assembly, that indeed they always feared the gifts of the senate concealed some fatal poison : that this new pay was only a bait which the patricians had made use of to deceive the people : that it was in truth the price of their liberty : that the military tribunes, in detaining the soldiers in the camp during winter, had visibly no other end, but to deprive the commons of so many votes : that the senate and patricians would now reign despotically in all the assemblies ; but that they ought to be

Plut. Life
of Camillus.
Liv, b. 5.
c. 2.

Year of
R O M E
350.
B. C. 402.

Twenty-
first mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 3—6.

made sensible, that they governed men who were free ; and that it was but fitting the poor citizen, who daily exposed his life in the defence of his country, should at the end of every campaign enjoy a little rest, and have the satisfaction of seeing his house, his wife, and his children, and of giving his voice in the election of the magistrates.

Appius, whom the other military tribunes had left at Rome to oppose the measures of the tribunes of the commons, being informed of these seditious speeches, called an assembly, and in a long harangue reproached those plebeian magistrates, that they studied nothing but to hinder all union between the two orders in the state : that they sought to create themselves employment, like knavish physicians : that their desire was to have the state always diseased, that they might ever be busy in the cure : that they seemed determined to like nothing which the senate did, let it be never so advantageous to the people : that as masters did not suffer their slaves to have any intercourse with the neighbours, lest they should be either well or ill used by them, so the tribunes for the same reason could not endure that the commons should have any intercourse with the nobles, and were enraged to see that the senate had shewn so much tenderness for the soldiers, as to allow them pay.

He added, “ Either we should not have undertaken this siege, or we should continue it. Shall we abandon our camp, the forts we have erected, our towers, our mantelets, and our gabions ; and so have all the same works to begin again the next summer ? And who will promise your tribunes, who give you such wholesome advice, that all Hetruria will not be at length prevailed upon by the Veientes to arm and come to their assistance, if we raise the blockade, and give them opportunity to renew their solicitations ? They may perhaps displace that governor, who is so disagreeable to the

Hetrurian states, or he may perhaps, for the sake of his country, resign his authority. The scene would be much changed, if those states should all unite against us. Who can assure you, that the Veientes, thus strengthened, will not next year invade and pillage our territory? And what a contempt will it bring upon the republic, if the nations, bordering upon Rome, and now jealous of her greatness, shall find that your generals, fettered by new laws of your tribunes, are unable to finish a siege, or keep the field a moment after the fine weather is over? Whereas, on the other hand, nothing will make the Roman people more formidable, than their shewing that no severity of the seasons is able to put a stop to their enterprises; and that they are firmly resolved to conquer, or die at the foot of the enemies' ramparts."

Year of
R O M E
350.
B.C. 402.

Twenty-
first mil.
trib.

Appius was already a match for the tribunes of the commons, even in their assemblies, when a loss, sustained at the siege, gave him a complete victory over them, and produced a surprising concord between the two orders at Rome. The Veientes, in a sally, surprised the besiegers, slew a great number of them, set fire to their machines, and ruined most of their works. This news, instead of depressing the spirits of the Romans, inspired them with new ardour for the continuation of the siege. The richer citizens, whose wealth qualified them to be in the first class among the Roman knights, but who not having yet received horses from the republic, were therefore not legally and actually knights, offered to mount themselves at their own expense. Acceptance, and a profusion of thanks from the senate, rewarded this generous offer. And no sooner did the report of it reach the Forum, but the commons came in crowds to the senate-house with a tender of their voluntary services (in the infantry) to be employed before Veii, or wherever it should be thought most proper; and they promised, in case they were led

Livy, b. 5.
c. 7.

Year of
R O M E
350.
B.C. 402.

Twenty-
first mil.
trib.

to Veii, never to leave the camp till the city was taken. The joy which had before filled the minds of the fathers, was now made to overflow by this extraordinary and unexpected zeal of the commons. These volunteers were not thanked and praised, as the cavalry had been, by some of the magistrates commissioned to that office, nor were any of them called into the house to receive an answer: the senators could not keep themselves within doors; out they ran, and every one in particular, by his words and gestures, expressed to the multitude (that were standing below in the comitium) the general gladness and exultation: "Happy, unconquerable, eternal, would Rome be made by this concord!" They praised the knights, they praised the commons, they extolled even the day, the glorious day! They confessed the senate to be outdone in kindness and benevolence. The senators and the people seemed to vie with each other in weeping tears of joy; till at length the fathers were called back into their house; and then they made a decree, That the military tribunes should, in an assembly of the people, give the due thanks to both cavalry and infantry, and assure them that the senate would be ever mindful of the affection they shewed for their country, and had come to a resolution to allow pay to all the volunteers. It was at this time, that the cavalry in general began to receive pay out of the public treasury.

The new army of volunteers were conducted to Veii; the works, that had been destroyed by the enemy, restored, new ones formed, and provisions conveyed from Rome to the camp, with more care and diligence than ever; so that nothing necessary might be wanting to soldiers who deserved so well of the republic.

§. II. THE Capenates and Falisci, nations of Hetru-
ria, nearest to the Veientes, and consequently most concerned in their preservation; armed privately, and joining their troops, surprised and attacked the Romans.

L. Virginius and M. Sergius,* both military tribunes,ⁿ commanded at this siege. The jealousy, so common between persons in equal authority, had set them at variance: each had a body of troops under his command, and had as it were a separate camp. The Capenates and Falisci attacked that of Sergius on one side, at the same time that the besieged made a sally, and attacked it on the other. The Roman soldiers, thinking they had all the forces of Hetruria to deal with, were dismayed, fought faintly, and rather to defend their own lives, than with hopes to vanquish the enemy. It was not long before they gave ground, fell into disorder, and ran away. Virginius could have saved his colleague's troops; his own were ranged in order of battle: but the animosity between the two generals was so great, that Sergius chose rather to perish than to ask the assistance of Virginius; and Virginius, on the other hand, would not give him any succour, unless he would send and beg it. The enemy profited by this division: Sergius's army fled in disorder to Rome, which was but six leagues distant from the camp, and the general went thither himself, not so much to justify his own conduct, as to set forth the baseness of that of his colleague.

Year of
R O M E
351.
B. C. 401.

Twenty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

* A second
time.
Livy, b. 5.
c. 8.

The senate hereupon sent orders to Virginius to leave his army under the command of his lieutenants, and repair immediately to Rome, to answer to the complaints which Sergius preferred against him. The dispute was managed with great acrimony, and the two military tribunes ran into invectives against each other before the senate. Each had his friends there who took his part. c. 9. The conscript fathers, to quiet the matter, thought it advisable to make a decree, that all the military tribunes of that year should resign their magistracies, and the people immediately proceed to a new election of military tribunes, who should enter on their office on the ca-

ⁿ The other four were, C. Servilius Ahala, a third time; Q. Sulpitius Camerinus, Q. Servilius Priscus; A. Manlius Vulso, a second time.

Year of
R O M E
351.

B. C. 401.

Twenty-
second mil.
trib.

lends of October. The four who had been in no fault acquiesced; but the two, on whose account this decree was proposed, begged of the senate that they might not be disgraced; and when they found that their entreaties were not regarded, they protested against the *senatus-consultum*, declaring that they would not resign their authority before the ides of December, the due time for its expiration.

The tribunes of the commons, who much against their will had been for some time quiet, laid hold of this occasion to break out, and make a figure. They threatened the two generals to send them to prison, if they did not obey the senate's orders. Servilius Ahala, one of the military tribunes, full of indignation at the haughty manner in which these plebeian magistrates treated his colleagues: "As for your threats, I should not be displeased with an opportunity of shewing, that you have as little courage to execute them, as you have right to utter them. But the decrees of the senate ought to be obeyed; and if my colleagues are refractory to its commands, I shall name a dictator, who will be able, without your interposition, to force them to quit their office."

Virginus and Sergius, finding it fruitless to resist any longer, abdicated their magistracy, and the people proceeded to a new election.

Year of
R O M E
352.

B. C. 400.

Twenty-
third mil.
trib.

* A fourth
time.

† A third
time.

‡ A second
time.

§ A second
time.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 11.

L. Valerius,* L. Julius, M. Æmilius,† Cn. Cornelius,‡ Cæso Fabius,§ and Furius Camillus, were chosen military tribunes. And these new governors had work enough upon their hands: they were to begin anew the siege of Veii, to keep the Falisci and Capenates in awe, and to recover Anxur, which the Volsci had taken the last year. Besides, the tribunes of the commons kindled fresh broils, when the armies came to be raised. They dissuaded the old soldiers, who were to stay in the city to guard it, from paying taxes, pretending they were exempted from that burden by being enlisted. And

the disturbances, occasioned by their seditious harangues, the levies, and collecting the tribute, were so great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new tribunes of the commons. Two were still wanting. The patricians at first endeavoured to get them supplied out of their body, but in vain. They then caballed to strike at the Trebonian law ;* and in the end prevailed to get two persons added to the eight, by the appointment of the majority of those eight. This was in effect to abrogate the Trebonian law. It happened, that among the tribunes of the commons, there was one C. Trebonius, who thought it a duty owing to his name and family, to take that law under his protection. He told the people that their interests were betrayed ; and he brought an odium upon those of his colleagues, who had ventured, of their own authority, to appoint two tribunes. The people were especially exasperated against three of the eight, P. Curiatus, M. Metilius, and M. Minutius : but these diverted the hatred of the public from themselves, by turning it against Sergius and Virginius, the two generals of the last year, whom they cited to appear in judgment before the people ; and they forgot nothing, upon this occasion, that might inflame the minds of the multitude, not only against the two persons accused, but against the whole body of the patricians. They said, That though the two generals laid the blame of their ill success on each other, Virginius reproaching Sergius with cowardice, and Sergius accusing Virginius of treachery, it was not probable that either of them acted this shameful part, but in concert with the body of the patricians : for that the study of the patricians was to protract the war ; to the end, that, the soldiers being kept in the field, the tribunes might not have a sufficient number of voters in the city to support their bill concerning the conquered lands, or any other bill that tended to the advantage of the commons.

Year of
R O M E
352.
B. C. 400.

Twenty-
third mil.
trib.

* Vid. su-
pra, c. 30.

Year of
R O M E
352.
B. C. 400.

Twenty-
third mil.
trib.

They added, That the accused had, in effect, been already condemned by the senate, the Roman people, and even their own colleagues. That the senate, by a decree, removed them from the government ; and when they refused to obey that decree, their colleagues constrained them to it by threatening to name a dictator. That the Roman people had created new military tribunes, and had directed them to enter on their magistracy, not on the 13th of December (the usual time), but on the 1st of October, because the republic could no longer subsist under the administration of Sergius and Virginus. And yet these men, so universally pre-condemned, had the folly to imagine, they were sufficiently punished by being reduced to the condition of private citizens, two months before the time ; whereas the abridging the duration of their magistracy was only a depriving them of the power of doing more mischief, not an infliction of punishment ; seeing their colleagues, who had certainly committed no fault, were removed from the administration at the same time with them. In conclusion, they admonished the people, To recall those dispositions which they lately felt, when they saw their routed affrighted army come flying to Rome, accusing, not fortune, nor the gods, but only the two generals. “ There is not one among you, who did not, that day, detest and curse Virginus and Sergius, and all that belong to them. Is it fit, that, after invoking the gods to punish these criminals, you yourselves, when you have them in your power, should shew them any indulgence ? The gods are never themselves the executors of vengeance upon unjust men ; it is sufficient that they furnish the injured with an opportunity of revenge.” The people, irritated by these harangues, would give no ear to Sergius’s plea of the chance of war, nor to Virginus’s entreaty, not to render him more unhappy at home than he had been in the field. They were each of them condemned in a fine of 10,000 asses of brass.

This prosecution had the designed effect ; the people were so intent upon it, that they forgot the Trebonian law, and their quarrel with the three tribunes.

Year of
R O M E
352.
B. C. 400.

§. III. ROME at this time received good news from all parts where the war was carrying on : but this did not put a stop to domestic seditions. The tribunes of the commons preferred two laws ; the first requiring a partition of the lands, the second excusing the people from any more contributions towards the soldiers' pay ; and in fact they would not suffer them to pay the taxes : so that the legions, being deprived of their subsistence, were ripe for a sedition.

Twenty-
third mil.
trib.

But all this bustle ended in getting five plebeians into the military tribuneship. P. Licinius Calvus, P. Mælius, P. Mænius, L. Titinius, and L. Publilius. Sp. Furius was the only patrician elected at this time.ⁿ [Livy says, that Licinius, though a plebeian, and never before in any public office, was an old senator.] The tribunes of the commons were so much rejoiced to see plebeians in the supreme magistracy, that they ceased their opposition to the tax ; the soldiers received their pay again, their courage was revived, they took Anxur from the Volsci, and carried on the siege of Veii with perseverance ; though they suffered much from the severe cold of the winter.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 12.

At the next elections, the centuries almost unanimously chose five military tribunes out of the plebeians, and only M. Veturius out of the patricians. These five were C. Duilius, L. Atinius, Cn. Genucius, M. Pomponius, and Volero Publilius. To hasten the reduction of Veii, the three armies of the last year joined their strength ; and they entirely defeated the forces of the Falisci and Capenates, who came to its relief. So com-

Year of
R O M E
353.
B. C. 399.

Twenty-
fourth mil.
trib.

ⁿ Livy reports, that the military tribunes, now chosen, were all patricians, except Licinius. But Pighius and others are persuaded, that the historian has here made a mistake ; all the names, except Furius, being names of plebeian families ; and three of them, viz. Mælius, Mænius, and Titinius, being the names of three plebeian military tribunes, chosen about four years after this time, according to his own account.

Year of
R O M E
354.
B. C. 398.

Twenty-
fifth mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 13, 14.

plete a victory made the administration of the plebeian military tribunes glorious in the eyes of the people ; but it was not happy. The extreme cold of the weather changed on a sudden to excessive heat ; and this occasioned a mortality both among men and cattle. The Sybilline books being consulted upon this occasion, the duumvirs pretended to find there a sort of expiation never before used in Rome ; it was called the lectisternium. They took down the statues of Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, Mercury, and Neptune, from their niches, and laid them on three beds placed about a table, on which magnificent repasts were served up to those deities for eight days together. These public ceremonies were imitated in private families. Every one kept open house for friends and strangers, and conversed friendly even with adversaries. All processes, disputes, and animosities were suspended ; nay, the prisoners were released from their chains, to partake of the public rejoicings, and it was a point of religion not to confine them again after the festival.

§. IV. THE patricians, taking advantage of the present disposition of the people, gave out, that the mortality was owing to the wrath of the gods, who, they said, were displeased, because in *comitia*, held with the sacred rite of observing the birds, honours were prostituted, and no regard had to the distinction of families. By a religious scruple, thus raised in the minds of the multitude, and by presenting to them, at the next elections, candidates of the greatest dignity and best families, the patricians carried a point which they had much more at heart than the business of the war—the recovering to their order the supreme magistracy, which they had seemed in danger of losing for ever.

* A fifth
time.

† A third
time.

‡ A second
time.

§ A second
time.

|| A second
time.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 15.

Val. Max.
B. 1. c. 6.

L. Valerius,* L. Furius,† M. Valerius, Q. Servilius,‡ Q. Sulpicius,§ and the famous Camillus,|| were chosen to be the six governors of the republic. This year the Romans had a prodigy to employ their attention. It

happened to be a dry summer ; but though there was little water in the rivers, springs, or marshes, the lake of Alba, that seldom rose so high as to the foot of the rocks which quite surrounded it, swelled on a sudden to such a height, as to reach the very tops of those rocks. This strange accident occasioned much discourse in the camp ; and, as in long sieges, the soldiers of the different parties sometimes become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their several posts. One day when they were scoffing at one another in relation to the siege, an old soldier of the Veientes cried out in an enthusiastic manner, “ Veii shall never be taken, till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba.” A Roman centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing what he said, and upon inquiry understanding that he was a diviner, contrived a stratagem, whereby he made him prisoner, and then carried him before the Roman general, who sent him to the senate. The old man affirmed to the fathers, that what he had declared was agreeable to an ancient tradition, written in some prophetic books in his country, and that, if the Romans could draw the water out of the lake, Veii would be taken : but he advised them to have especial care, that the drains, which should be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the sea. Though the senate were not disposed to an implicit faith in the diviner, yet they thought the matter of such importance, as to send a deputation of three patricians to Delphos, to consult the oracle upon it.

Year of
R O M E
355.
B. C. 397.

Twenty-
sixth
mil. trib.

Before the return of the deputies, the people had chosen six new military tribunes, all patricians.^o The Romans, during the siege of Veii, found themselves obliged this year to make head not only against the Volsci, Falisci, and Capenates, but against the Tarquinienses, new enemies from Hetruria, who had com-

Year of
R O M E
356.
B. C. 396.

Twenty-
seventh
mil. trib.
Livy, b. 5.
c. 16.

^o L. Julius Iulus, second time ; L. Furius, fourth time ; L. Sergius, A. Posthumus, A. Manlius, third time ; P. Cornelius, second time.

Year of
R O M E
356.

B. C. 396.

Twenty-
seventh
mil. trib.

Plut. in
Camillus,
p. 137.

Kircher,
b. 3.
Vet. Lat.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 17, 18.

mitted hostilities in the Roman territory. A. Posthumius and L. Julius (two of the governors), who had stayed in Rome, requested leave to raise troops to disperse them, and when the tribunes of the commons obstructed the levies, put themselves at the head of a small number of volunteers, and fetching a great compass about, surprised the Tarquinienses, as they were returning home, made a terrible slaughter of them, and recovered the booty they had seized.

In the meantime the three patricians returned from Delphos; and, to the astonishment of the senate and people, the answer of the Pythoness was perfectly conformable to the prediction and advice of the old diviner, whom, thereupon, they advised with concerning the necessary expiations to render the gods propitious. Then the Romans sent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields, by trenches. [This fine work subsists to this day, and the water of the lake Albano, which runs along Castel Gandolpho, passes through it.] But the oracle had likewise directed the Romans to re-establish the neglected ceremonies of religion, and to begin those again which had not been regularly performed. The first they interpreted of the *Feriæ Latinæ*, of late neglected; and they renewed the observation of them. And, as to the second, it was discovered, that the election of the present military tribunes had been defective, with regard to the auguries; whereupon they all abdicated, and, after a short interregnum, were succeeded by six new ones, all plebeians.^P Their administration was not prosperous. Atinius and

^P Livy tells us, that old Licinius Calvus, the first commoner ever raised to the military tribuneship, was now a second time named to that dignity by the majority of the *prerogative tribe*, i. e. of the tribe to whose lot it fell to vote first; but at his request, pleading age and infirmities, the people chose his son in his stead. From this passage in Livy, it appears, that the order established by Servius Tullus, in voting, had been changed; and that the classes and centuries were now blended with the tribes. See p. 93, 94. 238.

P. Licinius, L. Atinius, second time; P. Mælius, second time; L. Titinius, second time; P. Mænius, second time; C. Genucius, second time.

Genucius, two of them, marched with some troops to oppose an inundation of Hetrurians, who, not by order, but by permission of their governors, were coming to attack the Roman intrenchments before Veii: the tribunes fell into an ambush; Genucius was killed; and Atinius, though he rallied his men and retreated, durst not any more face the enemy in the open field. The news of this disaster so terrified the army before Veii, that it was with difficulty hindered from disbanding. Rome, in a yet greater consternation, had recourse, as in the most pressing and general calamities, to a dictator; appointing M. Furius Camillus to that supreme dignity. This elevation he owed wholly to the public danger and distress: a time when superior merit, without canvassing or intriguing, naturally gets into its right place. The change of the commander made a sudden change in every thing,—new hope—fresh courage—fortune seemed to turn at once in favour of the city.^a Camillus, having named, for general of the horse, P. Cornelius Scipio, and having rigorously punished those cowards, who, on the late alarm, had fled from the camp, he rode thither with all expedition to revive the courage of the soldiers; which done, he returned to the city to raise a new army. The people strove who should first list themselves under his banners; every body was for going to the wars with a general whom victory had never deserted. Nay, the allies (the Latins and Hernici), of their own accord, sent to offer him a strong supply of their ablest youth. The dictator marched from the city against the Falisci and the Capenates, whom, in the territory of Nepete, he defeated in a pitched battle; and, after this victory, which left him the country open, he repaired to the camp before Veii, restored military discipline, which of late had been very much slackened, invested the place more straitly, and strengthened his lines by several additional forts.

Year of
R O M E
357.
B. C. 395.

Twenty-
eighth
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 19.

^a Omnia repentè mutaverat imperator mutatus, alia spes, alius animus hominum, fortuna quoque alia urbis, videri. Liv. l. 5. c. 19.

Year of
R O M E
357.
B. C. 395.

Twenty-
eighth
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 20.

As the besieged defended themselves with no less courage than before ; and as Camillus perceived that he should not be able to carry by assault or open force, a town which had a whole army for its garrison, he had recourse to mines and sapping. His pioneers, whom he divided into six companies, relieved one another ; so that the work being carried on without interruption, they, in a short time, opened a passage under ground to the very citadel, the besieged suspecting nothing of the matter. The dictator, then thinking himself sure of conquest, sent to the conscript fathers, to know how they would have the spoils of the city disposed of. When the question came to be debated in the senate, old LICINIUS, whose opinion was the first asked by his son (now military tribune), answered, that he thought proclamation should be made, That whosoever of the citizens was desirous of sharing in the plunder of Veii, might repair to the dictator's camp. Appius Claudius spoke warmly against this bounty, as an unprecedented prodigality, and inconsistent with equity and sound policy. That if the senate were absolutely against bringing the whole produce of the spoil into the public treasury (though much exhausted), yet, at least the soldiers ought to be paid out of it, and the commons be thereby, in some measure, eased of their burden of taxes ; and that by this regulation, every family in Rome would have some advantage from the booty. To this Licinius replied, That the money, so reserved and appropriated, would be a source of endless discontent, occasion impeachments, and seditions, and motions for new laws. That it was better to conciliate to the senate the good-will of the multitude by a bounty, which would relieve their indigence (caused by the taxes they had paid for ten years together), and would make them taste the sweet fruits of persevering in a war, in which they might almost be said to have grown old. That what each man should take with his own hand from the enemy, and

bring home, would give him more pleasure than a gift of much greater value from the senate. That as it was only to avoid the bringing odium upon himself, the dictator had referred the matter to the senate, so the senate, from a like regard to themselves, ought to abandon the whole spoil to the people, and suffer every man quietly to enjoy what the fortune of the war should give him.

Year of
R O M E
357.
B. C. 395.

Twenty-
eighth mil.
trib.

This advice being thought the safer, prevailed; a proclamation was issued conformable to it, and hereupon prodigious numbers of the citizens immediately flocked to the dictator's camp.

Camillus, when he had taken the auspices, and ordered his troops to be ready for an assault upon the place, is said to have made the following vow and prayer: "O Pythian Apollo, it is by thy inspiration, and under thy guidance, that I am going to assault the city of Veii! and I do therefore vow to dedicate to thee the tenth part of the spoil which shall be taken in it. And, O Queen Juno, who now residest in Veii, vouchsafe to follow us victorious to our city, which shall thenceforward be thy city, where thou shalt possess a temple worthy of thy greatness!" To engage the whole attention of the besieged, so that they might as late as possible discover their danger from his mine, Camillus (whose army was now numerous enough for the purpose) caused an assault to be made on all sides of the place at once. This drew the citizens from all quarters to the ramparts, wondering what should be the cause of so sudden and furious an attack from the Romans, who for some days had been quite still. While the besieged were in this amazement, the Roman soldiers, who filled the mine, rising up in the middle of the temple of Juno, which stood in the citadel, sallied forth, and spread themselves in several bodies through the town. One fell upon the rear of those who were defending the walls, another broke down the gates; and the whole Roman army

Livy, b. 5.
c. 21.

C. 22.

Year of
R O M E
357.

B. C. 395.

Twenty-
eighth mil.
trib.

rushed into the place, putting all to the sword who did not surrender their arms. It is said, that the dictator, when he beheld the spoil, far exceeding his expectation both in quantity and value, lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed, That, if his prosperity, and the prosperity of the Roman people, should appear to gods or men excessive, the envy might be all spent upon him, rather than the public should feel even the smallest effects of it: and that after this prayer, as he was turning himself to the right he fell to the ground; an accident, says Livy, which, after the condemnation of Camillus and the destruction of Rome by the Gauls, was interpreted into an omen foreboding those events.^r The next day the prisoners of free condition were sold to the best bidder; and the money arising from thence the dictator transmitted into the public treasury, much to the dissatisfaction of the soldiers; though this was the only part withheld from them of the produce of the spoil. Nor did they hold themselves obliged to the dictator for what they brought away with them, because from a selfish motive he had referred a matter to the senate which it was in his own power to determine; nor did they think themselves obliged to the senate, but to the two Licinii only, father and son, who had made themselves the advocates of the people on this occasion.

When the conquerors had emptied Veii of all the riches that had belonged to men, they began to remove what belonged to the gods, and to remove the gods themselves; but this more like worshippers than plunderers. For they selected out of the whole army some of the youngest men, to whom, when their bodies were washed perfectly clean, and clothed in white, it was given in charge to transport Queen Juno to Rome.

^r According to Plutarch, Camillus prayed, that the public might suffer nothing, and he himself very little; and that he thought his prayer answered, by his falling down without hurting himself. Mr. Dacier is much displeased with this account, unworthy of the hero. Both Mr. Dacier and Gronovius suppose that Plutarch did not understand Livy's words: "Ut eam invidiam lenire suo privato incommodo [potius] quam minimo publico populi Romani liceret."

They entered her temple with reverence, and, at first, but lightly touched her, to see how she would take it : because, among the Hetrurians, it was not customary for any but a priest of a particular family to handle that image. As she gave no sign of anger, one of the lads, in a civil manner then asked her, “Are you willing to go to Rome, JUNO ?—“Yes, yes,” answered the rest, all together, “she is willing ; she gives a nod of assent ;” and hence (says Livy), a fabulous report, that she herself made the answer in words. He adds, “Certain it is, that she was easily moved from her place, and that they got her to Rome with as little trouble, as if she had followed them thither on foot.” They conveyed her safe and sound to the Aventine Hill, whither Camillus had invited her, and which was thenceforward to be the seat of her residence for ever : and there he dedicated a temple to her in discharge of a vow, which, to gain her favour, he had formerly made. Such, after a ten years’ siege, was the fate of Veii, the richest city of Tuscany ; it was once despoiled of its riches, its inhabitants, and its gods.

Year of
R O M E
357.
B. C. 395.

Twenty-
eighth mil.
trib.

CHAP. XXXVII.

- SECT. I. The people are much displeased with Camillus, on account of some singularities in the pomp of his triumph ; but much more for demanding back from them a tenth part of the spoil of Veii, to discharge a vow which he had made to Apollo just before the assault, and which he had afterward forgotten. The Roman ladies contribute their jewels to make a golden vase for Apollo. II. The next year (the republic being under the government of six military tribunes, all patricians) Sicinius Dentatus, a tribune of the commons, proposes that half of the senators, knights, and people of Rome, should remove to Veii, and settle there. After much struggle, Camillus and the other senators bring this project to nothing. III. Camillus is chosen one of the six military tribunes for the year following, and to him is committed the conduct of the war against the Falisci. He besieges Falerii, their capital city. A schoolmaster, to whom the sons of the chief inhabitants of the place are committed for education, betrays his trust, and puts all the children into the hands of Camillus. The Roman, detesting both the treachery and the traitor, makes the boys whip him back again into the town. The Falisci, moved by this generous action, submit to the Romans, who grant them peace on the condition only of paying the expenses of the campaign. During this transaction, two of Camillus's colleagues gain a victory over the Æqui. IV. The people, when the time comes for electing their tribunes, choose to the same office those of the old ones who had appeared for the proposal of removing half the people to Veii. On the other hand, the patricians get consular government restored. L. Lucretius and Servius Sulpilius are elected consuls. Sicinius, the tribune, author of the project of going to Veii, gets two of his late colleagues fined for having opposed it. This project is debated in an assembly of the people, and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The senate decree seven acres of the lands of Veii to every freeman of Rome. V. L. Valerius and M. Manlius are chosen consuls for the next year. The Volsinienses, a people of Hetruria, take arms against Rome. The consuls being seized with a contagious distemper resign the fasces. An interregnum ensues. And then six military tribunes are elected to the government.

Year of
R O M E
357.
B. C. 395.

Twenty-
eighth mil.
trib.
Livy, b. 5.
c. 23.

Plutarch in
Camillus,
p. 132.
Plin. b. 33.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 23.
Plat. in
Camillus,
p. 133.

§. 1. THE length of the siege, the dangers attending it, the uncertainty of success, the importance of the conquest, all these made the news of the taking of Veii be received at Rome with the utmost transport of joy : the temples were filled with Roman ladies, and four days were set apart for a public thanksgiving to the gods ; which had never before been practised in the republic upon the greatest success. The very triumph of the dictator had something new and singular in it. Camillus appeared in a stately chariot drawn by four horses, all milk-white, and he had coloured his face with vermilion.

White horses, since the expulsion of the kings, had been allowed only to Jupiter and the Sun ; and it was with vermilion the statues of the gods were commonly painted. In the midst therefore of the praises which the people gave the dictator, they could not without a secret indignation behold him affecting a pomp, which in a manner put him upon a level with the gods. Vanity

so impious much diminished the esteem and affection of the multitude for him ; and he had not long resigned his dictatorship, before he became perfectly odious to them. What partly occasioned this was the vow which, just before^s the assault upon Veii, he made (as we have before observed) to consecrate the tenth part of the booty to Apollo. Amidst the hurry and confusion of the plundering he remembered not his vow ; and when it returned to his mind [a year after], there could no easy means be found to make the soldiers give back the tenth of what they had got. In this perplexity the senate proclaimed, that all who were desirous to have a clear conscience, and secure prosperity to their families, should honestly compute the value of their booty, and bring the tenth part of that value to the quæstors, in order to make the god a present suitable to his majesty, and proportioned to the benefits received from him.

Year of
R O M E
357.
B. C. 395.

Twenty-
eighth mil.
trib.

This contribution, exacted at a wrong time, alienated the hearts of the people from Camillus. His vow, they said, was to give Apollo the tenth of the enemy's spoils, but that he performed it by tithing the goods of his fellow-citizens.

§. II. THE centuries chose six military tribunes,^t all patricians, for the new year. In the beginning of their administration, the Capenates sued for peace, and obtained it. The war with the Falisci went on. In the meantime, to quiet the discontented people at home, the senate decreed, that a colony of 3000 Romans should be sent into the country of the Volsci (who had lately made submissions), each man to have about three acres and a half of land : but when the time came for enrolling the names of those who were to form the colony, the plebeians expressed a contempt of the senate's bounty. Why should they be sent into banishment among the

Year of
R O M E
358.
B. C. 394.

Twenty-
ninth mil.
trib.
Livy, b. 5.
c. 24.

^s Plutarch says, that Camillus made this vow before he left Rome to go to the siege of Veii.

^t P. Cornelius Cossus ; P. Cornelius Scipio ; M. Valerius, second time ; Q. Fabius, third time ; L. Furius, fifth time ; Q. Servilius, second time.

Year of
R O M E
358.
B. C. 394

Twenty-
ninth mil.
trib.

Volsci, when the fair city of Veii, and its territory, more fertile and more ample than that of Rome, were before their eyes? Nay, Sicinius, one of the tribunes of the commons, preferred a bill for removing one half of the senate and people of Rome to Veii (a city better situated and better built than Rome); yet so, that the two cities should form but one commonwealth. He added, that the Romans would, by this means, more easily preserve their conquests. The chief nobles opposed his project with all their might (and they had gained over to their side some of his colleagues). They said, They would sooner die than suffer so mischievous a bill to pass into a law: a people so prone to civil dissension, when dwelling together in *one* and the same city,—what will be their temper when living separate in *two*?—Would any man in his wits prefer a conquered city to his own native city which had conquered it?—Would you have Veii, after its being subdued, exalted to be more considerable than it was before its reduction?—You may leave us here, if you please; but nothing shall ever engage us to relinquish the place of our birth, and, in order to follow the new founder, Sicinius, to Veii, forsake our god Romulus, the son of a god, and the father and founder of Rome.

In the struggle about this bill, nothing restrained the populace from blows and violence, but the deep-rooted respect which they had for the principal senators, who, whenever a shout was raised for beginning a scuffle, presented themselves to their fury, bidding them assault, strike, kill.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 25.

Camillus went about, loudly declaiming, That it was no wonder the people were seized with a madness, seeing they had nothing so little at heart as the performance of vows to the gods, after receiving the favours, to obtain which the vows had been made. He would say nothing of the ALMS given to Apollo, instead of the TENTH of the spoil: each of the individuals had bound

himself; so the state was free. But he was obliged in conscience to let them know one thing; that, though no mention had hitherto been made, but of the moveables, yet his vow to Apollo had comprehended the city of Veii, and all the territory belonging to it. The senate [pretending to be] perplexed with this new scruple, referred it to the pontiffs; and these (in concert with Camillus) declared, That a tenth of whatever had belonged to the Veientes before the dictator made his vow, and had, after his making the vow, fallen into the power of the Romans, ought to be sacred to Apollo. In consequence of this judgment, the city of Veii and its territory were appraised, and a tenth of the value was given out of the public treasury to the military tribunes, to purchase gold with it, that a golden cup, or vase, large and massy, might be sent as a present to Apollo. Gold being scarce, the ladies agreed among themselves to lend their toys and ornaments to the state. Never were the fathers better pleased with any thing, than with this complaisance of the sex; and, in return for it, a decree was made, that they should have the privilege of riding in covered chariots to the sacrifices and public games, and in open ones at all other times.

Year of
R O M E
358.
B. C. 394.

Twenty-
ninth mil.
trib.

The business of the vow thus settled, the tribunes of the commons began to stir again, and the multitude to vent their anger against all the principal senators, and especially Camillus, That by their reservations, and their consecrations, they had reduced the spoil of Veii to nothing. And finding that the affair of removing to Veii was not like to be determined this year, they chose again, to the plebeian tribuneship, the same men who had preferred the bill. On the other hand, the senate, by employing all their influence, got those tribunes re-chosen who had opposed the bill; so that there was little change in the college.

§. III. By a like exertion of the utmost strength, in the *comitia* held for electing military tribunes, the fathers

Livy, b. 5.
c. 26.

Year of
R O M E
359.
B. C. 393.

Thirtieth
mil. trib.

prevailed to have Camillus chosen to be one of the number. They pretended to want an able general for the war, but their real aim was to provide themselves with a champion able to make head against the tribunes of the commons, resolutely bent upon an Agrarian law, and an equitable partition of the lands of Veii. The five colleagues given him were all patricians.^u Things remained quiet till Camillus had taken the field; and even then the plebeian tribunes made little progress in their affairs; while he, their most formidable adversary, acquired new glory by his conduct in the war against the Falisci. The enemy for some time kept themselves shut up in Falerii, till the devastations made by the Romans, in the territory about it, provoked them at length to come out: their fear however hindered them from advancing farther than about a mile from the town, and they encamped in a place so strong by nature, that they thought it needed no other fortifications. Camillus nevertheless attacked them there, defeated them, and took their camp. The whole spoil he put into the quæstors' hands, much to the discontent of the soldiers; yet he kept them in awe by the strictness of his discipline; so that they hated him for the very virtue they admired in him. After this victory he invested Falerii, and surrounded it with lines, but at so great a distance from the walls, that there was more than sufficient room for the besieged to come abroad and take the air without danger.

The Falisci had brought from Greece the custom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to instruct them in all sorts of polite learning, and see them perform the exercises proper for their age. The children had used often to walk with their master without the walls of the city, before the siege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet, and at such a distance, were not great enough to make them discontinue

^u M. Furius Camillus, third time; L. Furius, sixth time; C. Æmilius; Sp. Posthumus; P. Cornelius Scipio, second time; L. Valerius Poplicola.

the practice. But the present schoolmaster proved a traitor. At first he led the youth only along the walls, then a little farther, and at length took his opportunity, and brought them through the Roman camp, quite to the general's tent; whom he accosted with telling him, that by putting those boys, the sons of the principal citizens, into his hands, the city in effect was delivered up to him. Camillus, struck with horror at the treachery, ordered his lictors to strip the traitor, tie his hands behind him, and then furnish the youth with rods, to whip him back again into the city. A little before, the Falisci had protested they would rather undergo the fate of the Veientes, than imitate the cowardice of the Capenates: but now they ardently desired peace; so deep an impression had the probity of Camillus made upon them. The deputies, whom they sent to him on this business, he suffered to proceed to Rome; where they addressed the senate in the following manner: "You and your general have gained a victory over us, which cannot be displeasing to gods or men. We submit ourselves to you, out of a persuasion that we shall live more happy under your laws than under our own. The Romans and Falisci are this day giving two great examples to mankind: you, in preferring an honourable action to victory; we, in rather yielding to the power of virtue than the force of arms." Camillus demanded of the Falisci a year's pay for his troops, and, having on that condition granted them peace, led back his army to Rome.

The applauses now given to Camillus by his fellow-citizens were much sincerer than those he had formerly received, when the white horses drew his triumphal chariot through the city. And the senate, ashamed perhaps of having delayed to discharge his vow to Apollo, deputed, at this time, three patricians, L. Valerius, L. Sergius, and A. Manlius, to convey the golden vase to Delphos. The long ship, on which these deputies embarked, was intercepted by some pirates from the isle of

Year of
R O M E
359.
B. C. 393.

Thirtieth
mil. trib.

Plut. Life
of Camillus,
p. 133, 134.
Livy, b. 5.
c. 27.

Year of
R O M E
359.
B. C. 393.

Thirtieth
mil. trib.

Liparæ ; and thither the captors carried their prize. But it luckily happened, that Timasitheus, this year chief magistrate of Liparæ, had as much religion as any Roman. For when he understood, that the treasure which had fallen into the hands of his people, was an offering designed for Apollo, in discharge of a vow ; and when he had farther learnt, that the three Romans were ambassadors ; he not only entertained them hospitably, but in person, with a squadron of ships (the pious pirates consenting to it), conveyed them to Delphos, and from thence (when they had made their offering) safe back to Rome : for which generous and religious proceeding, he received, in virtue of a decree of the senate, rich presents from the public ; and they made a league of hospitality with him.

War with the Æqui was carried on this year, under the conduct of Æmilius and Posthumius, with such various success, that neither the citizens at Rome, nor the soldiers in the field, could, for some time, tell which side had the better. At first, when the two generals acted in conjunction, they gained a victory ; but afterward when, separating, Æmilius thought fit to go to garrison Verrugo, and Posthumius to lay waste the enemies' borders, the troops of the latter, carelessly secure, and marching in disorder, were by the Æqui surprised, struck with terror, and put to the rout. They fled to some neighbouring hills ; and their fright communicated itself to the garrison at Verrugo. Posthumius, as soon as he had rallied his men, and posted them so as to be out of danger, reproached them bitterly with their coward-like behaviour. They confessed their fault, begged with earnestness to be instantly led to the attack of the enemy's camp (which was within sight, in the plain below), and declared they would submit to any punishments if they did not force it before night. The general commended their ardour, bid them refresh themselves, and be ready at the fourth watch. As the Æqui, to hin-

der the Romans from escaping to Verrugo, were guarding the road that led thither, the two armies met in that road. The battle began by moonlight, and the shouts of the combatants reaching Verrugo, the troops there, imagining that Posthumius's camp was assaulted, took a fright, and, notwithstanding all that Æmilius could say, fled for refuge to Tusculum. Thence flew a report to Rome, that Posthumius was killed, and his army defeated: but a letter, crowned with laurel, arrived from that general to the senate presently after, with an account of his having obtained a complete victory.

Year of
R O M E
359.
B. C. 393.

Thirtieth
mil. trib.

§. IV. THE bill for removing the Veii being still in suspense, the commons, when the time came for electing their tribunes, were for continuing those of the old ones who had proposed the bill; and the patricians endeavoured to get those reelected who had opposed it. The former prevailed in their own *comitia*. The promoters of the law were rechosen, and the opposers excluded: upon which the fathers in revenge made a decree that consuls should be chosen for the next year: L. Lucretius Flavius and Servius Sulpitius Camerinus were by the centuries raised to that dignity.

Under the new administration, Sicinius renewed his intrigues with more zeal than ever, to get the law passed for removing half of the people and of the senate to Veii. A. Virginius and Q. Pomponius, two of the last year's tribunes of the commons, who had distinguished themselves by their opposition to the law, were cited to appear before the tribes; and, notwithstanding all the influence of the senate in their favour, they were fined * 10,000 asses of brass: a sentence which gave great offence to the fathers. Camillus loudly inveighed against the commons, who, he said, were so blind, as not to see, that by their iniquitous sentence they had overturned the tribunitian power; inasmuch as they had deprived their tribunes of the privilege of INTERCESSION. But they deceived themselves if they imagined the senate would

Year of
R O M E
360.
B. C. 392.

Eighty-seventh con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 5.
c. 29.

*32l.5s.10d
Arbutnot.
Livy, b. 5.
c. 30.

Year of
R O M E
360.

B. C. 392.

Eighty-seventh consulship.

*Create a dictator.

endure an unbridled licentiousness in any of those magistrates. That, if the violence of some of the tribunes could not be repelled by the help of their colleagues, the fathers would * find another weapon! He likewise reproved the consuls for quietly suffering the two tribunes to be oppressed, who had done nothing but by advice of the senate, and had trusted to their promised protection. And, as to the law in question, he never ceased exhorting the fathers to oppose it with all their might; advising them to go down into the Forum (when the tribes should be assembled to determine the affair) as men prepared to fight in defence of their native land, the altars of their household gods, and the temples of the gods of their country. He added, “Were I at liberty to think of my own glory, when that of my country is in question, what could flatter my ambition more, than to see a city, which I have conquered, inhabited by Romans, who would be so many living witnesses of my victory, and where every object would be a monument of my glory? But I think it would be impious to repeople a city whose gods have deserted it, and shameful to prefer before your own country a country conquered by it.”

The senators, old and young, moved by these exhortations, went all in a body to the Forum, when the law was to be proposed, and dispersing themselves into their respective tribes, with tears in their eyes, conjured the people not to abandon “that city where they were born, and in defence of which both they and their ancestors had so bravely and so successfully fought.” Then pointing to the Capitol, the sanctuary of Vesta, and to the other temples all around, “Can you consent that the Roman people should be driven, like exiles, from their guardian gods, and their native country, to inhabit a city not long ago peopled by their enemies? Better had it been never to have taken Veii, than that Rome should be thus deserted.” As the patricians, abstaining from all violence, employed prayers and entreaties only

on this occasion, and made frequent mention of the gods, they, by raising a religious scruple in the minds of many, prevailed to have the law rejected, though it was only by a majority of one tribe. And now the senate were so pleased with this victory, that the next morning, at the request of the consuls, they made a decree, whereby they assigned seven acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition, that the former might be enabled to educate their children, and the latter be induced to marry.

Year of
R O M E
360.
B. C. 392.

Eighty-se-
venth con-
sulship.

§. V. ON the other hand, the people, obliged by this liberality, made no opposition to the election of consuls for the next year. L. Valerius Potitus and M. Manlius (afterward Capitolinus) were the persons chosen; and they began their year by performing a vow made by Camillus, when dictator, to celebrate the great games. (Of these there were two sorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of September, in honour to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; the other, called votive, or extraordinary, had no fixed day appointed for them, and were celebrated in honour of Jupiter only.)

Year of
R O M E
361.
B. C. 391.

Eighty-
eighth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 31.
Fast. Cap.
Cicero's
in Ver. 2.

The Romans, commanded by their two consuls, had this year a battle with the Æqui, whom they presently routed. Valerius, because he pursued the enemy farther, and killed more of them than Manlius did, was more honoured than he; Manlius had only an ovation; Valerius a triumph. In this same year war was declared against the Volsinienses and Salpinates (nations of Hetruria), who, joining their forces, had, without provocation, made an incursion on the lands of the republic. No army, however, could, for some time, be led against these new enemies, because a famine and pestilence, occasioned by an excessive hot and dry season, then raged in the Roman territory. C. Julius, one of the censors, being carried off, L. Cornelius was substituted in his place, a thing afterward deemed inauspicious, because Rome was

Year of
R O M E
361.
B. C. 391.

Eighty-
eighth con-
sulship.

taken in that lustrum: nor after this time did the Romans ever substitute, in the place of a censor who died in his office, another person to be colleague to the survivor. The consuls too falling sick, the senate decreed that they should abdicate; and an interregnum ensue. Camillus was created *interrex*, and succeeded by Cornelius Scipio, and he by Valerius Potitus. This last held an assembly for the election of six military tribunes, that in case some of the supreme magistrates should be seized with the distemper, there might yet be others in a condition to take care of the public.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

362.

Camillus
banished.
King
Brennus.

SECT. I. An accusation is brought against Camillus, for having taken to his own use some part of the spoil of Veii. To avoid the disgrace of a condemnation, he banishes himself. II. Shortly after, Clusium in Hetruria being besieged by the Gauls under king Brennus, the inhabitants implore the assistance of the Romans. Three brothers of the name of Fabius are sent ambassadors from Rome to mediate a peace between the contending powers. Brennus gives them a haughty reception. The Fabii, young and indiscreet, having entered the town, put themselves at the head of the Clusians, and make a sally with them against the besiegers. Q. Fabius with his own hand kills one of their captains. Brennus, provoked at this breach of the law of nations, raises the siege, and marches straight towards Rome. He sends a herald, and demands that the ambassadors be delivered up to him. The Romans, instead of complying with this demand, choose the Fabii to the military tribuneship, and place them at the head of the army which is to act against the Gauls. III. Brennus gives the Romans a total overthrow on the banks of the Allia. The third day after the battle, he enters Rome, the gates of it being left open; most of the citizens fled, and the senate, with all they were capable to bear away, retired into the Capitol. Brennus finds about eighty venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death, sitting in the Forum in robes and chairs of state. They are all slain. The Capitol is invested, and the city burnt. IV. Camillus (who in his exile resided at Ardea) puts himself at the head of the Ardeates, surprises and cuts off some detachments of Gauls sent out to plunder the country. Upon the report of this action, the Romans, who were dispersed about the territory of Rome, assemble, and send a request to him to be their general. He declines it; till a young man, dispatched away to the Capitol for that purpose, brings him from the senate a commission, which constitutes him dictator. V. While Camillus is assembling an army, the Gauls attempt to scale the Capitol in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is discovered by the cackling of some geese. The assailants are repulsed, chiefly by the bravery of M. Manlius. Camillus hinders all provisions from coming to the enemy. VI. Both besiegers and besieged being distressed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The Romans are to purchase a peace with 1000 pounds' weight of gold. While the gold is weighing Camillus arrives: he breaks off the treaty, and forces the Gauls to raise the siege and quit the country. VII. Rome being destroyed, the tribunes renew the proposal of removing to Veii. Camillus (who is continued in the dictatorship the whole year, opposes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a centurion is what determines the people to stay and rebuild the city. Manlius is rewarded. Q. Fabius, the ambassador, who by his blamable conduct had provoked the Gauls against Rome, kills himself to avoid a public condemnation. VIII. Before the end of the next year (during which the commonwealth is governed by six military tribunes) the city is entirely rebuilt.

363.

Rome
burnt.

M. Manlius.

364.

365.
Rome re-
built.

§. I. **L. LUCRETIVS**, Serv. Sulpitius, M. Æmilius, L. Furius,* Agr. Furius, and C. Æmilius,† the six new governors of the republic, entered on their office the 1st of July. The war with the Volsinienses fell by lot to Lucretius and Æmilius; that with the Salpinates to Agrippa Furius and Sulpitius. A total defeat, suffered by the Volsinienses, taught them prudence, so that they begged a truce from the Romans; which was granted for twenty years upon conditions. As for the Salpinates, they were so terrified by the defeat of the Volsinienses, that they durst not appear in the field, but left their country open to be pillaged.

Year of
R O M E
362.

B. C. 390.

Thirty-first
mil. trib.

* A seventh
time.

† A second
time.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 32.

At this time, one Cœditius, a man of the lowest rank, pretended to have heard a miraculous voice, which pronounced distinctly these words, “Go to the magistrates, and tell them, the Gauls draw near.”^x The meanness of the man made the military tribunes despise the warning; and, notwithstanding the daily conquests made by the Gauls, the Romans appear plainly, by their manner of treating the great Camillus (their only general capable of making head against such formidable neighbours), to have had no apprehension of any danger from them. Apuleius, one of the tribunes of the commons, summoned him to appear before an assembly of the people, and answer to the accusation of having robbed the public of some of the riches of Veii, of which charge certain brass doors, seen in his house, were said to be a proof.

Plut. in Ca-
millus, p.
134.

Ib. p. 135.
Livy, b. 5.
c. 32.

Camillus was, at this time, in excessive affliction for the death of a son; and therefore, on receiving the summons, he sent to the great men, formerly his colleagues in office, to his friends, his clients, and the chief men of his tribe, to come to him at his house. His purpose was to sound their thoughts and dispositions. When the assembly, which was very numerous, had considered of the matter, they answered, that they would willingly

^x Camillus afterward erected a temple to the unknown divinity who made this revelation; and the Romans coined for him the name of Aius Locutius.

Year of
R O M E
362.
B. C. 390.

Thirty-first
mil. trib.

pay the fine in which he should be condemned ; but that it was not in their power to acquit him. Hereupon, he chose rather to banish himself from Rome, than present to undergo the shame of a condemnation. It is said, that when he came to one of the gates of the city, he stopped, and turning towards the Capitol, prayed to the gods, that his ungrateful countrymen might quickly have cause to repent their having repaid his services with so sharp an outrage. Having thus cursed his fellow-citizens, as Achilles did the Greeks, he retired to Ardea, a city not far from Rome, and, in his absence, was fined fifteen thousand asses of brass [about forty-eight pounds of our money].

Livy, b. 5.
c. 33.

The destruction of Rome, by the Gauls, following so closely these transactions, it is no wonder, that the multitude, always superstitious, ascribed it to the anger of the gods on account of the injustice done to Camillus.

* Chiusi.
† Tuscany.

§. II. HE was no sooner gone, than envoys arrived from the inhabitants of Clusium,* in Hetruria,† imploring the assistance of the republic against an army of Gauls, which had made an irruption into Italy, and now besieged their city. The occasion of the siege was this :

Plut. vita
Camilli, p.
135, 136.

Aruns, a native of Clusium, a man well born, was guardian to an orphan, named (or perhaps styled) Lucumo, the richest and the handsomest youth in the place. The ward, who had been brought up, from his infancy, in the house of Aruns, could not find in his heart to leave it, even when arrived at that age which puts a young man under his own direction : he had such an esteem and affection for his guardian, that there was no possibility of living without his company. It appeared, however, after some time, that the chains which held our pupil so fast bound in the place of his education, were not the virtues of Aruns, but the charms of his wife. The passion being mutual, and growing too violent to be either conquered or concealed, Lucumo carried off the lady, avowed the action, and kept

her publicly. To obtain reparation of honour, by course of law, was attempted in vain: large bribes and the numerous adherents to the ample fortune of Lucumo, enabled him to triumph over the complaints of an injured husband, not so rich as he. Aruns, despairing of justice, applied his thoughts to revenge. The state was now become guilty of the cruel injury and affront which he had received from his ward. Against Clusium therefore he aimed the meditated mischief, forming a design to reduce the city under the domination of an army of foreign freebooters. He knew, that, from several cantons of Gaul,^y multitudes of men had been formerly

Year of
R O M E
362.
B. C. 390.

Thirty-first
mil. trib.

^y Gaul was anciently divided into three parts. The first, which reached from the British sea to the Seine, was called (by the Romans) Gallia Belgica. The second, which comprehended all the country between the Seine and the Garonne quite to the Alps, they named Gallia Celtica. The third, containing all that tract of ground which lies between the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the Western Ocean, was called Gallia Aquitanica.

The only Gauls who at several times crossed the Alps and settled in Italy were the Celtæ, or the inhabitants of Gallia Celtica. About the year of Rome 160, during the reign of Tarquin the Elder, Ambigatus, king of the Celtæ, finding his dominions overstocked with ungovernable subjects, sent away vast numbers of them to seek their fortune under the command of his two nephews, Segovesus and Bellovesus. The former took his way through the Hercinian Forest (of which the present Black Forest was but a small part) and settled in a canton of Germany, ever since called Bohemia or Boiemia, from the word Boii, the greatest part of his followers being of that Celtic nation, which was so named. But these being afterward driven thence by the Marcomani or Sclavonians, retired into that country which lies between the Inn and the Iser, and which from them took the name of Boiaria or Bavaria.

Bellovesus was followed by great numbers of almost all the other Celtic nations, as well as of the Boii. He crossed the Rhone, spread his army over Dauphiny and Provence, and at length entered Italy, between the mountains Genevre and Cenis. At this time the Hetrurians or Tyrrhenians possessed the better part of it. Bellovesus having defeated them in a battle on the banks of the Ticin, drove them before him, and took possession of their lands, each of the nations which followed him having its distinct portion of the conquered countries. The Taurini, or the inhabitants of the mountains on the side of Gaul, had Piedmont, the capital of which is Turin. Those inhabitants of Provence, who were called Salyes, had Liguria. The Libici, another people of Provence, were placed on the north side of the Po, where Verceil now is. The Insubres or Burgundians settled in the fine country of the Milanese, and there built a town, which they called Mediolanum (Milan), from the name of a little city in the territory of the Autunois, in Burgundy. The Orobii, who had dwelt on the banks of the river Orobis in the country now called Languedoc, settled in the territory of Bergamo, and built both the city of that name, and Como, but retained their old appellation of Orobii. Bellovesus seems not to have carried his conquests farther than this, nor to have brought into Italy all the nations which had engaged to follow him.

A second irruption into Italy was made by the Cœnomani (or those people of Gallia Celtica who dwelt between the mouths of the Seine and the Loire), under the conduct of one Elitonis. He was probably followed likewise by the Bretons of Vannes, and the Carnutes. These new adventurers are said to have been tempted to cross the Alps by the wine which Bellovesus sent them. The Gauls were at this time almost perfect strangers to wine; nay, so late as the time of Julian the Apostate, there was none made in France, at least in the neighbourhood of Paris. The Cœnomani settled themselves north-east of the Insubres, and possessed the present Bres-

Year of
R O M E
362.
B. C. 390.

Thirty-first
mil. trib.

1 Esdr. iii.
18.

drawn into Italy by the allurements of its delicious wines: and it is said, that the Senones (who possessed that part of Gaul, which lies to the south-east of Paris, and whose capital city was Sens) being hitherto unacquainted with that sort of liquor, he therefore chose to address himself to them, in the hope of gaining them to his purpose, by the means of some excellent wine, which he carried with him. It prevailed against all objections.

["O ye men, how exceeding strong is wine!"] A numerous army of these Gauls, guided by the Hettrurian fugitive, passed the Alps, and, without disturbing the Celtæ, in Italy, fell down upon Umbria, and possessed themselves of all the country, from Ravenna to Picenum, comprehending the present duchy of Urbino. They are supposed to have been there about six years, when (in the year of Rome 362) to reward their guide, by revenging his quarrel, they undertook the siege of Clusium.

Livy, b. 5.
c. 35—55.
Plut. in Camillus, p.
136—145.

The Clusians had no alliance with Rome, nor any claim to her friendship, unless it were by their not having armed in defence of their countrymen, the Veientes, when the Romans besieged Veii: nevertheless, they sent ambassadors to crave the aid of the republic. Succours the senate did not grant; but commissioned three patricians, the sons of M. Fabius Am-

ciano, Cremonese, and Mantua, on the north side of the Po. The Veneti, or the Bretons of Vannes, settled more eastward, on the borders of the Adriatic gulf, and the country still retains the name of Venetia, which it received from them. As for the Carnutes, they went farther north, and took possession of the territory called from them Carniola.

It is uncertain from what part of Gaul the Læves (or Lævi) and the Ananes (or Anamares) came, who made the third irruption into Italy; but the historians agree, that the Lævi seized the country of Novara, on the north side the Po; and that the Ananes settled in the neighbourhood of Placenza, on the south side of that river.

The fourth migration of Gauls into Italy was when the Boii and Lingones passed the Alpes Peninæ, or mount St. Godard, and settled on the south side of the Po, between Bologna and Ravenna.

The Hettrurians being driven out of their old habitations by these inundations of strangers, passed the Apennines, and retired into that country, which has been ever since called Hettruria, or Tuscany. It was divided into twelve lucumonies, and reached from the Arno to the Tiber: being bounded to the north, by the Apennines; and to the south, by the Tyrrhenian sea. And we are not told, that the Hettrurians were any more disturbed by the Celtæ, from the year of Rome 156 to the year 356.

It was 300 years after the invasion by Bellovesus, that the Senones made the fifth irruption into Italy. C. & R.

bustus, to go to the camp of the Gauls, and, in the name of the senate and people of Rome, admonish them to forbear hostilities against the Clusians, from whom they had received no injury. The three brothers having delivered their errand, in a council expressly summoned to give them audience, Brennus, the king (or chief commander), answered, laughing, "No injury! Yes, indeed, the Clusians have done us a great deal of wrong: for they have more land than they are able to cultivate, and yet have refused to give a part of it to us, who are strangers and numerous, and very poor. They do us the same wrong that every powerful nation receives from its weaker neighbour, whom it has not yet subdued. The most ancient of all laws ordains, that the weak should yield to the strong, and the brave be lords of the world."²

Year of
R O M E
362.
B. C. 390.
Thirty-first
mil. trib.

This haughty answer left the Fabii no hope of effecting an accommodation; and it would seem, that through the excess of their anger, they forgot their character of ambassadors. For they soon after put themselves at the head of the Clusians, when these made a sally; and Quintus Fabius had the fortune to kill a general of the enemy, remarkable for his advantageous stature, and gallant appearance. At first, the Gauls mistook the victor for an Hetrurian; but while he was stripping the vanquished of his armour, Brennus perceived, that he was one of the Roman ambassadors, who, violating the law of nations, had thus taken part with the besieged. Instantly he ceased the fight, and sounded a retreat from before Clusium: Rome was now his object. Some of his officers would have had him march thither without the least delay. The advice of the elder sort prevailed: Brennus, before he set forward, dispatched a herald to

² Plutarch makes Brennus speak, as if he were acquainted with all the petty wars which Rome had made upon her neighbours, the Albans, the Fidenates, the Ardeates, the Volsci, &c. But Livy represents the Gauls (in their answer to the ambassadors) as strangers to the Roman name, "*Etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum,*" &c. b. 5. c. 36.

Year of
R O M E
362.
B. C. 390.

Thirty-first
mil. trib.

demand of the Romans, that, in satisfaction for the injury done by their ambassadors, these, as the law of nations required, should be delivered up to the Gauls.

The demand did not appear unreasonable to the conscript fathers; the priests especially and the *feciales* [the Roman heralds] declared, that it was perfectly just. Nevertheless, as it concerned persons of high birth, and great credit, the senate would determine nothing; but referred the matter to an *assembly of the people*: and so powerful an influence had Fabius Ambustus, the father of the ambassadors, on the multitude, that they not only decreed to send back the herald without the satisfaction required, but chose the delinquents to be three of the six military tribunes for the new year.^a

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-
second mil.
trib.

Brennus, on the return and report of his herald, put his army in march with all expedition.^b Observing that the inhabitants of the villages fled, in a fright, at his approach, he caused it to be proclaimed, wherever he passed, that his arms were bent against the Romans only, and that to Rome he was going.

The Romans (as Livy observes) seem to have been, at this time, infatuated. In their petty wars with the Fidenates, Veientes, and other neighbours, it had been their usual practice, on occasions of extraordinary distress or danger, to create a dictator; in whose single and absolute authority they always found great advantages, with respect both to the levying soldiers for the war, and to the maintaining discipline in the field; and the person chosen to this high office, was ever from among their ablest and most approved generals: but now, when threatened by a far more dreadful enemy than the most potent of the neighbouring states, they neglected an expedient so successfully tried, and committed the con-

^a Fabius, Cæso Fabius, Caius Fabius, Q. Sulpitius, Q. Servilius, a fourth time, Ser. Cornelius.

^b Diod. Sic. lib. 4. makes Brennus wait the arrival of a reinforcement from Gaul, before he begins his march; and this delay will give time (which otherwise it will be hard to find) for the solicitations of Fabius the father, and the new elections.

duct of an army, on which the preservation of Rome depended, to six commanders, equal in authority, most of them young, and of more spirit than capacity.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

With a large body of troops, levied in the haste of a general consternation, they marched out, and met the Gauls near the place where the river Allia falls into the Tiber, about eleven miles from the city. And here they immediately presented battle to the enemy, without having taken any of those previous measures, which were customary, and which prudence and the superstitious prejudices of the soldiers required. No fortified camp behind them, to retreat to in case of a disaster; a total neglect of religion; no sacrifices, no auspicia, no promise of victory from bird nor beast. Fearing to be surrounded by the Gauls, superior in number,^c they thinned their centre (weakening it too much), in order to extend their wings, and make their line of an equal length with that of the enemy; which, nevertheless, they did not effect. Wherefore, to defend their right flank (for their left was defended by the Tiber), they posted a body of reserve on a small hill, which stood on the right of their battalia. Brennus, suspecting that these troops were to fall on his flank or rear, during the heat of the engagement, thought it expedient to begin by dislodging them from their post. While this was doing, a panic seized the main army of the Romans. Entire, unattacked, and without striking a stroke, they turned their backs, and fled; so that not one soldier fell in battle; great numbers in the rout. The troops of the left wing threw themselves into the Tiber, where many were drowned; but the greater part, escaping both that danger and the darts of the pursuers, got safe to Veii; from whence they neither attempted to go

Thirty-
second mil.
trib.

^c Diodorus Siculus reports (b. 4.) that the Gauls were 70,000 strong. Plutarch says, the Roman army amounted to 40,000 men, and was equal in number to the Gauls.

Livy, Diod. Siculus, and Plutarch, differ in some circumstances of this action, but agree in the main.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-
second mil.
trib.

home, nor even sent thither any advice of their defeat. The whole right wing made the best of their way to Rome, and, when they had entered the city, without stopping to shut the gates after them, fled for refuge into the citadel.

If the Gauls had closely pursued these terrified legions in their flight, nothing could have hindered the total extinction of the Roman name. But the conquerors, not imagining their victory to be so complete as it was, lost three days in banquetting and dividing the spoil; so that the Romans (who despaired of preserving the city) had time to secure the fortress of the Capitol.^d Provisions, arms, every thing necessary for defence, were, with the utmost diligence, conveyed into it. Thither the strength of the senate, and all the citizens, able to bear arms, retired, not excluding their wives and children from that asylum. As for the old men, not capable of either serving the public, or shifting for themselves, it was thought the loss of them might be easily borne, seeing they were a generation, that, by the course of nature, must very soon go off the stage. And, in order to induce the multitude of superannuated men of the lower rank to acquiesce the more readily in their being left in the city to the mercy of the Gauls, some ancient consulars and victorious generals, who had been honoured with the triumph, declared publicly, that “they would die with them: these bodies, too weak to support the weight of arms, too weak to be employed in defence of our country, ought not to be a burden upon those who are armed for its preservation, and who may soon be distressed by a scarcity of provisions:” then, turning to the soldiery, and following them all the way to the citadel, pathetically recommended “to their

^d Thus writes Plutarch: Livy tells us, that the Gauls did march to Rome the very day of the victory, and arrived there before sunset; but finding the gates open, and the walls without soldiers to defend them, astonishment, and the apprehension of some stratagem, to be executed by the Romans in the night, made Brennus encamp at a small distance from the town. Livy, b. 5. c. 39.

bravery and youthful vigour, the defence of what remained of a state, that for more than 360 years had, in all its wars, been victorious." But when the moment came that these venerable elders, and the young men, were to take a final leave of each other, deep was the distress which that scene exhibited; and it was made consummate by the weeping and lamentations of the women, distractedly running to and fro, from their husbands to their sons, from their sons to their husbands, asking now these, now those, "What shall we do?" irresolute, undetermined which to follow—whose fate to share.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

A great number of the women, however, though not invited, followed their relations into the citadel, nobody opposing it; for how inconvenient soever the admitting them might prove, there was no avoiding that inconvenience without being inhuman. The remaining multitude (which consisted chiefly of the populace), too numerous to be lodged within a fortress that stood on so small a hill, or to be fed there, if it could have contained them, poured forth from the city in a mighty throng, passing over the bridge Sublicius to the Janiculum; from whence they dispersed themselves about the country, having neither leader to conduct them, nor any concerted scheme to follow.

In the meantime, the priest of Romulus and the vestals, after consulting together, agreed to hide, underground, such of the holy things as they could not carry off; which done, these likewise (bearing, as it is said, the sacred fire, and other important matters) made the best of their way to the Janiculum;^e and from thence

^e Livy tells us, (b. 5. c. 40.) that one Albinus, a plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a cart to some place of safety, observing the holy virgins, with their holy burdens, ascending the Janiculum on foot, thought it irreligious to let his family ride while the vestals walked; and therefore, making his people alight, he put the priestesses, and their sacred cargoes, into the cart, and conducted them to Cære.

Here they met with a favourable reception, and because the vestals remained at Cære, and continued to perform the rites of religion there, those rites were thence called ceremonies from *cære*, and *manere* to remain. Val. Max. b. 5. c. 39.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

they were conducted to Cære in Hetruria, where they continued to perform their accustomed religious rites and worship of the gods.

When the crowd of superannuated patriots had, by their advice and exhortations to the soldiers, done all that was in their power towards the defence of the Capitol, they returned to their houses, there to wait, with steady resolution, the coming of the enemy, and death. Such of them as had triumphed for victories, or had been curule magistrates, that they might die with the greater dignity, adorned themselves with the insignia of those honours which they had acquired by their virtue. Clothed in their triumphal robes, or in those of their magistracies, they repaired to the Forum,^f and seating themselves there, in their curule chairs, maintained the same respectable air of greatness, as when in the fulness of their former power.

Some say, that the pontifex maximus pronounced over these ancients the form of words prescribed in cases of self-devotement; which was a high point of religion and virtue among the Romans, they believing that the voluntary sacrifice, which their leaders made of their own lives to the infernal gods, brought confusion and destruction upon the enemy.

As the Gauls had met with little resistance from the Romans in the field, and were not put to the trouble of an assault to take the city, they entered it (at the gate Collina) without any thing, in their appearance, of hostile anger, that raging flame kindled by opposition, difficulty, and danger. Moving on, they beheld, with amazement, the streets unpeopled as a desert; and when they came to the Forum, and cast their eyes all around, they could observe no show of war but in the citadel alone. What chiefly drew and fixed their attention, was the company of venerable victims, who had

^f Livy says, that they seated themselves in the porches or halls of their own houses.

devoted themselves to death. Their magnificent purple robes, their long white beards, their air of greatness, their silence, stillness, and serenity—all these astonished the Gauls, held them at an awful distance, and inspired them with the same respect which they would have had for so many gods. It chanced, however, that one of the soldiers (who was, probably, less apt to be religiously affected than his comrades) took the freedom gently to put his hand towards the beard of Manius Papirius, as if he meant to stroke it; a familiarity which so offended the majestic figure, that with a smart blow of his ivory truncheon, he broke the fellow's head. There needed no more to put an end to all reverence for such a choleric deity. The Gaul instantly killed Papirius; and, as if, by this, he had given the signal for a general massacre, all the rest were now slain, sitting, like him in state, in their curule chairs. After which, Brennus having properly posted a guard to prevent any attack, from the citadel, upon his men, when divided and dispersed about the city, these betook themselves to plunder and destroy: they spared not a mortal, made no distinction of age or sex; and when they had rifled the houses, set some of them on fire.

The first day no great execution was done upon the houses; which makes it doubted, whether the Gauls originally intended to destroy Rome totally, or whether, by letting the Romans see part of the city in flames, they meant to terrify them, and engage them to a surrender, by the hope of saving the remainder. Be that as it will, the garrison of the Capitol were steady in their resolution not to yield; and the Gauls proceeded to lay all Rome level with the ground. Instead of a considerable city, nothing now was to be seen but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waste, in which Brennus encamped his army, investing the citadel.^g

^g Livy (b. 5. c. 46.) relates that one Fabius Dorso, being obliged on a certain day to perform a sacrifice to the tutelar gods of his family, and the hill Quirinalis being

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

Year of
R O M E
363.

B. C. 389.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

Once he attempted to scale the hill on which that stood, but without success: the Romans met their enemies in the midway of the ascent, and having so great advantage of the ground, easily repulsed them; and the Gauls became sensible that they could never, by assault, possess themselves of the place. It was determined, therefore, that one part of the army should blockade it, while the other made incursions into the adjacent countries for provisions.

§. IV. FORTUNE conducted these foragers to the neighbourhood of Ardea, whither Camillus, in his exile, had retired. This great man, less afflicted for his own misfortunes than for the calamities of his country, and watchful to seize every opportunity of serving her, received intelligence, that the Gauls, secure in the terror of their arms, preserved no order nor discipline in their marches; that they spent whole days in drinking; and that neither officer nor soldier dreamt of other enemies beside those who were blocked up in the Capitol. Thus furnished with arguments, he addressed himself to the magistrates, and obtained their permission to lead out, against the common enemy, the youth of the city. These were very willing to follow him. He chose the dead of night for his expedition; and, surprising the Gauls, unarmed and asleep, made a dreadful slaughter of them; and those that escaped under shelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peasants, who gave them no quarter.

The news of this action was quickly spread far and wide. It gave fresh courage to the Romans, who had taken refuge in Veii. These formed a pretty strong body: they had just cut off two parties of Hettrurian pillagers; and their strength was now increased by the

the only place where this sacrifice could regularly be performed, when the day came, he dressed himself like a sacrificer, came out of the Capitol, carrying his gods with him; and that the Gauls, out of a regard to religion, suffered him to pass to the place appointed, and to return in safety to the citadel, after he had offered his sacrifice.

coming of those soldiers who, after the defeat at the river Allia, had dispersed themselves about the country.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

All in general looked upon Camillus as their last resource, and earnestly wished to have him for their leader.

Thirty-second mil.
trib.

“He is no longer an exile. Rome is no more : we have now no country. Why must the Ardeates, who are strangers, acquire glory under the conduct of Camillus, while we, once his fellow-citizens, lie idle, and see our country possessed by the Gauls?” They presently sent deputies with an humble request to him to be their commander.

Camillus would not take the command of the Romans upon him,^h without the approbation, first obtained, of the senate in the Capitol. To learn the senate’s pleasure was very difficult, the place being invested by the enemy. Nevertheless, a young man, named Pontius Cominius, undertook it. He put on a light habit, provided himself with cork, and in the beginning of the night threw himself into the Tiber above Rome. The stream carried him undiscovered to the foot of the capitoline hill ; and at a very steep place, where the Gauls had placed no centinels, he mounted with difficulty to the citadel. Having made himself known to the guard, he was straight admitted into the place, and conducted to the magistrates. These, without delay, assembled the senate : the deputy gave them an account of Camillus’s victory, and, in the name of all the Romans at Veii, requested that they might have him for their general. Not much time was spent in debates : the senate decreed, That Camillus should, by an act of the people, assembled by *curiæ*, be recalled from banishment, and, by the authority of the people, be immediately appointed dictator. Pontius, with the same good fortune that had attended him in going to the Capitol,

^h Livy makes the people themselves have this scruple. “Consensu omnium placuit, ab Ardea Camillum acciri ; sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romæ esset, adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant.” B. 5. c. 46.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
tb.

got back to Veii, bearing this decree; and the Romans in *comitia curiata* joyfully made a law conformable to it.

Thus was Camillus from the state of banishment raised at once to be the sovereign magistrate of his country. On notice of the honour done him he repaired to Veii, and there quickly saw himself at the head of above forty thousand men, Romans and allies.

§. V. WHILE he was preparing to march against the enemy, the Capitol had like to have been taken by surprise. Some Gallic soldiers having spied on the side of the hill the prints of Pontius's hands and feet, made their report of it to Brennus; who immediately conceived a hope of scaling the hill by the same way that the Roman had ascended. For the execution of his design, he chose out of his army such soldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accustomed from their early youth to climb precipices. These, under cover of the night, climbed up from rock to rock, and with much difficulty, and more danger, advanced by degrees, lending each other a hand, till they arrived at the foot of the wall.

They had got up so silently as not to be discovered by either man or dog: but they could not escape the vigilance of some geese, which, being consecrated to Juno, had, notwithstanding the scarcity of provisions, been preserved alive. These creatures, naturally quick of hearing, and now moreⁱ wakeful than ordinary through hunger (having been kept at short allowance), were alarmed at the first approach of the Gauls; so that running up and down, they, with their cackling and the beating of their wings, awaked the soldiers that lay near. M. Manlius, a consular person, was the first who starting up ran to defend the wall. Of two Gauls, whom he found on the top of it, he slashed off the hand of one, while aiming a blow at his head; and, almost at the same instant, with his buckler so strongly pushed back the other, that

ⁱ The learned and judicious Monsieur Dacier is much discontented with this philosophical conceit of Plutarch's, and is of opinion, that a goose, how well soever fed, will always be very wakeful.

he fell from the rampart, and in his fall overthrew all those who were behind him. And now, some of the garrison coming to the aid of Manlius, he easily repelled the rest of the assailants, and drove them headlong down the precipice.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-second mil.
trib.

The besieged, after their escape, passed the remainder of the night in as much tranquillity as men could do, whose minds had been alarmed and agitated by so great a danger. In the morning, at daybreak, the military tribunes, by sound of trumpet, called the soldiers together, in order to dispense rewards and punishments. First of all Manlius was praised for his gallant behaviour, and had presents, not only from the magistrates, but from all the soldiers; each of whom carried to his house, which stood in the citadel, half a pound of meal, and a small measure of wine, which he spared out of his own allowance: a reward^k considerable only as it was a proof, in the present scarcity of provisions, of the real affection of the givers.

After this, the centinels, through whose neglect of duty the Gauls had been able to mount, undiscovered, to the rampart of the citadel, were cited to appear. The military tribune, Sulpitius, declared that he would punish them all, according to the laws of war; but, finding that the soldiers disapproved of this measure, and unanimously and loudly concurred in laying all the blame on one centinel, he thought it not safe to meddle with the rest. The man, universally condemned, was thrown headlong from the rock.

But now famine began to oppress both parties equally. Camillus, since his nomination to the dictatorship, had possessed himself of all the roads. The Gauls durst not

^k The Romans extended their rewards and punishments even to the geese and dogs: the former were ever after held in honour at Rome, and a flock of them was always kept at the public expense. A golden image of a goose was set up in memory of their service; and a goose was every year carried in triumph on a soft litter finely adorned; whilst those dumb guards the dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them alive on a branch of elder. Plin. et Plut. de fort. Rom. C. et R.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

stir out to forage ; so that the besiegers were themselves besieged, and suffered the same inconveniences that they made the Romans undergo. A contagious distemper also prevailed in the army of the Gauls, occasioned by the great heats, to which they were not accustomed.

§. VI. AT length the distress on both sides occasioned a truce and a parley. Brennus having intimated, that he would raise the siege (which had now lasted seven months) on the Romans paying an inconsiderable ransom ; and the soldiers in the Capitol having signified to their commanders, that they could no longer support the fatigue of continual watching, and the misery of famine,¹ and must therefore either surrender or redeem themselves, the senate commissioned Sulpitius to treat with the enemy. A thousand pounds' weight* of gold was the ransom agreed upon ; the price of a people who were one day to be lords of the world. The Gauls brought false weights ; to which, when Sulpitius objected to them, the king insultingly added his sword, which he threw into the scale, giving no other reason, but “ Woe to the vanquished !”† The Romans not being in a condition to resent this affront, and wisely considering, that the chief indignity they suffered was not in paying more than they had agreed to, but in paying any thing, were just on the point of finishing the affair, when on a sudden appeared Camillus with his forces at the place of conference. [How he made his way thither unperceived, it is hard to guess.] Instantly he commanded the gold to be taken away, and the Gauls to depart : “ It is with

*About
45,000l.
sterling.

†Vae victis.

¹ Lactantius (b. 20.) tells us a strange story of the Romans being admonished and directed in a dream, by Jupiter, tutelary god of the Capitol, to make all the corn they had into bread, and throw it into Brennus's camp, not reserving the least morsel of it for their necessities ; and that the Gauls being hereby deceived, and despairing to reduce the Romans by famine, raised the siege. In memory of the god's favour, the Romans erected an altar to him, under the name of Jupiter Pistor, Jupiter the Baker. Ovid seems to countenance this story, Fast. b. 6.

“ Posse fame viuci spes excidit, hoste repulso,
Discam Pistoris quid velit ara Jovis.”

both Livy and Florus mention the throwing of loaves of bread from the Capitol, in order to deceive ; but they both ascribe the driving away of the Gauls to Camillus. C. & R.

iron, not with gold, that the Romans are wont to defend their country." In vain did Brennus represent to him, that he contravened a treaty, actually concluded. Camillus replied, that he being dictator, no treaty made without his approbation could be valid; and he warned the king to prepare for battle. The Gauls were now routed with as much ease as they had defeated the Romans at the river Allia; and Camillus the next morning in a second engagement with them on the Gabinian way, eight miles from Rome, so totally vanquished and destroyed them, that not a man was left to carry home the news of their disaster. The dictator returned in triumph to the city, and the soldiers in their songs styled him ROMULUS, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND SECOND FOUNDER OF ROME.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

§. VII. CAMILLUS, who had thus^m saved his country in war, may be said to have preserved it a second time, when in peace, by hindering the people from removing to Veii; a project which was now renewed with more warmth than ever.

The houses of Rome being all demolished, and the walls razed, a heartless despondency seized the multitude; they were extremely backward to set about re-

^m That Camillus thus saved his country, as Livy and Plutarch report, is undoubtedly fabulous: though neither M. Vertot, nor the Jesuits, take notice of any objection there is against giving credit to the story. M. Rollin indeed observes (Hist. Rom. tom. 2. p. 384.) that Polybius (b. 2. c. 18.) silent concerning the double defeat of the Gauls by Camillus, imputes their retreat from Rome to "their being called home to defend their own country against the Veneti who had invaded it:" yet M. Rollin seems to think that the other account may nevertheless be true; for he adds, "It ought to be remarked, that Polybius does not enter into the particulars of this *grande action*, but confines himself to the giving a general idea of it." But Polybius, in the passage referred to, tells us, that the Gauls did return home, and had afterward quarrels among themselves; consequently they were not put to the sword by Camillus. And the same historian (b. 1. c. 6.) asserts, that the Romans [in the Capitol] made a convention with the Gauls, upon the terms which the latter thought fit to prescribe. And in b. 2. c. 22. he represents some Gallic ambassadors encouraging two kings of the Gesatæ, to join the Gauls in a war against Rome, by this consideration, That the Gauls had formerly vanquished the Romans in battle, taken their city, held it seven months, and then restored it to them voluntarily, and out of mere generosity [*ἐθέλοντι καὶ μετὰ χάριτος*], returning safe home enriched with spoil."

The pretended generosity of the Gauls is a flourish of the ambassadors, who are introduced speaking; but the other facts agree with what is said by Polybius himself, in the before-cited passages; so that it is evident, this unbiassed historian did not believe one word of Camillus's marvellous exploits against Brennus. See likewise Sueton. Vit. Tib. c. 3. Justin. l. 38. c. 4. Dion. Sic. l. 4.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

building; and the rather, as Veii offered them a place fortified by art and nature, good houses ready built, a wholesome air, and a fruitful territory. They said, They were but just escaped, as it were, quite naked from shipwreck, exhausted by misfortunes, without strength and without materials for rebuilding a whole city, of which nothing was left but the ruins.—Nor did there want declaimers to throw out hard words against Camillus, as if, from vain-glory and the ambition of being esteemed a second Romulus, a new founder of Rome, he opposed a design of such great and general advantage.

On the other hand, the senate, resolutely determined against removing to Veii, would not suffer Camillus to quit the dictatorship, after his triumph, and the expiration of his six months. They earnestly entreated him not to leave the commonwealth in an unsettled state. The dictator complied with the desire of the fathers. And now, as he was ever most egregiously devout, the first business to which he gave his attention was what concerned the worship of the gods. He obtained a decree of the senate, “For purifying all those temples and sanctuaries which had been profaned by being in the enemy’s possession; and for consulting the duumvirs, who had the care of the Sibylline books, about the proper manner of purification.

“For making a league of hospitality with the Cærites, who had so kindly entertained the Roman priests and the vestals.

“For celebrating the capitoline games in honour of Jupiter, who had defended the place of his residence, and the citadel of Rome; and for empowering the dictator to constitute a college of persons, chosen from among the inhabitants of the Capitol and citadel, to superintend that affair.”

Mention too was made of expiations for having neglected the miraculous voice (heard in the night) which gave warning of the approach of the Gauls; and a tem-

ple ordered to be erected to the kind monitor (whoever he was), under the name of Aius Locutius.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

It was likewise decreed, that the gold which had been rescued out of the hands of the Gauls, and what other gold had in the midst of danger and confusion been taken out of various sanctuaries and brought into that of Jupiter, should, inasmuch as it could not be distinctly remembered from whence and from whom the several parts of the treasure came, be all deemed sacred, and deposited under the pedestal of Jupiter's statue.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

All these pious regulations did not divert the tribunes of the commons from continually exhorting the multitude to leave Rome, that was nothing but a heap of ruins, and remove to the fair city of Veii. Camillus, therefore, attended by the whole senate, repaired to the Forum, and made a most elaborate speech to the people there assembled.^a His chief arguments were addressed to their superstition. Could they find in their hearts to forsake Jupiter, Vesta, Mars, and father Romulus? [as if Jupiter and Vesta and Mars and Romulus, if spoken civilly to, would not have removed from Rome to Veii, as readily, and in as good humour, as Juno came from Veii to Rome.] It is said, that his discourse made a

Livy, b. 5.
c. 55.

considerable impression on the multitude; but that what determined them absolutely not to remove, was a chance word seasonably spoken. For shortly after, the senate being assembled, in the *curia Hostilia*, to deliberate on this important affair, just as L. Lucretius (the first called upon to give his opinion) was going to speak, a centurion, who (as Plutarch relates it) came with his company

Plut. p.
145.

^a Camillus, in this speech, insists much on the constant experience which the Romans had of prosperous or adverse fortune, according to their observance or neglect of religious duties. And he mentions some rites of religion, the performance of which was confined to certain places in Rome, and could not be transferred elsewhere. This may have been true of some rites. But when our historian makes Camillus ask—"Where can the *comitia curiata*, for military affairs, be *auspiciously* held but in the usual place? Shall we transfer them to Veii?"—he seems to have forgot, that, by his own account, Camillus had been called from banishment, and appointed to the dignity he then held, by the people in *comitia curiata*, held at Veii: and this in conformity to a decree of the senate. Liv. b. 5. c. 46.

Year of
R O M E
363.
B. C. 389.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

* Hic ma-
nebitus
optime.

Year of
R O M E
364.
B. C. 388.

Thirty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

to relieve the guard, was distinctly heard to say, "Ensign, plant your colours, THIS IS THE BEST PLACE TO STAY IN."* Instantly Lucretius and all the senators ran out of the temple, crying aloud, "A happy omen! the gods have spoken,^o and we obey." The multitude universally approved the notion:^p all doubt was now at an end: no more any mention of Veii: "ROME for ever."

An interregnum followed the dictatorship of Camillus: for the Romans would not suffer the military tribunes, during whose magistracy the city had been taken, to hold the *comitia* for electing new magistrates. And no sooner was Q. Fabius out of office,^q than C. Marcius, one of the tribunes of the commons, summoned him to answer for his conduct (of which the consequence had been so fatal) when ambassador to the Gauls. Sudden death, supposed to be voluntary, freed him from this prosecution.

Camillus and P. Cornelius Scipio performed the office of *interrex*, by turns, for a few days. It fell to the former to preside at the election of military tribunes.

Year of
R O M E
365.
B. C. 387.

Thirty-
third mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 1.

§. VIII. THE six new magistrates were L. Valerius Poplicola, L. Virginus Tricostus, P. Cornelius Cossus, A. Manlius Capitolinus, L. Æmilius Mamercinus, and L. Posthumus Albinus. Their first care (after consulting the senate) was to collect the treaties with foreign states, and what remains could be found of the laws of the kings, and of the twelve tables, which had been written on brass, and fixed up in the Forum. Some of these were communicated to the public; but of such as

^o M. Dacier, on this occasion, observes, that Cicero held it to be direct atheism, to despise or laugh at such omens. Cic. de Divin. lib. 1.

^p What the centurion said, if really spoken by chance, or believed so to be, furnished a reason of the same kind with some of those which Camillus had employed in the long harangue, given him by Livy; and was as good a reason as any of his, for not removing from Rome.

^q By this passage of Livy it would seem, that the same military tribunes, who commanded the army against the Gauls at the battle of the Allia, were still in office, when Camillus laid down the dictatorship; and, if so, either they must have held their magistracy two years, or Camillus cannot have held the dictatorship so long as he is represented by the Capitoline Marbles to have done; i. e. part of the year 363, and all 364.

related to religious worship, the pontifices made themselves the depositaries, that they might likewise be the interpreters of them, and occasionally make them serve as a means to keep the populace in reverence and subjection. In making a list of lucky and unlucky days, the fifteenth of the calends of August (*i. e.* the eighteenth of July) was particularly marked among the latter, as memorable for two unfortunate battles; that in which the 300 Fabii were slain near the Cremera, and that wherein the Romans were defeated by the Gauls upon the banks of the Allia; no sacrifices were to be offered, no business done in the courts of justice, no new expedition begun on this day; and so of several others.

Year of
R O M E
365.
B. C. 387.

Thirty-
third mil.
trib.

And now the care of all was the rebuilding of the city.^r The state furnished tiles, and the people were allowed to take stone and other materials wherever they could find them, giving security to finish their houses within the year. The hurry in which they went to work, made them heedless whether the ground they built on was their own or their neighbours'; each raised his house where he found an empty space, so that the common sewers, which before ran under the streets, ran now under the houses. And so little taste had they for order and beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even less regular than in the time of Romulus: and though in Augustus's time, when Rome was become the capital of the world, the temples, palaces, and private houses, were more magnificent than before, yet these decorations could not rectify the fault of the plan.

Livy, b. 6.

^r Plutarch (in Camillo, p. 145.) tells us, that among the ruins of the city, and under a heap of ashes, was found Romulus's augural staff unburnt; and that this was looked upon to portend the everlasting preservation and prosperity of the Roman state.

BOOK III.

FROM THE YEAR OF ROME 365, WHEN THE CITY WAS REBUILT, AFTER THE BURNING OF IT BY THE GAULS, TO THE YEAR 489, WHEN THE ROMANS, HAVING SUBDUED ALL ITALY, BEGAN THE FIRST PUNIC OR CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. The nations bordering upon the Roman state resolve, if possible, to crush it before it can recover its former strength. The military tribunes march an army against the Volsci and Latins, but by ill conduct suffer it to be enclosed by the enemy. Camillus hereupon is, a third time, named dictator; he raises new forces, rescues the army in distress, and forces the enemy's camp, after which he takes the capital city of the Æqui, subdues the Volsci, and recovers Sutrium from the Heturians. II. The next year (when the commonwealth is again governed by military tribunes), the Roman arms prosper abroad. The year following is a year of peace. Four new tribes are added to the twenty-one. III. The expectation of a new war makes the Romans choose Camillus to be one of the six military tribunes for the next year. He leads the Roman troops first against the Volsci of Antium, and then against the Heturians; and has success in both expeditions. The Latins and Hernici submit.

366.

Four new tribes.

367.

368.

Year of
R O M E

365.

B. C. 387.

Thirty-
third mil.

trib.

Livy, b. 6.

c. 2.

§. I. ROME, arising as it were out of her own ashes, appeared once more a city. But scarce did her citizens begin to take breath, when new wars called them again into the field. The Heturians, the Æqui, and the Volsci, all near neighbours of Rome, and of course her enemies, made a league to oppress her before she had recovered her strength. Nay, the Latins and Hernici, who had long been allies of the Roman people, engaged in this design. The Romans seem to have lost their empire when the seat of it was destroyed, and to have had most of the same conquests to repeat, as after the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, and the first establishment of the commonwealth.

Plut. Life
of Camillus,
p. 145, 146.
Livy, b. 6.
c. 2.

In this distressful situation, the republic had recourse to a general, always superior to dangers and difficulties. Camillus was a third time named dictator. Immediately he summoned the citizens to take arms, without ex-

cepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies, caused one of them to encamp under the walls of Rome, appointing A. Manlius to command it: the second he ordered into the neighbourhood of Veii, under the conduct of L. Æmilius, to watch the motions of the Hetrurians: and he led the third himself against the Volsci. His very name, and the report of his march, filled the enemy with terror: they now thought no more of conquest; their whole study was how to avoid being conquered; they shut themselves up in their camp, which they fortified with a strong palisade of stakes, and a barricade of trees. Camillus having observed the nature of their fortification, caused his soldiers to throw fire in great quantity against it. The fire, made fiercer by a brisk wind, that chanced to rise, and blow the flame and smoke full upon the camp, presently destroyed the wooden fence, and put the soldiers into such a consternation, that they rushed out in crowds, and fell into the hands of the Romans, who made a terrible slaughter of them. Camillus then sent to extinguish the flames, in order to save the booty, with which (as he had taken the camp by assault), he rewarded his army: a bounty so much the more agreeable, because unexpected from the dictator, who had never been known to be over liberal on these occasions. Pursuing the routed enemy in their flight, he ravaged the whole country of the Volsci, and at length entirely subdued that untractable people, after they had harassed the republic with continual hostilities for more than 107 years.^s From the Volsci he next turned his forces against the Æqui, and by assault, made himself master, not only of their camp, but of their principal city, Bola. In the meantime, almost all Hetruria had taken arms, and was now engaged

Year of
R O M E
365.
B. C. 387.

Thirty-
third mil.
trib.

^s So the critics say we should read, instead of seventy, as it is in Livy, there being from the year 258, when the war was *renewed* against the Volsci, in the consulate of Ap. Claudius and P. Servilius, to this time 107 years. We find that Tarquin the Proud made war with the Volsci. And we shall find presently, that *all* the Volsci were not now subdued.

Year of
R O M E
365.
B. C. 387.

Thirty-
third mil.
trib.
Livy, b. 6.
c. 3.
Plut. Life
of Camillus,
p. 145, 146.

in the siege of Surium, a town in alliance with Rome. Camillus, by order of the senate, marched to its relief. The place had capitulated before he came, and the inhabitants had obtained nothing but their lives and the clothes on their backs. In this destitute condition they were going to seek new habitations, when Camillus met them, bade the women dry up their tears, and promised to transfer their sorrows to the enemy. His promise he performed: for the Hettrurians, secure after their victory, and wholly employed in plundering, had left the gates of Sutrium open, and without guards. He came upon them by surprise, slew many, and made an incredible number prisoners. The Sutrini, before night, found themselves again in possession of their city, which had been thus twice taken in one day.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 4.

This expedition ended, the great Camillus, victorious in three wars, in one and the same year, entered Rome triumphant.

With part of the money raised by selling the Hettrurian captives (after they had been led before his chariot) the Roman ladies were paid the value of the jewels they had formerly lent to the state: and with the remainder, the senate bought three vases of gold, which, with Camillus's name inscribed on them, they placed at the feet of Juno, in the temple of Jupiter.

Year of
R O M E
366.
B. C. 386.

Thirty-
fourth mil.
trib.

§. II. UNDER the six new military tribunes of the following year,^t affairs prospered abroad: they ravaged the country of the Æqui, and took two cities, Cortuosa and Contenebra, from the Hettrurians.

The Romans being at this time in a humour for building, the Capitol was now rebuilt (or repaired), with square stone, and with so happy an execution, as to be thought worthy of admiration, even in the reign of Augustus.

While the people were busied in this sort of works, public and private, the tribunes of the commons en-

^t T. Quinctius, L. Servilius, a fifth time, L. Julius, L. Aquilius, L. Lucretius, Ser. Sulpicius.

deavoured to revive the old quarrel about the *division of the conquered lands*, on occasion of the Pomptin territory, for which the Romans and Volsci had long struggled, and which, after the republic had got possession of it, the patricians had appropriated to themselves. But the time was ill chosen for making a bustle about this affair, because the minds of the commons were so intent on building, that they did not much frequent the Forum; and, besides, they were almost quite drained of their money, and had not enough left for the expense of cultivating new farms, and stocking them with cattle. They took little notice, therefore, of the harangues of their tribunes. The military tribunes for this year, upon some scruple concerning the validity of their election, voluntarily laid down their offices, and, after a short interregnum, six new ones were chosen;^u whose year, being a year of peace, was spent in works of peace. To the twenty-one tribes were added four new ones, Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, and Arniensis.

Year of
R O M E
366.
B. C. 386.

Thirty-
fourth mil.
trib.
Liv. b. 6.
c. 5.

Year of
R O M E
367.
B. C. 385.

Thirty-fifth
mil. trib.

§. III. THE expectation of a war induced the centuries to choose Camillus* to be one of the military tribunes for the next year. They gave him, for his colleagues, Ser. Cornelius,† Q. Servilius,‡ L. Quinctius, L. Horatius, and P. Valerius, all men of moderation, who knew how to do themselves and Camillus justice. In full senate they transferred their authority into his hands, and left to him the sole management of the war, so that he was in effect dictator. The republic had designed to turn her arms against the Hetrurians; but this design was altered upon the news, that the Antiates§ had entered the Pomptin territory, in arms, and obliged the Romans, who had taken possession of it, to quit it. Camillus allotted to each of his colleagues an employment suitable to his rank, and joined Valerius with himself in the command of the army which was to march

Year of
R O M E
368.
B. C. 384.

Thirty-
sixth mil.
trib.

*A fourth
time.

†A second
time.

‡A sixth
time.

Liv. b. 6.
c. 6.

§ i. e. The
Volsci of
Antium.

^u L. Papirius, C. Sergius, L. Æmilius a second time, L. Menenius, L. Valerius a third time, C. Cornelius.

Year of
R O M E
368.
B. C. 384.

Thirty-
sixth mil.
trib.
Livy, b. 6.
c. 7.

c. 8.

c. 9.

c. 10.

against the Antiates; but Valerius refused to be upon an equal foot with Camillus: "No (said he), you shall be my dictator, and I will serve under you as your general of the horse." The Latins and Hernici had joined the Antiates near Satricum: so that the Roman soldiers, when they came within sight of the enemy, were terrified at their numbers, which Camillus understanding, mounted his horse, rode through the ranks, put his men in mind, that these were the same Latins and Volsci whom they had so often vanquished, and that he was the same Camillus who had led them so often to victory. He then dismounted, took the next standard-bearer by the hand, and led him towards the enemy, crying out at the same time, "Soldiers, advance." A battle ensued, in which the enemy were entirely overthrown. The Latins and Hernici separated from the Volsci, and returned home. The Volsci fled for refuge to Satricum: Camillus came before it, and carried it by assault. He then left his army under the command of Valerius, and returned to Rome, to solicit the senate's consent, and get things necessary for undertaking the siege of Antium. While he was proposing this affair to the conscript fathers, deputies arrived from Nepete and Sutrium (cities in alliance with Rome, and that were, in a manner, its bulwark, as well as the keys of Hetruria), demanding succours against the Hetrurians. The senate ordered Camillus to their relief, and assigned him those troops which Servilius had commanded in Rome, and kept in readiness in case of an exigence. He marched, came before Sutrium, found it almost taken, and preserved it. Nepete had surrendered voluntarily to the Hetrurians, the greater part of the inhabitants being better affected to them than to the Romans. The recovery of this place seemed, therefore, a work of greater difficulty. However, he took it at the first assault, and having put the garrison to the sword, condemned the authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the lictors.

Camillus, before the end of this year, called the Latins and Hernici to account for their late conduct. The magistrates of those nations alleged, that the reason of their not aiding the Romans, was the necessity they had been under to keep their troops at home to defend their own country; and that as to the assistance which some of their people had given to the enemies of Rome, they had done it without authority, and had been punished for their fault; not one of them having returned safe home. These excuses were not satisfactory, but the senate readily admitted them, being unwilling at this juncture to multiply the enemies of the commonwealth.

Year of
R O M E
368.
B. C. 384.

Thirty-
sixth mil.
trib.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. The next year military tribunes being again chosen to the government, M. 369.

Manlius (who saved the Capitol) uses such methods to make himself popular as alarm the senate. They name A. Cornelius Cossus dictator. He summons Manlius to appear before him. Manlius not answering directly to the dictator's question, is committed to prison. Cossus soon after resigns the dictatorship. The senate fearing the rage of the people, who are devoted to Manlius, set him at liberty. II. Camillus is chosen one of the military tribunes for the next year.

370.

Two of the tribunes of the commons impeach Manlius of treason, and, by a sentence of the people, he is thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. M. Manlius put to death.

§. I. IN the following magistracy of six military tribunes,^x a dangerous war abroad, and a more dangerous sedition at home, distressed the republic. The Volsci, joined by the Latins and Hernici, who had revolted from Rome, commenced the war; the sedition had for its author a Roman of high birth, consummate bravery, and illustrious fame. Marcus Manlius (who saved the Capitol), though he had pride enough to despise all the other great men of Rome, yet envied one: he could not bear to see Camillus so distinguished, as if he alone were fit for the supreme magistracy and the command of the army. "This exalted man looks down upon his colleagues as his ministers, forgetting that he and they were elected under the same auspices. What ground for all this arro-

Year of
R O M E
369.
B. C. 383.

Thirty-se-
venth mil.
trib.
Livy, b. 6.
c. 11.
Plut. in
Camillus,
p. 148.

^x A. Manlius a second time, P. Cornelius a second time, T. Quinctius, L. Quinctius, L. Papirius a second time, C. Sergius a second time.

Year of
R O M E
369.
B. C. 383.

Thirty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

gance? Could he have recovered Rome, if I had not first saved the Capitol? He came by surprise upon the Gauls, when employed in receiving the gold, and secure in the treaty of peace; I had to do with men armed, and just upon the point of taking the citadel; every soldier of his army had a share in the glory of his exploit; but I had no companion in my victory."

It is said, that Manlius by such speeches gave vent to his envy; and that not finding his merit prized by the nobles suitably to his own idea of it, forsook that party, concerted measures with the tribunes of the commons, and set himself to court the multitude. Not content with renewing the proposal for distributing the conquered lands, he made himself the advocate and protector of such plebeians as were oppressed with debt. Nothing could be more popular at this time than a warm concern expressed for insolvent debtors; because most of the lower people had been forced to borrow money to rebuild their houses. The senate, alarmed at the proceedings of Manlius, thought it necessary to create a dictator, who, by his absolute power, might be able to crush the rising faction; and the war with the Volsci (now strengthened by the Latins and Hernici) furnished a plausible pretence for this creation. The dictatorship was given to A. Cornelius Cossus, who named T. Quinctius Capitolinus to be general of the horse.

Cornelius, though he saw he should have greater difficulties to struggle with at home than abroad; yet, whether it were, that the business of the war was more than ordinarily urgent, or whether he thought that a victory in the field would add weight to his authority of dictator, when he should have need to exert it in the city, he made his levies with all expedition, marched away, and came to a battle with the Volsci, in the Pomptin territory. Before the action began, he told his men, that the omens were so favourable as to leave no room to doubt of success. He bade them lay their javelins

Livy, b. 6.
c. 12.

down at their feet, keep together in close order, and without stirring sustain the enemy's first charge; in whose eyes, when they advanced in disorder (after spending their darts in vain), they should make their swords glitter, and every man call to mind that there were gods who fought for the Romans. He directed Quinctius to restrain the ardour of his cavalry, till the infantry were engaged in fierce conflict, and then to fall on. Both horse and foot observed his injunctions; and the Volsci, though much more numerous than the Romans, yet not being so well conducted, suffered a total defeat. Among the prisoners were found many considerable men of the Latins and Hernici, who being examined confessed they had acted by authority; so that it was no longer a doubt whether those two nations had revolted.

Year of
R O M E
369.
B. C. 383.
Thirty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 13.

The dictator hereupon kept his army in the field, believing assuredly that he should be directed to carry the war into their countries; but a more pressing affair obliged the senate to send for him home. For Manlius, not by invective speeches only, but by deeds of an exemplary generosity, had raised against the nobles, guilty of excessive usury, such a spirit of anger in the commons, as seemed not easy to be laid. One day seeing a centurion, who had distinguished himself by many gallant exploits in war, and whom, his person being taken in execution of a judgment upon an action of debt, they were carrying through the Forum to the creditor's prison, he ran hastily, attended by a numerous company of his clients and other followers, and, laying fast hold of the debtor,—“Oh the pride of these patricians! the cruelty of these usurers! so brave a man! so unsuitable a fortune!—In vain did this right hand preserve the Capitol, if I am to behold my fellow-citizen, my fellow-soldier, just as if he had fallen into the hands of the victorious Gauls, a wretched captive carried into slavery.” Then in the presence of all the people he freed the debtor, by paying, in legal form, the whole

c. 14.

Year of
R O M E
369.
B. C. 383.

Thirty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

debt to the creditor. The centurion called upon gods and men to reward his generous benefactor, "The father of the commons of Rome!" and being now admitted into the tumultuous train, he contributed not a little to increase the tumult. Shewing the scars of the wounds he had received in the Veientan, Gallic, and other wars—"I was forced to borrow money for the expense of attending the service, and to rebuild my house. The amount of the principal I have paid over and over again in interest; interest so heavy and oppressive that I could never emerge out of debt; it was usurious extortion that overwhelmed me. That I now partake of the common light, that I am permitted to see the Forum, the faces of my fellow-citizens, these are the pure effects of Marcus Manlius's bounty. From him I have received all the benefits that a son can receive from a parent; and to him therefore I devote my body, my life, all that remains unspilt of my blood. Whatever ties I have to my country, to the gods of my country, to my household gods, those same ties fasten me inviolably to that one man." Both the nobleness of the act, and the effusion of praise and gratitude from the person obliged, made so strong an impression on the multitude, that they were already disposed to attach themselves, like the centurion, to *that one man*, when he did another thing, which was still better imagined, to turn their heads quite, and to throw all things into confusion.^y Having, in the territory of Veii, a farm, the chief part of his estate, he caused the public crier to notify the sale of it.—"No, Romans, whilst I have any thing left, I will never suffer that any one of you be cast into the prison of his creditor." Nor did he stop here in his endeavours to make himself popular, and to alienate entirely the hearts of the commons from the senate. In assemblies which he held in his own house (in the citadel) he confidently

^y "—— addita alia commotionis ad omnia turbanda consilii res. Fundum in Veienti, caput patrimonii, subjecit præconi: ne quem vestrum, inquit, Quirites, donec quicquam in re mea supererit, judicatum, addictumque duci patiar." C. 14.

gave out, that the senators, not content with being the sole possessors of those lands, which ought to have been divided equally among all the citizens, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own use, the gold which was to have been given to the Gauls, and which had been raised by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens who were then in the Capitol; a treasure which alone would be sufficient to discharge all the debts of the poor plebeians. And he promised to shew them, in due time, where this treasure was hid. So pleasing a prospect, as that of every man's having his debts discharged, took up all the attention of the people; their whole care was to draw those riches out of the hands of the patricians.

Year of
R O M E
369.
B. C. 383.

Thirty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

Things were in this situation when the dictator returned to the city. Having agreed with the senate upon the measures to be taken, he went to the Forum, accompanied by the fathers, and a great number of other patricians, ascended his tribunal, and sent a lictor to cite Manlius to appear before him. Manlius did not disobey the summons, but making all his adherents follow him, he approached the tribunal with so numerous a guard, that the assembly looked like two armies ready to join battle. Silence being made, the dictator spoke thus: "I heartily wish, Manlius, that I and the senate could in every thing agree with the commons of Rome, as readily as I trust we shall do in what concerns you, and the matter I am going to question you upon. You have been heard to say, that some of the principal senators have secreted the gold that was designed for the Gauls, and that this fund alone would be sufficient to discharge all the debts. I am so far from desiring to hinder such an extraordinary benefit to the commons, that I exhort you earnestly to ease them of that burden of usury they labour under, and to name the men who have stolen and concealed this important treasure. But if you do not instantly name those robbers of the public,

Livy, b. 6.
c. 15.

Year of
R O M E
369.
B.C. 383.

Thirty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

be assured that I shall without delay send you to prison, as an incendiary and a slanderer ; for I will not suffer you any longer to deceive the people with vain hopes."

Manlius answered, " I find I was not mistaken in my opinion, that the dictator was created, not to act against the Volsci, but against me and the commons of Rome. He openly espouses the cause of the usurers, and I am to be destroyed on account of the affection which the people bear me. Does it indeed offend you, Cornelius, and you, conscript fathers, to see the crowds that attend me? Why do not you endeavour to share their affection with me? Why do not you relieve the poor citizens, who are quite sunk and overwhelmed with debt? Pay for some, answer for others, supply their necessities out of your superfluities : nay, without bestowing any thing upon them of what you possess, do but deduct from the principal sums what you have received for interest. You will then see, that my train of followers will be no greater than any of yours.—But why is Manlius (say you) the only man who thus concerns himself for the citizens? You may ask me too, why I was the only man who saved the Capitol? As I then exerted myself for all in general, so now I am ready to give my help to every Roman in particular. As to the secreted treasure, you put a question to me which you can better answer yourselves. The very demand makes that difficult, which would otherwise have been easy. The more you press me to declare the place where the gold is hoarded, the more reason I have to believe that you have removed it, and hid it beyond the reach of the most curious inquiry. Am I to reveal where your thefts are concealed? or ought not you rather to be compelled to bring them forth?" At these words the dictator commanded him to give over his evasions and subterfuges, and go directly to the proof of his charge, or else to confess before all the people, that he had slandered the senate. To this Manlius re-

Livy, b. 6.
c. 16.

plying, That he would not speak at the pleasure of his enemies, he was immediately ordered to prison. When the lictors laid hold of him, he cried out, “O Jupiter, most beneficent, most mighty; O Juno, queen of heaven; O Minerva, and all ye other gods and goddesses who reside in the Capitol; will ye suffer your champion and defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand, with which I drove the Gauls from your sanctuaries, be manacled and locked in chains?”

Year of
R O M E
369.
B. C. 383.

Thirty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

We have on this occasion a surprising instance of the ready submission of the Romans to the commands of a lawful magistrate. The people, though seditiously devoted to Manlius, made not the least motion to hinder the execution of the sentence: not an angry expression was heard, nor a threatening look seen in the whole assembly. His adherents and abettors expressed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crowding about the prison door, and there lamenting his misfortune.

In this time of the people's affliction, Cornelius Cosus had a triumph for his victory over the Volsci. The multitude expressed nothing but a deep dejection on that day of joy. Some were heard to say, that the dictator triumphed over a citizen, not over the enemy; that the chief ornament of the show was wanting; and that, to gratify the victor's pride, Manlius should have been led before his chariot. The senate, to soothe and pacify the people, decreed of their own motion, to send a colony of Romans to Satricum, and allotted to every man two acres and a half of arable land. But this expedient proved ineffectual. So soon as the dictatorship of Cornelius was expired, and the people freed from the dread of an uncontrollable magistrate, the discontent of Manlius's party began to grow into open sedition. Some reproached the multitude in public discourses, That it was their custom to exalt their pro-

Livy, b. 6.
c. 17.

Year of
R O M E
369.
B. C. 383.

Thirty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

tectors to high and slippery stations, and then to forsake them in the very moment of danger and downfall: that Sp. Cassius, the first who proposed the partition of the lands; that Mælius, who in a famine generously fed the people at his own expense, had both of them been abandoned and destroyed; and that now Manlius, for endeavouring to free the poor debtors from slavery, was given up to his mortal enemies. It is a shame to see a consular thus treated, merely because he did not answer at the nod of the dictator. Suppose him to have invented a story, and therefore not to have an answer ready, was it ever known, that even a servant was put in irons for only telling a lie? Call to mind that fatal night when the Gauls climbed up the Tarpeian cliff, and when Manlius all covered with sweat and blood rescued, in a manner, even Jupiter himself out of the hand of the enemy. Do you think that half a pound of meal was a sufficient reward for the preserver of our country? Will you suffer a man, whom you have almost equalled to Jupiter, by giving him the surname of Capitulinus, to drag on a miserable life in a dungeon, and draw his breath at the pleasure of a jailor? Was one man able to preserve all, and shall not all be able to succour one?—Discourses like these were frequently repeated; and the people surrounding the prison, day and night, threatened to break it open. The senate, fearing lest the multitude in their fury should execute what they threatened, made a decree for his release; but they did not thereby put an end to the sedition; they only gave the seditious a leader.

During these commotions, ambassadors arrived from the Latins and the Hernici, as also from the cities of Cir-cæi and Velitræ, demanding releasement of the prisoners taken in the last action when the dictator Cossus defeated the Volsci. The ambassadors of the former were received (though their demand was rejected), because those nations had been only allies of Rome; but the ambassa-

dors of the latter were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the people, because those cities had been upon the foot of Roman colonies. The former enjoyed their own laws; the latter were subject to the laws of Rome, and had therefore no right to send ambassadors.

Year of
R O M E
369.
B. C. 383.

Thirty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

§. II. WHEN new magistrates came to be elected for the next year, the centuries chose Camillus military tribune a fifth time; and with him they joined Ser. Cornelius,* P. Valerius,† Ser. Sulpicius,‡ C. Papirius, and T. Quinctius.§ The confidence of Manlius was now much increased by the timorousness of the senate, and the remissness of Cossus in not punishing him as a former dictator had done Mælius. And the poor plebeians entertained the hope, that under such a leader they should be able to get usury abolished. Livy gives us a long speech (doubtless of his own making) as spoken by Manlius, in an assembly held at his house in the citadel. The substance of the discourse is an exhortation to the plebeians “to free themselves from the burden of their debts, and the tyranny of the patricians, by exerting their natural superiority of strength, and assuming the ascendant.—No more dictators—no more consuls—I declare myself the *patron* of the commons of Rome: my steady concern for their interests has already fixed upon me that title. If you are willing to bestow a higher upon your leader, it will enable him to assist you more effectually in the accomplishing of what you desire.” Livy adds, “It is said, that from this time was set on foot a project for restoring kingly power; but it is not clearly said how far it went, nor who were the projectors.” In the debates of the senate, alarmed at the cabals held at a private man’s house, a house too in the citadel, many of the fathers declared loudly, That the commonwealth stood in need of another Servilius Ahala, who by one stroke should rid her of a bad citizen, and restore the public safety and tranquil-

Year of
R O M E
370.
B. C. 382.

Thirty-
eighth mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 18.

*A third
time.

†A second
time.

‡A second
time.

§A second
time.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 19.

Year of
R O M E
370.
B. C. 382.

Thirty-
eighth mil.
trib.

lity. And though the resolution of the assembly was, in words, more gentle, it was, in effect, not less violent: for by an order of the military tribunes to take care, that the commonwealth suffered no detriment from the pernicious projects of Marcus Manlius, they empowered them to act as Ahala had done. And now these magistrates, and the tribunes of the commons (for the latter, foreseeing that the loss of their dignities would soon follow that of the public liberty, had given themselves wholly to the senate), consulted together upon the proper measures to be taken in the present exigence; and when they were at a loss, no one having proposed any better expedient than assassination, which yet in all appearance would occasion a dangerous conflict, M. Manlius and Q. Petilius, both tribunes of the commons, started a new thought: "Why do we make that to be a strife between the senate and the commons, which ought to be a war of the whole state against one pestilent citizen? Why should we attack him united with the commons, when we may more safely attack him by the commons themselves? We purpose to appoint him a day to appear in judgment. Nothing is more odious to the people than royalty. And when the multitude shall see, that there is no contest with them; that they are made judges in the cause; that the accusers are plebeians, and the accused a patrician, and the crime charged, aspiring to be king; they will unquestionably shew, that there is nothing they regard with so true a tenderness as their liberty."

Livy, b. 6.
c. 20.

This advice being unanimously approved, they notified to Manlius a day for his appearance, [before an assembly by centuries.] The plebeians were at first much affected to see him going about in a dress of mourning to solicit favour; not one senator, nor any of his kindred, nor even his brothers, Aulus and Titus, accompanying him; a thing the like to which had never happened before. Whence it is evident, that

there was a combination of all the patricians to oppress him, because he was the first of his family who had fallen off from their party to espouse the cause of the plebeians.

Year of
R O M E
370.
B. C. 382.

When the day of trial came, his accusers charged him with holding private assemblies, and with seditious words, ill-meant liberalities, and slandering the senate (with relation to the gold). But Livy tells us, that he could not in any author find what direct proofs the tribunes brought of Manlius's aspiring to the regal power. However, he supposes that sufficient proofs they had, since nothing but the circumstance of the place where he was tried (which was the Campus Martius) hindered his immediate condemnation.

Thirty-
eighth mil.
trib.

Manlius is said to have produced near forty citizens, for the payment of whose debts he had advanced money, without interest, thereby recovering their effects which had been seized, and keeping their persons out of the prisons of their creditors. He produced two mural crowns (of gold), his rewards for having entered the first into cities taken by assault; eight civic crowns (of oak-leaves), for having in battle saved the lives of so many citizens, among whom C. Servilius (when general of the horse) was one; the spoils of thirty enemies, whom he had slain with his own hand in single combat. He then opened his bosom, and shewed it covered with scars, left by the wounds he had received in fight. Looking often to the Capitol, he called upon Jupiter and the other gods for help; and he conjured the people to turn their faces to that sanctuary, and, when they were going to pronounce judgment, to think of the gods who resided there.

The people, touched with the humiliation and distress of a Roman, who by his bravery had saved the republic, and having before their eyes the very place where he had fought so valiantly against the Gauls, could not resolve to condemn him. The military tribunes plainly perceiving this, and that unless the multitude were re-

Year of
R O M E
370.
B. C. 382.

Thirty-
eighth mil.
trib.

moved to some place, whence they could not see the Capitol, they would never give sentence against the accused, deferred the decision of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the assembly to be in the Peteline wood, without the gate Flumentana. Then the object, which had saved Manlius, no longer dazzling the eyes of his judges, he was condemned to be thrown from the Capitol itself; and the theatre of his glory became that of his punishment and shame. Two marks of infamy are said to have been fixed upon his memory; one by public authority, the other by private. The public decreed, that no patrician should thenceforward dwell in the Capitol, or the citadel; and the Manlian family came to a resolution among themselves, that no member of it should ever bear the prænomen of Marcus. Such (says Livy) was the end of a man who, if he had not been born in a free state, would have deserved to be remembered with honour by posterity. The multitude very soon regretted the loss of him. Their fear of his ambition being over, they remembered only his virtues; and because a plague broke out at this time without any discernible cause, many of the people ascribed it to the severe treatment of Manlius: The Capitol (they said) had been polluted with the blood of its deliverer; and the gods were offended at the execution, almost in their very presence, of a man, who had rescued their temples out of the hands of the enemy.

REMARKS ON THE DEATH OF M. MANLIUS.

M. DACIER expresses his wonder at “ the fantastic humour of the Roman people, who, though fully convinced of the guilt, could not prevail with themselves to condemn the criminal, while they had the Capitol before their eyes; yet presently after [without any new offence by him committed] could throw him headlong from that very Capitol, the sight of which had hindered them from condemning him.”^a

^a Etrange bizarrerie du peuple ! il ne peut se résoudre à condamner Manlius à la vue du Capitole, et un moment après il le précipite de ce même Capitole, dont la vue l'avoit empêché de le condamner. *Dac. Plut. Vie de Cam.*

Perhaps the reader may wonder at M. Dacier's giving credit to this part of the story; I mean the trial and condemnation of Manlius by an assembly of the people: I am well persuaded that Livy gave no credit to it, nor to several other particulars which he has so pompously delivered concerning Manlius.

The public examination (as Livy relates it) of Manlius, the year before his death, I. by the dictator, Cornelius Cossus, has too strong a mark of fiction, to have passed upon Livy for true history. The dictator charges Manlius with having slanderously^b accused the principal senators of secreting the gold that was snatched [by Camillus] out of the hands of the Gauls. And Manlius is represented as making no difficulty to own, that he had so accused them, and that he believes them guilty. Now it is absolutely incredible, that Manlius charged the senators with secreting what every Roman, then living, knew with certainty to have been carried away by the Gauls;^c for that the Gauls, when they marched off, did not go without the ransom-gold, is Vid. supra, made indisputable by Polybius's account; which account Livy had before him, though p. 113. he takes no notice of it.

Indeed, the saving of this gold, is a point with which the Latin historian seems to have been much perplexed. Saved it must be; because it was not fit that such a majestic people as the Romans should be redeemed like so many paltry slaves. *Diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos. Nam forte quadam, prius quam infanda merces perficeretur—Dictator intervenit, &c. Lib. 5. c. 49.*

Well, but what became of this gold, so fortunately preserved? Why, truly, both this (which, in order to avoid a profane use of sacred treasures, had been collected from the women) and other gold, that in the fright and hurry had been taken out of several sanctuaries, and brought into the sanctuary of Jupiter, were deposited under the pedestal of Jupiter's statue.

But why, when all was safe and quiet, were not the women's ornaments restored to them? And why were not the other parcels of gold replaced in the respective sanctuaries to which they belonged? The reason was, it could not be distinctly remembered from whence and from whom the several parts of the treasure came; so it was thought best that the whole should be deemed consecrated to the gods. [As if the priest could not distinguish the gold of their respective temples, nor the women their own trinkets.] The women, it seems, in reward of their virtue, received public thanks; to which the public added an honour. Instead of restoring to them the fineries of the dress, it was decreed, that they should have fine things said of them at their funerals, as the men had.^d

^b ——— sermone pleni criminum in patres: inter quos, "thesauros Gallici auri occultari a patribus" jecit: "nec jam possidendis publicis agris contentos esse, nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant: ea res si palam fiat, exsolvi plebem ære alieno posse." Indignum facinus videri, quum conferendum ad redimendam civitatem a Gallis aurum fuerit, tributo collationem factam: *idem aurum, ex hostibus captum, in paucorum prædam cessisse. L. 6. c. 14.*

"Spem factam a te civitati video, fide incolumi, ex thesauris Gallicis, quos primores patrum occultent, creditum solvi posse." c. 15.

^c N. B. It is not improbable that Manlius did accuse the principal senators, and Camillus among the rest, not falsely, but truly, of embezzling (not the gold weighed out for the Gauls, and which the Gauls carried off, but) what remained of the treasure, which the magistrates had amassed from voluntary contribution, after their paying the sum agreed upon for their ransom. That they were guilty of fraudulent purposes with regard to that remaining treasure, Livy furnishes ground to believe, by what he says of their scrupulous casuistry, and of the reasons they found for not parting with the gold they had got into their possession. And it is very possible, that this gold, properly applied, might have gone a great way towards discharging the debts of the poor plebeians, as Manlius is reported to have said.

^d Aurum, quod Gallis ereptum erat, quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Jovis cellam collatum, quum, in quæ referri oporteret, confusa memoria esset, sacrum omne judicatum, sub Jovis sella poni jussum. Jam ante in eo religio civi-

II.

That Manlius was convicted before the people, assembled by centuries, of attempting to make himself king of Rome; and that the people condemned him, as guilty of that crime, to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, are facts which seem to be as little worthy of belief, as that he accused the senators of secreting gold, snatched [by Camillus] out of the hands of the Gauls.

I. For, first of all, Livy tells us that he could not in any author find what direct proofs the accusers of Manlius brought, of his plotting to be king. Crowds of people about him; seditious words; ill-meant liberalities [*largitio*]; slandering the senate in relation to the gold [*fallax indicium*]; these were all the particulars mentioned by those writers from whom Livy borrowed his accounts; yet our historian supposes, that weighty matters were proved against him, because [it is said] the sentence was deferred, not on account of any want of evidence, but merely on account of the place where the criminal was tried^d [the field of Mars, whence the Capitol could be seen]; that is to say, if Manlius was certainly tried by the people, and if sentence against him was deferred on account only of the place where he was tried, then it is probable there was sufficient proof of his guilt. But presently after,

2. Our historian lets us know that he is not quite sure that Manlius was tried and condemned by the people: for, after speaking of their passing sentence against him, contrary to their inclination, even when they were in a place from whence the Capitol could not be seen, he adds, "Some report that he was condemned by duumvirs, created to inquire into his treason." *Sunt qui per duumviros, qui de perduellione anquirerent creatos, auctores sint damnatum.*

3. As Livy by these last words discovers, that he did not know certainly before what court Manlius was tried; so, by what he says in the preceding chapter, he seems to allow his reader to believe, that the supposed criminal was never brought to trial before any court whatsoever, but was cut off by an act of mere violence, an act of that absolute power with which the senate had invested Camillus and the other military tribunes, on purpose to destroy him. I say, Livy seems to intimate this, when he tells us that the senate's giving that extraordinary power to the magistrates amounted to the same thing as a resolution to dispatch Manlius (as Ahala had dispatched Mælius) without any previous form of process.^e

That they destroyed Manlius, by casting him down from the Tarpeian rock, may be easily believed, though we suppose no public sentence to have passed against him specifying that punishment: because his house, where, it is probable, the officers of the magistrates seized him, stood in the citadel, and therefore very near to that rock.

tatis apparuerat, quòd, quum in publico deesset aurum, ex quo summa pactæ mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis collatum acceperant, ut auro sacro abstineretur. Matronis gratiæ actæ, honosque additus, ut earum, sicut virorum, post mortem solennis laudatio esset. Lib. 5. c. 50.

Plutarch reports that the privilege granted to the women of having funeral orations was in reward of their giving [he should have said lending] their ornaments to make a vase, to be sent to Delphos, in discharge of Camillus's vow, when he was just going to the assault of Veii.

^d Quum dies venit, quæ, præter cœtus multitudinis seditiosasque voces, et largitionem et fallax indicium, pertinentia propriè ad regni crimen, ab accusatoribus objecta sint reo, apud neminem auctorem invenio. Nec dubito haud parva fuisse, quum damnandi mora plebi non in causa, sed in loco, fuerit. C. 20.

N. B. Manlius's liberalities to the poor are said to have been urged against him as indications of his inordinate ambition. And he, in his defence, is said to have produced 400 citizens, to whom he had advanced money, without interest, to prevent their falling into the cruel hands of their creditors.

^e Magna pars [senatûs] vociferantur, "Servilio Ahala opus esse, qui non in vincula duci jubendo irritet publicum hostem, sed unius jactura civis finiat intestinum bellum." Decurritur ad leniorem verbis sententiam, vim tamen eandem habentem: "ut videant magistratus, ne quid ex perniciosis consiliis M. Manlii respublica detrimenti capiat." L. 6. c. 19.

4. To the arguments, above offered, against the pretended trial and condemnation of Manlius, for plotting to be king, may be added the great unlikelihood, that any Roman, not out of his senses, would, in those times, furnish even the smallest ground for suspecting him of such a plot. Is it not, in the highest degree, improbable, that Manlius should hope to raise himself to a regal throne, by the help of a populace, whom he could not but know to have an hereditary and insuperable aversion to the very names of king and kingdom: insomuch, that the ambition of reigning [*cupiditas regni*] was, with them, the most unpardonable of all crimes; and for which no kind nor degree of merit could atone? Livy, on the present occasion (as on several others), intimates this to have been the temper and turn of the Roman people: “*Illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines, quæ et quanta decora fœda cupiditas regni, non ingrata solùm, sed invisa etiam reddiderit,*” c. 20: and then enumerates the worthy actions and heroic exploits of Manlius. [See what has been said on this head in the close of chap. xiv. b. ii.]

But if Manlius was not guilty of designs against the liberty of his country, nor of slandering the senators, what was it that made them so unanimously combine to destroy him? I answer, “His singular merit, his honest zeal for the liberty of his fellow-citizens the poor plebeian debtors, continually exposed to become slaves to their merciless patrician creditors; [*Consensu opprimi popularem virum, quòd primus a patribus ad plebem defecisset:*] his reproaching the nobles severely in Livy, b. 6. words, and more severely by his example, with their rapaciousness, avarice, and c. 20. oppressive usury; and his urging them to do, freely and from virtue, what a few years after they were constrained to do by an act of the legislature, an act passed by the tribes, in spite of the most vigorous opposition from the senate, aided by Camillus, then dictator, and by a majority (which the senate had gained over to them) of the tribunes of the commons: I mean that law, which, to relieve the debtors, deducted from the principal debt whatever sums had been paid for interest.” It was but seven years after the death of Manlius, that Licinius Stolo proposed that law: which, with two other laws, he, after a ten years’ struggle, prevailed to have enacted; much to the benefit of the commonwealth, as will be seen in the sequel of the story. Whatever appearance of injustice it may have, to make a law on purpose to hinder those, who have fairly lent their money, from exacting what by contract is legally due to them from the borrowers; such a law was absolutely necessary at this time, in order to preserve to the commons of Rome any appearance of freedom. And the very passing of this law, notwithstanding so mighty an opposition made to it, is alone a cogent proof, that the oppression which they suffered was excessive, and the distemper of the state such as required extraordinary and violent remedies. If we consider the words with which Livy furnishes the centurion* (whom Manlius *See p. 125. delivered out] of the hands of his creditor), and the speech of Manlius† to the dic- †See p. 128: tator Cornelius Cossus, we shall have a just idea of the miserable condition of the commons, and of the relief proposed by their brave and generous advocate. For it is evident (as the reader will find) from the following parts of Livy’s narrative, that he does not make the two speakers exaggerate the grievances of the commons, or make them say more than was strictly true concerning the cruel oppression which the poor debtors laboured under: and the very remedy proposed by Manlius was one of those remedies that, very soon after, were by the legislature judged necessary to be employed.

Livy and Plutarch represent the zeal of Manlius in behalf of the debtors, as having its source in envy and anger, envy to Camillus, and anger against the senate for preferring that rival before him to govern the state and command the army. Doubtless in the year 369, when Manlius’s popularity is said to have alarmed the senate, he had just cause to think himself unworthily and injuriously neglected by them. But that this neglect of him was not the cause, but the effect of his zeal for the poor debtors, will, I think, appear from the following considerations.

A braver soldier than Marcus Manlius the Roman state had never produced. The military rewards which he received from the generals, under whom he served, are an incontestable proof of it; and in the year 361, two years before his most celebrated exploit of saving the Capitol, he had been honoured with the consulship. And yet after that important service (in 363) we never see him in any magistracy whatsoever. How shall we account for this? It may easily be granted, that Camillus was superior, in abilities, to Manlius, and to every other Roman of that time, for the conduct of an army; and this may furnish a plausible reason, why the senate, in pressing and extraordinary exigencies, had recourse to those abilities. But since no less than six persons were every year chosen to the military tribuneship (except in the year 364, when the senate continued Camillus in the dictatorship, that he might hinder the people from removing to Veii), and since there had been five elections in the time between the Gauls' departure and the commotion occasioned by the generosity of Manlius in 369, how came it to pass, that a patrician of such high birth, a hero so applauded and extolled at the time of the siege, was never after appointed to be one of the six governing magistrates? His brother, Aulus Manlius, who had no merit (that we read of) to recommend him, was nevertheless a military tribune in the year 365, and again in 369, the very year in which the senate created Cornelius Cossus dictator to quell the commotion raised by the liberality of Marcus.

May we not fairly gather from this uninterrupted exclusion of Marcus from the magistracy after the rebuilding of the city, that he began about that time to disoblige Camillus and the other oligarchs: and that their discontent with him was on account of his compassionate concern, warmly expressed, for the poor plebeians, loaded with debt, and who had lately "increased the burden by borrowing money to build their houses?" as Livy informs us.

It ought here to be remarked, that the necessity of borrowing money to build was a necessity to which they were subjected, merely by the senate's refusing to let them remove to Veii; which removal, after the total destruction of Rome by the Gauls, would in all appearance have been a very reasonable measure: but it would not have been consistent with the views of the oligarchs, who were bent upon making to themselves immense estates out of the newly-conquered Veientan territory.

It is not indeed unlikely, that Manlius (who unquestionably saved the Capitol) was discontented to see Camillus (who unquestionably did not drive away the Gauls and save the gold) so distinguished by the senate, as if he alone was qualified to command an army. And Manlius might with the more reason be dissatisfied, as he knew that Camillus's chief merit with the fathers was not his military skill, but his skill and inclination to keep the plebeians in extreme indigence, and thereby in a state of servitude to the patrician usurers. Livy, though he seems to have made it a rule to himself, always to speak respectfully of the senate, yet tells us, "that when the election of military tribunes, for the year 354, was coming on, the attention of the fathers to that affair, and their concern for the event, were very near being greater than their care about the war:"^f and yet the Romans were at that time engaged in the important siege of Veii: and he likewise tells us, "that the senate, when, in the year 359, by using their utmost efforts, they got Camillus into the military tribuneship, pretended, that it was to provide the republic with an able general, but that their real motive was to provide themselves with a magistrate, who would oppose the tribunes' bill for a distribution of the public lands:"^g so that Manlius, who was as compassionate and generous as he was brave, needed not the incitement of ambition or envy to make him displeased with the senate's throwing so much power into the

^f Jam comitia tribunorum militum aderant, quorum prope major patribus, quàm belli cura erat. L. 5. c. 14.

^g Comitibus tribunorum militum patres summa ope evicerunt, ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. Propter bella simulabant parari ducem, sed largitioni tribunicie adversarius quærebat. L. 5. c. 26.

hands of a man, whose temper and character made him very unfit to be at the helm of a free state.

Just reasons unquestionably there were, why Camillus, though an exile on account of maleadministration, was by an act of senate and people recalled from banishment and created dictator in the year 363, when the Gauls invested the Capitol; but the reasonableness of continuing him in the dictatorship throughout the year 364, may very well be questioned. For it is not evident, that, in this unprecedented step, they had any view to the good of the public; and it is plain, beyond a doubt, that they had a view to their private interests: that by the means of Camillus, invested with the terrors of absolute power, they purposed to keep the people at a distance from Veii, and thereby to hinder them from having their just share of the conquered lands, and likewise from seeing how shamefully the oligarchs made themselves rich by robbing the commonwealth. For that these were their principal objects appears from the whole thread of the history of these times.

We have seen that the fathers, when, in the year 360, by tears and entreaties and Vid. supra, talking much about religion, they had prevailed to have the [very unreasonable] bill, p. 95. for dividing the senate and people between Rome and Veii, rejected, were in such joy for their victory, that the next morning they passed a decree for assigning to every freeman of Rome seven acres of the lands of Veii. Doubtless this decree, though represented by Livy as an act of voluntary bounty, when joy had opened and dilated the hearts of the senators (not apt to such effusion of goodness) was made in performance of a promise, by which they had gained a majority of the tribes to vote against the bill in question. And there is some reason to doubt, whether they ever put the decree in execution. And, if they did, it would seem, that they very soon got the land back again out of the hands of the poor plebeians, and probably in satisfaction of interest for money they had lent to those plebeians.* For Livy in- * Vid. supra, introduces one of the tribunes, in that long contest which began about thirteen years pra, p. 95. after this notable bounty, expostulating with the principal senators, "How they could have the confidence to desire that every one of them might be allowed to possess more than 500 acres of land, while no more than two acres were allowed to each plebeian."^h

To return to Camillus: he was again created dictator in 365; and military tribune (for the fourth time) in 368, and again in 370; and invested with absolute power, purposely to destroy Manlius. Though Camillus had five colleagues, Plutarch represents him as principal in the prosecution, and as the magistrate who removed the assembly to a place whence the Capitol could not be seen: which makes M. Dacier ask, "But why was Camillus so eager to get Manlius condemned, a person of such eminent merit, and who had served so well? Why did he not leave that melancholy honour to his colleagues?" He adds, "Livy, to avoid throwing all the odium of the action upon Camillus alone, says, That the [military] tribunes, perceiving the effect which the sight of the Capitol produced," &c.ⁱ

M. Dacier might have found perhaps a satisfactory answer to his question, if he

^h Auderentne postulare, ut, quum bina jugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta jugera habere liceret? Ut singuli prope trecentorum civium possiderent agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum necessarium, aut locum sepulturæ, suus pateret ager? Liv. l. 6. c. 36.

And in lib. 6. c. 21. Livy informs us, that the senate (in the year 371, just after the murder of Manlius), to engage the people's consent to a declaration of war, passed a decree for dividing the Pomptin territory among them. Yet we do not find that this was done till many years after the decree.

ⁱ Mais pour quoi Camillus poursuivoit-il avec tant d'ardeur la condamnation de Manlius, d'un homme de ce merite et qui avoit si bien servi? Que ne cedit-il ce triste honneur à ses collegues? Aussi Tite Live, pour ne pas faire tomber toute la haine de cette action sur Camillus seul, dit, *Que les tribuns s'étant appercus de l'effet que cette vue produisoit, &c.*

had attended to what Plutarch says in his comparison of Camillus with Themistocles. The biographer, though he sometimes extols the Roman hero to the skies, yet leaves it doubtful, "Whether it was the love of liberty and of his country that made him prosecute Manlius to death, or whether his hatred to Manlius was not owing to a secret jealousy of a rival, illustrious by many noble exploits, and especially by that of saving the Capitol; whence he acquired the surname of Capitulinus."

But without having recourse either to *amor patriæ*, or to any supposed jealousy of a rival for military glory, it would seem that we may well account for Camillus's being the chief actor in the destruction of Manlius. This humane, generous, noble-spirited hero, by his civil and social virtues, reproached, eclipsed, and dishonoured, the invincible Camillus; and, by patronizing the cause of the distressed plebeians, opposed the gratification of his (seemingly-ruling passion) avarice.

Dr. Midd.
Pref. to Life
of Cicero,
p. 16.

A late celebrated author observes, "That the writers of particular lives are apt to be partial and prejudiced in favour of their subject, and to give us a panegyric instead of a history;"—and that "this seems to flow from the nature of the thing itself, where the very inclination to write is generally grounded in prepossession, and an affection already contracted for the person whose history we are attempting; and when we sit down with the disposition of a friend, it is natural for us to cast a shade over his failings, and to give the strongest colourings to his virtues."

Perhaps there is not a more striking instance of the truth of what is here said, than Plutarch's Life of Camillus. It abounds with indications of an extreme partiality. He extols the only good action (*recorded*) of his hero, greatly beyond its merit; and discovers a most friendly disposition to believe, that he never did any thing wrong.

Certainly it required no extraordinary elevation of soul, nor any thing beyond common prudence and policy, and a moderate sense of honour, to act as Camillus did, with relation to the schoolmaster of Falerii. It was one of those parts of conduct, the performance of which does not render a man so praiseworthy as the non-performance of them renders him infamous. Yet from Plutarch's admiration of the deed, one would imagine it to be something so glorious, as not to be looked at without having the eyes of our minds dazzled with its brightness.

Vid. supra,
p. 86.

Camillus was, by the Roman people, thought guilty of impious vanity, when, with his face painted red, and in a chariot drawn by white horses, he rode in triumph for the conquest of Veii. What says our biographer to this? Why, truly, he is of opinion, "That we may reasonably presume, the gods would not have showered down so many favours upon Camillus, if he had really offended them by any impiety."

But did not Camillus embezzle and appropriate to his private use some of the wealth belonging to the public? Of this he was accused; and he was cited to appear in judgment before the people to answer the charge. Neither the principal men of his tribe, nor his clients (which, says Livy,^k made a considerable part of the commons), nor (according to Plutarch) his colleagues heretofore in office, nor his friends, when all were assembled to consider of his case, would give him any hopes of escaping condemnation: so, to avoid a trial, he ran away, cursing his countrymen. One would naturally conclude from these particulars, that he was guilty. No, says Plutarch, "the gods declared him innocent by bringing the Gauls against Rome to revenge his cause, and punish the Romans for their unjust treatment of him."

And the biographer will have it, "that he was banished for his steady opposition to the bill for removing half of the senate and people to Veii;" which bill (if we may credit Livy) the people themselves, moved by the entreaties of the senators [and

^k — M. Furium ab urbe amovere. Qui, die dicta ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis, propter prædam Veientanam, filio quoque adolescente per idem tempus orbatus, quum accitis domum tribulibus, et clientibus, quæ magna pars plebis erat, percunctatus animos eorum, responsum tulisset, *Se collaturos quanti damnatus esset, absolvere eum non posse, in exilium abiit.* L. 5. c. 32.

probably more moved by a promise of seven acres of the lands of Veii to each of them], had rejected three years before this prosecution.

Indeed it is highly probable, that, long before the impeachment of Camillus, the greater part of the plebeians had received impressions much to his disadvantage: for the whole series of his conduct towards the commons appears, even from the accounts given of it by his panegyrists, to have been base and detestable: so base, that one may reasonably wonder how it could happen, that Camillus should be such a favourite character as he certainly is with most readers of ancient history. However, this may perhaps be sufficiently accounted for by the same reflections which the ingenious writer, before quoted, makes on another occasion.

“ Among the celebrated names of antiquity, those of the great conquerors and generals attract our admiration always the most, and imprint a notion of magnanimity, and power, and capacity for dominion, superior to that of other mortals: these are the only persons who are thought to shine in history, or to merit the attention of the reader: dazzled with the splendour of their victories, and the pomp of their triumphs, we consider them as the pride and ornament of the Roman name; while the pacific and civil character, though of all others the most beneficial to mankind, whose sole ambition is to support the laws, the rights, and liberty of his citizens, is looked upon as humble and contemptible on the comparison, for being forced to truckle to the power of these oppressors of their country.”

Midd. Life
of Cicero,
Pref. p. 17.

That Camillus was superior in military skill to all his contemporaries, and that he did important service to his country by many victories¹ in the field, is not to be disputed. But when we have granted thus much, what is there more to say in his praise? How scandalous an appearance does he make as a citizen, a member of a republic erected on the principles of liberty?

1. He is reported to have vowed the tenth of the spoil of Veii to Apollo, in case the Romans should become masters of the place.

Livy says, that Camillus made this vow just before he assailed the walls: according to Plutarch, it was before he set out from Rome to go to the siege: and it seems most probable, from the sequel of the story, that neither before nor after he left Rome, did he ever act so senseless a part: but that when he and the senate, thinking that the poor soldiers had got too rich a reward of their labours (during a ten years' siege) wanted to rob them of part of it, he then falsely pretended to have made the vow in question. For should we grant, that the general of a Roman army might, from certain religious prepossessions, without being out of his senses, really intend to make a present of a tenth part of the wealth of Veii (the richest city of Tuscany) to the Grecian priests of Apollo at Delphi; I say, supposing this, How came it, that Camillus did not in due time, and before the booty was carried off, acquaint the soldiers with his act of devotion? Why, truly, he had forgot it: “ the worst,” says Plutarch, Vid. supra, “ and the most ridiculous of all excuses.” The soldiers, nevertheless, threatened with the anger of the gods, paid into the public stock the value of a tenth of what they had brought home.

2. Fraud and imposture succeeding so well, a new trial of it is made the next year. The poor citizens being many of them eagerly bent on removing to Veii, that they may get a reasonable share of the lands belonging to it, Camillus, to throw a religious obstacle in their way, is pleased then to have a new scruple: he recalls to mind, that his vow to Apollo had comprehended, not only the moveables, but the city of Veii, and all its territory. The senate^m have tender consciences, and therefore refer this nice

Vid. supra,
p. 89.

¹ Plutarch, in comparing the exploits of Camillus with those of Themistocles, intimates, that there is so much of surprise, and of the *merveilleux*, spread over the actions of the Roman, as made them fitter subjects for painters and poets than for historians.

^m Quum ea disceptatio, anceps senatui visa, delegata ad pontifices esset, adhibito Camillo, visum collegio, quod ejus ante conceptum votum Veientium fuisset, et post

Vid. supra,
p. 84.

case to the pontifices, the casuists of the state. These having discoursed with Camillus, and informed themselves satisfactorily of his intention when he made the vow, are clear in opinion, that Apollo must have the tenth of whatever had, before the vow, belonged to the Veientes, and had since the vow fallen into the power of the Romans. [Not a word however of the money raised by the sale of the captives, and transmitted to the public treasury (that is to say, transmitted to Rome for the use of the leading men of the senate): for though the persons of the Veientes had fallen into the power of the Romans, yet the casuists, it is likely, might hold, that the persons of the Veientes being the Veientes themselves, they could not properly be said to belong to the Veientes, and so were not comprehended within the vow.] Well, but how shall Apollo get his due? The tenth of the houses and lands of Veii cannot be sent to Delphi. Camillus and his associates have an easy expedient for this. They get the town and territory appraised, and they pay out of the public treasury, into their own hands, the tenth of the value; that they may buy gold to make a cup for Apollo. [The god was to have had a cup, before the appraisement, and he gets nothing more now: no; but the senate find their account in this transaction. For the public having purchased, of the god, his tenth of the city and lands of Veii, and this tenth not being divided from the rest, it is become impracticable for the people to put their project in execution, till the senate shall think proper to ascertain and set out the particular houses and lands that belong to the public, in virtue of the late purchase.]

Livy exhibits to his reader this whole scene of oppression, knavery, and religious imposture, and makes Camillus the principal actor in all: and yet speaks of him as the glory of Rome at this time, and the envy of M. Manlius.

On the other hand, though the historian (wanting proof) first supposes Marcus Manlius to have been actuated by pride, envy, and ambition, and then invents for him words and discourse, such as a man, under the influence of those passions, might possibly utter; yet it is to be remarked, that he mentions not any one thing as certainly done by Manlius, but what is praiseworthy.

And from these observations one would be inclined to think, that the oldest traditions, and perhaps the first written accounts, concerning the transactions of those times, were all favourable to Manlius, and much to the disadvantage of the senate and Camillus: but that the later historians (and Livy in particular), who on many occasions do evidently consult the glory of the Romans, and especially of the senate, more than truth, perceiving plainly, that, in the minds of strangers and of posterity, the venerable fathers and optimates of those days would be much disgraced, if it remained an established point of history, "That an eminent patrician, a man distinguished for his bravery, and gallant exploits, and who had done essential service to the state, was assassinated by them, only because he impoverished himself to relieve poor debtors, and warmly declaimed against excessive usury;" the later historians, I say, to cover, in part, the infamous conduct of Camillus and the patrician faction, thought it convenient to suppose (without evidence) the truth of what that faction imputed to Manlius, when they had determined to cut him off. Accordingly, those writers have reported, that in all probability Manlius (otherwise a Roman of eminent virtue) was seized with the *cupiditas regni*,ⁿ and endeavoured to make himself king of Rome. Of this charge against him, Livy confesses that he found no proof, except

votum in potestatem populi Romani venisset, ejus partem decimam Apollini sacram esse. Ita in æstimationem urbs agerque venit: pecunia e ærario prompta, et tribunis militum consularibus, ut aurum ex ea coëmerent, negotium datum. L. 5. c. 25.

* Vid. supra, vol. i. p. 361. et seq.

ⁿ The same distemper had, with equal truth, been imputed to Spurius Cassius,* and in aftertimes was imputed to Tiberius Gracchus and his brother Caius. This stratagem of the senate, when they wanted to destroy an adversary by the hands of the Roman people, was somewhat like pointing out to our populace a man, as bit by a mad dog, and incurable, and whom it is necessary to destroy in order to prevent mischief. The latter is not so malicious, because not so certainly fatal, as was the other.

his good deeds (his liberalities), and some seditious discourse, that is to say, some discourse against exorbitant usury, cruelty to insolvent debtors, and robbing the public; of all which the chief men of the senate were notoriously guilty: for it is to be observed, that, with Livy, *sedition* frequently signifies nothing more than opposition to the desires and measures of the senate.

If it be granted (as surely it will), that in order to form just ideas of the merit or demerit of those men who make the principal figures in history, we must attend chiefly to what they did, and not to the characters given of them by their historians, M. Manlius Capitolinus will, I think, appear to have been an honest, benevolent, generous, open-hearted, brave soldier, a friend to just liberty; the invincible M. Furius Camillus, a vain, hypocritical, avaricious robber of the public, the champion of tyrannical usurers, and the murderer of the best man in the commonwealth. Always a hero in the field, always an oppressor in the city, he opposed for ten years together the enacting of those laws, to the execution of which, when enacted, were owing the liberty, the virtue, the glory, and the empire, of the Romans.^o I mean the laws proposed by Licinius Stolo, in the year 377, and passed by the tribes in 386. A writer, Dr. Midd. on no occasion partial to the tribunes of the commons, tells us, that “they never left Pref. to Life of Cicero, teasing the senate with fresh demands, till they had laid open to the plebeian families of Cicero, a promiscuous right to all the magistracies of the republic, and by that means a free p. 37. admission into the senate.” He adds, “Thus far they were certainly in the right, and acted like true patriots; and after many sharp contests had now brought the government of Rome to its perfect state; when its honours were no longer confined to particular families, but proposed equally and indifferently to every citizen; who, by his virtue and services, either in war or peace, could recommend himself to the notice and favour of his countrymen.” To hinder this improvement of the constitution, and to keep the plebeians in a slavish dependence on insatiable patrician usurers, were the chief objects of the care of the great Camillus, in his old age. Created dictator by the senate (in the year 385) for no other end, but that he might abuse the power annexed to that office, he (to answer the purpose of his creation), by menaces, and by his lictors, drove the people from the Forum, when they were going to enact the most excellent laws. The two tribunes, however, not dismayed hereby, and knowing his weak side, quickly frightened him, by an attack there, into an abdication of his dictatorship. Plutarch speaks only of their threatening him with a heavy fine; but Livy tells us,^p that, according to some writers, the tribunes actually got a law passed by the commons, subjecting him to that heavy fine, in case he interposed his authority of dictator, to hinder the proceedings of the *comitia*. Be that as it will, Camillus, after mention of the fine, suddenly laid down his sovereign magistracy, under pretence, says Plutarch, of bodily indisposition. The Latin historian, very unwilling to believe that the hero retreated through fear, gives four or five reasons against that opinion; and is inclined to think, that he quitted his post out of a religious scruple, relating to some newly-discovered defect in the ceremony of his inauguration: but if the love of riches was the hero’s ruling passion, as it seems to have been, this will furnish a sufficient answer to twenty better reasons than Livy has produced; and, by the account which Plutarch gives of the insult offered to the hero the next year, when he was again dictator, and of the meek part he then acted, it appears (if the story be

^o In the introduction to the fourth book of this History, the reader will find some reflections on the excellency of these laws; and he may find the same reflections inserted in the preliminary discourse of the ingenious author of the new translation of Cæsar’s Commentaries.

^p — Re neutrò inclinata, magistratu se abdicavit: seu quia vitio creatus erat, ut scripsere quidam; seu quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad plebem, idque plebes scivit, ut, si M. Furius pro dictatore quid egisset, quingentum millium æris ei mulcta esset. L. 6. c. 38.

true, for Livy says nothing of it) that the tribunes, by threatening to make him pay, had totally subdued his spirit.

I conclude from the whole of these remarks, that Manlius, innocent of all designs against the liberty of his country, fell a sacrifice to the avarice and ambition of Camillus, and the other oligarchs, his associates in oppressive iniquities.

CHAP. III.

During the six following years, and the beginning of the seventh, Rome is almost entirely free from civil dissensions; but wars are carried on abroad against the Prænestini and Volsci, with very little interruption. Camillus being one of the military tribunes in the year 373, gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when disrespectfully treated by one of his colleagues.

Year of
R O M E
371.
B. C. 381.

Thirty-
ninth mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 21.

* A third
time.

† A fourth
time.

‡ A third
time.

§ A third
time.

|| A third
time.

AULUS MANLIUS* [probably an infamous usurer, and for that reason not consenting to the death of his brother Marcus^q] was chosen one of the military tribunes at the very next election, and with him were joined L. Valerius,† Ser. Sulpicius,‡ L. Lucretius,§ L. Æmilius,|| and M. Trebonius. The plague still raged, and, to add to the misfortune, Rome was not only threatened again by the Volsci, but by some of her own colonies which revolted; so that the senate found it necessary to engage the people's consent to a war. And in order to this, they promised to divide the Pomptin territory among them, and named five commissioners to make the distribution of lands, and three others to lead a colony to Nepete. Hereupon the tribes unanimously agreed, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes, that troops should be raised to act against the several enemies of Rome. Accordingly troops were raised; but, the plague continuing, the military tribunes durst not lead them into the field. And though Præneste followed the example of Velitræ, Circaei, and other colonies, the low condition of the republic obliged her to suspend her resentments.

But in the following military tribuneship of Sp. Papi-
rius, L. Papirius, Ser. Cornelius,* Q. Servilius, Ser. Sul-
picius, and L. Æmilius,† the two first marched an army

* A fourth
time.

† A fourth
time.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 22.

^q Aulus Manlius was one of the military tribunes when the patricians made their first attempt to destroy his brother, in the year 369.

towards Velitræ, and in the neighbourhood of that place defeated the Veliterni, though joined by great numbers from Præneste. The generals did not think it advisable to besiege Velitræ, but rather to pursue the war with vigour against the Prænestins, who had farther provoked the Romans by assisting the Volsci.

Year of
R O M E
372.
B. C. 380.

Fortieth
mil. trib.

And now the republic having much work upon her hands, turned her eyes again upon the invincible Camillus, to raise him a sixth time to the military tribuneship. Camillus, apprehensive of the vicissitude of fortune, was willing to spend the remainder of his days in tranquillity: but in vain he endeavoured to excuse himself, by pleading his age and infirmities; the people declared, that they did not expect him to fight in person, either on foot or on horseback, but only desired him to assist the army with his counsel, and make it invincible by commanding it. A. Posthumius, L. Posthumius, L. Furius, L. Lucretius,* and M. Fabius Ambustus, were chosen to be his colleagues. The senate decreed the conduct of the war against the Volsci to Camillus; it fell by lot to L. Furius to be joined with him. All the troops, consisting of four legions, marched towards Satricum, which the Volsci and Prænestins had lately taken, and where they had formed their camp. Camillus posted himself at a small distance from the enemy, but was in no haste to fight; he either waited for better health, or to receive a reinforcement of troops. In the meantime the Volsci endeavoured to provoke the Romans to a battle, and these grew impatient of the insult. Their ardour for fighting was increased by the rash discourses of young Furius, who imputed the prudent delays of his colleague “to his age, which (he said) had chilled his blood.” He at length addressed himself to Camillus, reproached him with his inaction, and urged him to comply with the desires of the soldiers. Camillus answered with an air of superiority, but with great temper, That hitherto the Roman people had not been dissa-

Year of
R O M E
373.
B. C. 379.

Forty-first
mil. trib.

Plut. Life of
Camillus,
p. 148.

* A third
time.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 23.

Plut. Life of
Camillus,
p. 149.

Year of
R O M E
373.
B. C. 379.

Forty-first
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 24.

C. 25.

tisfied with his conduct in war; that, nevertheless, if the impetuosity which hurried the soldiers on to an engagement was not to be restrained, he wished them success, but desired to be excused, on account of his age, from engaging in the foremost ranks. While Furius drew up his troops in order of battle, Camillus prepared a *corps de reserve* to assist his colleague in case of distress; and this precaution proved of great importance: for when the young general, whose vigorous charge did not fail to put the Volsci to flight, had, through his indiscreet warmth in pursuing them too far, suffered a defeat, Camillus rallied the broken cohorts, and repulsed the enemy. The next day he joined battle with them again. Furius, whom he had placed at the head of the cavalry, being sensible of his fault, entreated his troops to exert themselves to recover his reputation. Accordingly, when the infantry were hard pressed, the horse, at his request, dismounted, and gave them assistance so opportunely, as to make them victorious. Among the prisoners were found some of the inhabitants of Tusculum, a neighbouring city, and in alliance with Rome. These, being examined, declared, that they had taken arms with the consent of their magistrates. This account alarmed Camillus, and he thought it necessary to go in person to Rome with the prisoners, and lay the matter before the senate. Though he left Furius to command the troops during his absence, yet it was generally believed, both in the army and in the city, that his chief business at Rome was to complain of him. The senate, therefore, when they observed that he said nothing of Furius, but confined his discourse to the revolt of the Tusculans, were much astonished; and still more so, when, of all his colleagues, he chose Furius to accompany him in the new expedition against Tusculum. By this conduct Camillus gained honour to himself, and covered the disgrace of the young general [probably his kinsman]. As for the Tusculans, they disarmed the resentment of the

Romans by making no resistance. Camillus found the husbandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundest peace; the magistrates of the city sent him provisions, and came out to meet him; and when he entered the place he found the shops and schools open, the markets full, and not the least sign of war. The generals, pleased and satisfied with these tokens of repentance, advised the senate of Tusculum to send a deputation to Rome, there to make their submission. Deputies were accordingly dispatched, who, habited in mourning, and with their dictator at their head, addressed the conscript fathers in a suppliant manner. The senate readily forgave the Tusculans, and, to make them entirely Roman, granted them, soon after, the privileges of Roman citizens.

Year of
R O M E
373.
B. C. 379.

Forty-first
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 26.

The following administration of L. Valerius,* P. Valerius,† L. Menenius,‡ C. Sergius,§ Sp. Papirius, and Ser. Cornelius,|| was disturbed by domestic seditions and a foreign war. The two censors had begun to examine into the grounds of the complaints made by the poor debtors, when one of those magistrates died; upon which the other, as custom required, laid down his office, and the Romans proceeded to a new election. But the patricians, who were doubtless afraid of a census (because it must of course discover their riches and excessive usury, and the oppression which the poor debtors laboured under), pretended some defect in the election, and thence took occasion to declare publicly, that it was against the will of the gods, that the republic should have any censors this year. The tribunes of the commons exclaimed against this proceeding, as an intolerable artifice; and would suffer no levies to be made to oppose the Prænestins, till these, emboldened by the discord in Rome, came pillaging to its very gates. Then in a fright and a hurry the people all ran to arms, Titus Quinctius was created dictator, troops were raised without opposition, and the Prænestins (such a dread they had of a

Year of
R O M E
374.
B. C. 378.

Forty-second
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 27.

* A fifth
time.

† A third
time.

‡ A second
time.

§ A third
time.

|| A fifth
time.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 28.

Year of
R O M E
374.
B. C. 378.

Forty-se-
cond mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 29.

dictator) instantly removed farther off. Possessed with a vain conceit, that the banks of the Allia must always prove a fatal place to the Romans, they encamped there, and were there routed. The dictator, by assault, took eight towns subject to Præneste, and then Velitræ; after which, Præneste, without waiting to be attacked, capitulated. From that city Quinctius brought, in triumph, the statue of Jupiter Imperator, and placed it in the Capitol between the sanctuaries of Jupiter Capitolinus and Minerva, and then abdicated his dictatorship, which he had held only twenty days.

Year of
R O M E
375.
B. C. 377.

Forty-third
mil. trib.

* A second
time.
Livy, b. 6.
c. 30.

The government of the republic passed now into the hands of three patricians and three plebeians: the former were P. Manlius, C. Manlius, and L. Julius;* the latter C. Sextilius, M. Albinus, and L. Antistius. To the two Manlii, because more nobly born than their plebeian colleagues, and more in favour than Julius, the senate gave the conduct of the war against the Volsci, but had soon cause to repent of this preference: for those generals, without first acquainting themselves with the country, sent out some cohorts to forage; and, upon the single report of a Latin, who, disguised under the appearance of a Roman soldier, came hastily with the false tidings, that the foragers were by the enemy intercepted and surrounded, marched the army with all expedition to their rescue, and thereby fell into an ambush, where the desperate courage alone of the soldiers (not the skill of the commanders) preserved them from total destruction; and the Volsci, during the action, detached a part of their troops, which surprised and plundered the Roman camp. When the news of these disasters came to Rome, the senate were at first for naming a dictator; but judging by the inaction of the conquerors, that they knew not how to improve a victory, it was only resolved to call home the army and its commanders. During these misfortunes abroad, Rome continued free from all domestic broils; which may reasonably be imputed to the

share the plebeians had at this time in the government.

The next year, when Sp. Furius, Q. Servilius,* C. Licinius, P. Clælius, M. Horatius, and L. Geganius, all patricians, held the military tribuneship, was far from being so peaceable. What gave occasion to the disturbance, were the debts. To inquire into these, two censors had been created; but they could not proceed in the affair, because of a fresh irruption of the Volsci into the Roman territory. The tribunes of the commons, however, pursued their point with more warmth than ever, and opposed the levies, till they had forced the senate to issue a decree, that no person should be disturbed either for private debts, or for the public taxes, during the present war. Hereupon all opposition to the levies ceased, and the Romans took ample revenge on the Volsci. But the war was no sooner at an end, than the creditors renewed the prosecution of their debtors; who, far from having any hopes of discharging their old debts, found themselves under a necessity of contracting new, on account of a tax imposed on them, to defray the expense of a wall of square stone, which the censors were building; and the oppressed plebeians could get no help from their tribunes, because, no army being at this time wanted, these had no levies to obstruct.

Nay, the next year, when, by the powerful influence of the patricians, six^r men of that order were again in the supreme magistracy, they raised, without any opposition from the tribunes of the commons, three armies, one to guard the city, another to be ready to march on any unexpected occasion, and a third to take the field under the command of Valerius and Æmilius, against the confederated Latins and Volsci, who had commenced hostilities, and were encamped near Satricum, a city of the Volsci. In this war the Romans had the

Year of
R O M E
376.

B. C. 376.

Forty-
fourth mil.
trib.

* A second
time.
Livy, b. 6.
c. 31.

C. 32.

Year of
R O M E
377.

B. C. 375.

Forty-fifth
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 32, 33.

^r L. Æmilius, a fifth time,
S. Sulpicius, a second time,
P. Valerius, a fourth time,

L. Quinct. Cincinnat., a second time,
C. Veturius,
C. Quintius.

Year of
R O M E
377.
B. C. 375.

Forty-fifth
mil. trib.

advantage. The confederates, after sustaining some losses, quarrelled among themselves, upon the question, Whether the war should be continued? The Antiates and the rest of the Volsci desired peace; the Latins, obstinately averse to it, separated from them in a rage, which they vented first on Satricum, reducing it to ashes, and sparing only a temple of the goddess Matuta. (This divinity, according to Plutarch, was the same whom the Greeks called Leucothea, or Ino, daughter of Cadmus.) Thence they fell upon the Tusculans, to punish them for having deserted the Latin confederacy, and accepted the privileges of Roman citizens. They surprised the town, but the inhabitants retired into the citadel, which they held out till they were relieved, probably by that Roman army which had been kept ready to march upon occasion. The Romans took the place by assault, and the Latins within the walls of it were all cut to pieces, not one escaping.

CHAP. IV.

SECT. I. The lower sort of the people of Rome are overawed and oppressed by the
 great and the rich ; and the commons in general lose that spirit and courage they
 formerly had in contending with the nobles. II. In the midst of this extreme de-
 jection, the vanity of a woman sets three bold and enterprising men at work to raise
 the fortune of the plebeians higher than ever, and to obtain even the dignity of the
 consulship for persons of that order. The three who form this design are M. Fa-
 bius Ambustus, the lady's father (a patrician); C. Licinius Stolo, her husband (a
 plebeian); and L. Sextius (another plebeian of great distinction.) The two latter
 having obtained the office of tribunes of the people, propose a law for the restrain-
 ing of usury, another to prohibit any citizen from possessing more than 500 laws.
 acres of land, and a third to restore the consulate, and make it an established
 rule for the future, that of the two consuls one shall indispensably be a plebeian.
 The senate and patricians on this occasion gain over to them eight of the tribunes,
 who pronouncing the word *veto*, when the affair is brought before the tribes, quash
 the whole project for the present. III. Licinius and Sextius, in revenge, and to
 gain their point, being continued in the office of tribunes of the commons, oppose
 and hinder for four years successively any election of military tribunes; and the
 republic falls into a kind of anarchy. But, in the fifth year, a new war breaking
 out, obliges them to desist from their opposition; and then six military tribunes,
 all patricians, are chosen to the government. The war continuing, military tri-
 bunes are again elected, and these too are six men of the patrician order. Never-
 theless, as Fabius Ambustus happens to be one of the number, Sextius and Licinius,
 having his countenance and assistance, take this opportunity to renew their pro-
 posal of the three laws; to which they add a fourth, importing, that ten guardians,
 instead of two, shall have the care of the Sybilline books, and that of these ten, five
 shall be plebeian. The determination of the whole affair is suspended on account
 of the absence of so many citizens as are employed in the war. IV. The next year
 the republic has again six patrician governors, but the senate is obliged to have re-
 course to a dictator, and Camillus is raised (a fourth time) to that dignity. He
 disperses by his authority an assembly of the tribes, which the tribunes had con-
 vened in order to get the laws passed; and presently after resigns his post. V.
 P. Manlius is chosen dictator in his room. This dictator names a plebeian to be
 his general of the horse, the first instance of such a nomination. The tribunes, hav-
 ing a supreme magistrate so favourable to them, think of pushing their affair with
 fresh vigour; but the people themselves grow cold and indifferent as to that part
 of the project which relates to the consulate. Sextius and Licinius, enraged hereat,
 tell them plainly, in a general assembly, that either that law, which qualifies ple-
 beians for the consulate, shall pass, or none; and that if they persist in such ingra-
 titude to their protectors, they will no longer serve in the office of the tribuneship.
 Appius Claudius (grandson of the decemvir) makes a speech, expatiating on the
 insolence shewn in such a declaration. The decision of the affair is put off. Soon
 after the commons obtain the law concerning the Sybils' books, and then suffer new
 military tribunes to be chosen, all patricians. VI. The contest relating to the other
 laws is revived with great heat, but is again suspended by the approach of an army
 of Gauls. Camillus is appointed dictator (a fifth time). He defeats the enemy,
 and has a triumph at his return to Rome. VII. The tribunes, Sextius and Lici-
 nius, being resolved to carry their point, summon the tribes, and proceed immedi-
 ately to take the voices. Upon the dictator's opposing their measures, they send
 an officer to seize him and carry him to prison. This causes a great commotion
 and struggle. The dictator and senate retire to the senate-house, to consider what
 is best to be done, and they come to a resolution to concede that one of the con-
 suls may be a plebeian. Hereupon the centuries choose L. Æmilius and L. Sextius
 (the tribune) to the consulate. But now the senate refuse to confirm the election
 of the latter, which occasions new and warm contentions. The dictator, to quiet
 them, proposes that the prerogative of judging in civil causes be taken from the
 consulate, and prætors be appointed to perform that function, and that these præ-
 tors be always patricians. Hereto both parties agree, and the senate acquiesce in
 having a plebeian consul. VIII. The curule ædileship is established in favour of
 the patricians. The tribunes soon after obtain, that plebeians may be chosen to the
 curule ædileship. IX. The next year, L. Genucius and Q. Servilius being con-
 suls, a dreadful plague in Rome carries off many persons of distinction, among
 whom is the great Camillus.

Licinian

laws.

378.

382.

383.

384.

385.

Plebeian

general of

the horse.

386.

Plebeian

consul.

Prætors.

387.

Curule

ædiles.

388.

Camillus

dies.

Year of
R O M E
377.
B. C. 375.

Forty-fifth
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 34.

* Nexi.

§. I. A TREATY concluded with the Antiates, and the defeat of the Latins, gave the republic an interval of rest from foreign wars: but as the senators and rich patricians, when they stood in no need of the assistance of the lower sort, never failed to oppress them; so the more quietness there was at this time abroad, the more violence and tyranny did they exercise at home towards their plebeian debtors. Multitudes of these being insolvent, were condemned to be bond-slaves * to their merciless creditors; which melancholy scene so depressed and sunk the spirits not only of the meaner plebeians, but even of the most considerable of that order, that, far from having the courage to stand in competition with the nobles for the military tribuneship, there was not among them all a man of ability and experience, who would sue for or consent to bear even the plebeian magistracies.^s But now, at this very crisis, when the patricians seemed to have secured to themselves for ever all authority in the state, and to have reduced the commons to a kind of despondent subjection, a trifling accident gave occasion to a wonderful change in the face of things: the plebeians on a sudden raised their drooping spirits, and with a dauntless ambition carried their pretensions, and with success too, higher than ever.

§. II. M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS, a patrician of great credit in both parties, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to S. Sulpicius, a patrician by birth, and now military tribune; the younger to a rich plebeian, named C. Licinius Stolo. One day when this plebeian's wife was at her sister's house, a lictor who

^s Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris erant, tanto in urbe vis patrum indies miseræque plebis crescebant; quum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi, facultas solvendi impediretur. Itaque quum jam ex re nihil dari posset, fama et corpore judicati atque addicti creditoribus satisfaciebant, pœnaque in vicem fidei cesserat. Adeo ergo obnoxios summiserant animos non infimi solum, sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad tribunatum militum inter patricos petendum, quod tanta vi, ut liceret, tetenderant; sed ne ad plebeios quidem magistratus capessendos petendosque ulli viro acri experientique animus esset: possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per paucos annos recuperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur. Ne id nimis lætum parti alteri esset, parva (ut plerumque solet) rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit. M. Fabii Ambusti, &c.

walked before Sulpicius at his return from the senate, thundered at the door (a usual thing) with the staff of the fasces, to give notice that the magistrate was coming. This noise, to which the wife of Licinius had not been accustomed, put her into a fright. Her sister, taking notice of it, could not forbear laughing at her, seeming much to wonder at her ignorance. A very small matter, says Livy, is sufficient to disturb the quiet of a woman's mind. The vanity of the younger Fabia was stung to the quick by her sister's laughing; it made her feel the inequality of their conditions; and her uneasiness did not fail to be increased by the crowd of people that came to pay their court to her sister, and receive her commands. Her father happening to see her while she was yet in the first anguish of her grief, and perceiving by her countenance that something troubled her, kindly asked her what it was, and whether all was well at home. At first he could get no satisfactory answer from her: she was ashamed to own, either that she envied her sister, or was discontented with her husband. But Fabius continuing, in soft words, to press her to disclose the secret, she at length confessed, that the true cause of her pain was her being married unsuitably to her quality, and into a family incapable of honours and high stations. The father being very fond of his daughter, omitted nothing that could be said to comfort her, promising, "that it should not be long before she saw at home the same honours which she had seen in her sister's house." And from this time he began to plot with his son-in-law for the interest of the commons; these two associating in their projects L. Sextius, a young plebeian of capacity and spirit, and who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the highest offices in the republic. The oppression which the poor plebeians laboured under at this time, and from which they could never hope to be freed, but by raising some of their own body to the supreme power, gave a fair oc-

Year of
R O M E
377.

B. C. 375.

Forty-fifth
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 35.

Year of
R O M E
377.
B. C. 375.

Forty-fifth
mil. trib.

casion to the cabal to attempt an innovation in the government. It was thought expedient, for the easier compassing their designs, that Licinius and Sextius should begin, by getting the plebeian tribuneship, a magistracy that would enable them to open themselves a way to the highest dignities. And when they had carried that first point (which they soon did), they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to put the plebeians, already not inferior to the nobles in courage and virtue, upon a foot of equality with them in respect of honours too, boldly aiming, not at the military tribuneship, but at the very consulship itself. They proposed a law for suppressing the office of military tribune, restoring the consulate, and requiring, that of the two consuls to be annually chosen, one should always be a plebeian. And in order to make the people more eager to pass this law, they tacked it to two others relating to the debts and the conquered lands.

By the first of these two laws there was to be deducted from the capital debt whatever sums had been paid for interest, and the principal was to be discharged in three years, and by three equal payments.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
b. 1. c. 2.

The second was to prohibit any Roman citizen from possessing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that restriction were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer citizens.

It is easy to guess, that laws of such weighty import were not to be obtained without violent struggles. Riches and honours, those objects of the most passionate desires of men, were the interests in question. The senators, alarmed and terrified, held public and private councils, but could fall upon no expedient to avert the impending evil, except that of gaining some of the tribunes over to their party; an expedient which in like contests they had formerly employed with success. And now the eight colleagues of Licinius and Sextus were all

prevailed with to oppose the measures of these two ; so that when the projectors of the new laws had convened the tribes to give their voices concerning them, the other tribunes would not so much as suffer the reading of them to the assembly : the word *veto* (I forbid) put a stop to all proceedings thereupon. The two tribunes having frequently assembled the people, but still in vain, Sextius, at length, addressing himself to the patricians, said aloud, “ Very well ; since intercession^t is always to have so prevailing a power, we shall take care to defend the commons with the very same weapon. Appoint an assembly whenever you please for electing military tribunes ; the word *veto*, which our colleagues now chant in concert so harmoniously, will not then be so pleasing a music to your ears.”

Year of
R O M E
377.
B. C. 375.

Forty-fifth
mil. trib.

§. III. THESE were no empty menaces ; for, the time being come for a new election of curule magistrates, Sextius and Licinius opposed and hindered all proceeding thereto ; and being themselves continued in the plebeian tribuneship, they renewed the same opposition for five years successively, so that the republic fell into a kind of anarchy. At length, in the fifth year, a foreign enemy came as it were to the assistance of the senate. The inhabitants of Velitræ, a Roman colony, grown wanton with idleness, and seeing no Roman army on foot, made some incursions on the lands of the republic, and then besieged Tusculum. The Tusculans had long been allies, and had lately been admitted citizens of Rome, so that the plebeians as well as the nobles were ashamed to refuse them assistance. Sextius and Licinius therefore waving their opposition, an assembly was held by an interrex, for electing military tribunes. The choice fell on six patricians,^u who, after some difficulty in making the levies, marched an army against the ene-

Years of
R O M E
378. 379.
380. 381.
382.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 36.

^t The term expressing the opposition of the tribunes to any public act.

^u L. Furins, a second time,
P. Valerius, a fifth time,
A. Manlius, a fourth time,

S. Sulpicius, a third time,
C. Valerius,
S. Cornelius, a sixth time.

Year of
R O M E
383.
B. C. 369.

Forty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

* A second
time.

my, defeated them, raised the siege of Tusculum, and besieged Velitræ: and, this place not being taken when their year drew towards a close, the centuries created six new military tribunes^x to carry on the siege; and among these, M. Fabius Ambustus,* the father-in-law of Licinius Stolo. The state of affairs at Rome was now much altered, not only by this promotion of Fabius to the supreme magistracy, but by an increase of strength which the favourers of the new laws had got in the college of tribunes, of whom at this time there were but five who opposed those laws. Licinius and Sextius being thus supported by three of their colleagues, and by a military tribune, pushed their point with more warmth than ever. They were now the seventh year in office, and, by long habit, thoroughly practised in the art of managing the people. In the presence of the multitude they boldly and repeatedly asked the chief men of the senate, “with what assurance they could desire, that the laws should allow them to possess more than 500 acres of land, when only two acres were allotted to each plebeian? Is it reasonable that every one of you should hold the lands of near 300 citizens, and that a commoner should hardly have ground enough whereon to build him a small habitation to live in, or sufficient for a burial-place when he dies?”

Livy, b. 6.
c. 37.

When by these and such-like doleful words they had stirred up the people to a much greater indignation than they felt themselves, they immediately added, “But how is it possible that any bounds should be set to the avarice of the patricians, or to their oppression of the people, unless the people themselves will provide for their own security, by raising some of their own body to the highest magistracy? Nor will it be sufficient that plebeians be qualified by law to be consuls. They obtained the privilege of standing for the military tribune-

^x Q. Servilius, a third time,
M. Cornelius,
C. Veturius, a second time,

Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus,
A. Cornelius,
M. Fabius.

ship ; and yet, in forty-four years,^y not one of their order was promoted to that dignity ! The number of military tribunes, at their first institution, was ordained to be six, on purpose that the commons might have a share in that magistracy ; nevertheless, by the power and influence of the nobles, their just pretensions have been almost constantly defeated. And how much easier will it be for the patricians, when there are but two places to be filled by consuls, to secure them both to themselves ? The only remedy is to make it an indispensable law, that there be always one plebeian in the consulate. From that very day, and not till then, may the Roman people be deemed to have banished kings from Rome, and to have established liberty on a firm basis: from that very day the plebeians will begin to share in all those things which now give the patricians the pre-eminence over them, power and honour, military glory and nobility ; they will enjoy great advantages themselves, and transmit them greater to their posterity."

Year of
R O M E
383.
B. C. 369.

Forty-se-
venth mil.
trib.

When the tribunes found that these discourses were listened to with pleasure, they proposed a fourth law, " That decemvirs be appointed instead of duumvirs, to take care of the Sybilline Books, and to interpret them ; and that five of the ten be always plebeian." However, all proceedings on this, as well as the other proposals, were suspended during the siege of Velitræ, which went on but slowly. The five tribunes in the interest of the senate had urged, that it was but just to wait the return of the army from before that place, that the soldiers, who made so great a part of the commons, might not be excluded from giving their votes, when such important innovations were on foot.

§. IV. THE year ending before the return of the army, the republic chose six new governors;^z but the

Year of
R O M E
384.
B. C. 368.

^y From the year 309 to 353.

^z L. Quinctius Capitolinus,
Sp. Servilius,
S. Cornelius, a seventh time,

L. Papirius Crassus,
S. Sulpicius, a fourth time,
L. Veturius.

Forty-
eighth mil.
trib.

Year of
R O M E
384.

B. C. 368.

Forty-
eighth mil.
trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 38.

Plut. in
Camillus,
p. 149.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 38.

people continued in the plebeian tribuneship the two authors of the laws in dispute. Sextius and Licinius, having once more summoned the people (probably towards the close of the year 384), were now resolved to proceed without any regard to the prohibition of their colleagues.^a The senate terrified hereat had recourse to their last experiments, the highest authority and the greatest man. They named Camillus to the dictatorship, this being the fourth time of his being invested with that dignity. His promotion, if we may believe Plutarch, was much against the will of the people, nor was Camillus himself very forward to accept the charge, not caring to exert the dictatorial authority against those who had so often on great occasions reposed their confidence in him, and believing that he was pitched upon out of ill-will, that he might be the instrument to oppress the commons if he succeeded, or, failing, might himself be ruined.

The creation of a dictator did not deter Sextius and Licinius from convening the tribes to give their votes upon the new laws. Camillus, full of anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of the patricians,

^a Father Catrou and Mons. Vertot seem both of them to have mistaken some words of Livy in this part of the story, and by that mistake to have fallen into a perplexity, which has induced the first to suppose a ground of contest between the tribunes, for which he has no authority, and the other to omit the mentioning of any contest at all between them.

Both the French writers relate, that the tribunes were now unanimous upon the affair of the new laws. The passage in Livy, on which I suppose they found themselves, is this: "*Quum tribus vocarentur, nec intercessio collegarum latoribus obstaret, trepidi patres ad duo ultima auxilia, summum imperium summumque ad civem decurrunt.*" The words in italic they understand to mean, that there was no longer any opposition to Sextius and Licinius from their colleagues: whereas the context plainly shews the true meaning of them to be, not that Sextius and Licinius were not opposed by their colleagues, but that they were not hindered by that opposition from proceeding; and it was this that alarmed the senate so much, as to make them name a dictator. That the tribunes were still divided about the new laws, as before, is evident from the words of Livy, which presently follow those abovesaid: "*Quum dictator, stipatus agmine patriciorum, plenus iræ minarumque consedisset, atque ageretur res solito primum certamine inter se tribunorum plebis ferentium legem intercedentiumque; et quanto jure potentior intercessio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipsarum, latorumque,*" &c.

Father Catrou, not to be inconsistent with himself, conjectures that some of the tribunes opposed the proceedings of the rest at this juncture, not because they disapproved of the laws in question, but out of respect for the dictator then present, *Sans doute par respect pour le dictateur*; that they were unanimous concerning the justice of passing the laws, and differed only as to the time.

repaired to the assembly, and there seated himself in his tribunal. After the usual conflict between the legislating and the interceding tribunes, and when, in spite of the *veto* of the latter, the former, supported by the people's favour, went on to take the suffrages of the assembly, and the first tribes had already voted for the laws, the dictator, rising up, declared, "that he was come to support the privileges of the commons, and that he would never suffer one part of the tribunes to deprive the other of their right of opposition." Sextius and Licinius laughed at this artful speech, and continued to take the votes. The dictator hereupon, in great wrath, sent his lictors to drive the people out of the Forum; threatening, at the same time, that, if they offered to proceed to law-making, he would summon them to the Campus Martius, oblige them to list, and to march into the field. His menaces, while they put the commons into a fright, seemed to raise the courage of the two tribunes. For these preferred a bill, and engaged the commons to pass it into a law, that, in case M. Furius Camillus made use of his dictatorial power to obstruct the enacting of the laws in dispute, he should pay a fine of 500,000 asses of brass.^b Camillus, presently after, either intimidated by this plebiscitum, or (as Livy is inclined to think^c) having discovered, that there had been some defect in the ceremony of taking the auspices, when he was created dictator, abdicated his supreme magistracy.

Year of
R O M E
384.
B. C. 368.

Forty-
eighth mil.
trib.

Plot. p.
150.

§. V. THE senate, in this nice conjuncture, not know-

Year of
R O M E
385.
B. C. 367.

^b Or 50,000 drachmæ: i. e. 1614*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* Arbuthnot.

The Greek drachma was in value the same as the Roman denarius, that is, sevenpence three farthings English.

^c Livy gives several reasons for his believing that it was not fear which made Camillus resign the dictatorship:—1. The character of the man. 2. The senate's appointing another dictator to succeed him; which they would not have done, if the dictatorial authority had proved impotent in his hands. 3. Camillus's accepting of the same office again not long after, and while the three laws were still in dispute; which he would have been ashamed to do, had he been so lately overpowered in the exercise of it. 4. At the time when the bill, for imposing the fine, is said to have been preferred, he had power to hinder its passing into a law, or he could not have hindered the passing of those, for the sake of which this was preferred.

Year of
R O M E
385.
B. C. 367.

ing how to act without a dictator, whose authority might be a curb upon the tribunes, named P. Manlius to succeed Camillus in that dignity.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 38, 39.

Livy tells us, that, during a sort of interregnum, which there was between these two dictatorships, Sextius and Licinius held an assembly of the people, and proposed their laws anew; and that they might have obtained the passing of those two which related to land and usury, if those would have satisfied them: but that they refusing to separate the laws, and requiring the people to give their voices upon all at the same time, the assembly could not be brought to pass that law which related to the consulate.

The new dictator, Manlius, presently discovered himself to be a favourer of the commons, by naming a plebeian, C. Licinius (not Licinius Stolo the tribune) for his general of the horse. Such a nomination was without example, but he endeavoured to justify himself to the senate by alleging, that Licinius was his near kinsman, and that the dignity of general of the horse was not greater than that of military tribune, which latter Licinius had heretofore enjoyed. [This shews, that in the confusions of a state, mutual fidelity between the members of a party is not much to be depended upon, because of the private ties that there are among citizens of the same city, though of opposite parties.]

Vertot.

When the election of tribunes came on, the method they took in order to get themselves continued in office was, to pretend that they would no longer serve. They represented to the people, that they were grown old in the tribuneship to no purpose, and that, after struggling nine years with the senate for the good of the commons, the only recompence they had met with for their services was neglect and ingratitude: “ You would very gladly be freed from the oppression of usury, and you are very eager to have your share of the conquered lands; but when the question is to promote the honour

of your tribunes, by whose labours and zeal you are to obtain those benefits, you shew nothing but coldness and indifference. Is it consistent with modesty for you to ask these advantages by our means, while you resolve to leave us afterward, not only without honour, but without hopes of honour? To be plain, then, the laws we have proposed are inseparable. If you are willing to pass them conjointly, you may then choose us again into the tribuneship; but if you are determined to reject that which relates to the consulate, be assured that we will no longer serve, nor shall you get those passed which concern usury and the conquered lands."

Year of
R O M E
385.
B. C. 367.

All the patricians in the assembly were struck dumb with amazement at this open and resolute declaration, except Appius Claudius (grandson of the decemvir). Appius, not moved by any hope of influencing the assembly, but by anger and indignation, stepped forth, and made a long and warm speech, full of invectives against the two tribunes, "those Tarquins (as he called them), the years of whose perpetual tyranny were regularly numbered, as the years of the kings were formerly in the Capitol." And he expatiated on the insolence of declaring, "That the commons should not be free to pass such laws as they approved, unless they would at the same time pass others which they did not approve, nor think to be for the public benefit."

Livy, b. 6.
c. 40. et
seq.

Appius's harangue had no other effect, than to delay for awhile the publication of the laws proposed. The two authors of them were chosen the tenth time into the tribuneship; and it is probable, that the multitude, being afraid of losing such able and zealous defenders, engaged themselves to follow their directions implicitly.

Not long after their re-election into power, they obtained the passing of that law which had been last preferred, and which related to the guardianship of the Sibyls' books. The commons, content for the present with this victory, suffered six patricians to be created

C. 42.

Year of
R O M E
386.
B. C. 366.

Forty-ninth
mil. trib.

Plut. in
Camillus,
p. 150.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 42.

military tribunes for the next year,^d without mentioning any thing of the consulate.

§. VI. IN the beginning of the new administration, sudden advice coming, that a cloud of Gauls^e from the coasts of the Adriatic was advancing towards Rome, the danger, common to all, united the voices of all to raise Camillus (now the fifth time) to the dictatorship. This great man, though near fourscore, yet considering the peril the state was in, did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but readily undertook it, and listed his soldiers. And knowing that the force of the barbarians lay chiefly in their great swords, with which they laid about them in a rude unskilful manner, hacking and hewing the head and shoulders, he caused iron helmets to be made for most of his men, smoothing and polishing the outside so, that the enemies' swords lighting upon them might either slide off or be broken; and round about their shields he drew a rim of iron, the wood itself not being strong enough to sustain the blows. The two armies came to a battle in the territory of Alba. The Roman soldiers, ever since their defeat at the river Allia, had retained a fear of the Gauls; nevertheless, Camillus, without much difficulty, obtained a complete victory.

After this success he led his army to attack Velitræ (the siege of which had been interrupted), but the city surrendered to him without resistance. He then returned to Rome, where the honours of a triumph were decreed him by senate and commons.

§. VII. THE people returning home elated with victory, were more obstinately bent than ever on passing the three laws, so long disputed. On the other hand, the senate, equally obstinate in their opposition, would

^d A. Cornelius, a second time,
L. Veturius, a second time,
M. Cornelius, a second time,

P. Valerius, a sixth time,
M. Geganius,
P. Manlius, a second time.

^e Plutarch tells us, that the Romans feared the Gauls so much, that in a law they made to excuse priests from military service, there was an exception to the case of an invasion from the Gauls.

not suffer Camillus to lay down his dictatorship, thinking, that under the shelter of his great name and absolute authority they should be better able to contend with their adversaries. Plutarch reports, that one day when the dictator was sitting on his tribunal in the Forum dispatching public business, an officer, sent by the tribunes, commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the same time, as if he meant to drag him away by force. Never was a greater uproar or tumult in the Forum than on this occasion; the patricians who surrounded Camillus driving back the officer, and the multitude from below bawling out, "Pull him down, pull him down." Camillus, though greatly at a loss what to do in this exigence, yet would not resign his authority: guarded by the senators, he retired with them to the senate-house; but, before he entered it, turned towards the Capitol, and besought the gods to put an end to these commotions, vowing to build a temple to Concord, if union might be restored among his fellow-citizens.

Year of
R O M E
386.
B. C. 366.

Forty-ninth
mil. trib.

After warm debates in the senate about the measures proper to be taken, it was at length resolved to comply with the people's desires, and to accept the three laws in question, as the only means to procure domestic peace.

The commons having thus obtained the victory over the nobles, the *comitia* were held for electing consuls, and then L. Sextius the plebeian tribune was chosen colleague in that dignity to L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a patrician. Nevertheless, when the election of Sextius should have been confirmed by the senate, the conscript fathers absolutely refused to do it; and the new disputes on this occasion between the two parties rose to such a height, that the plebeians were just ready to leave Rome, and make a new secession, when the dictator proposed an expedient for a reconciliation. Hitherto the dispensing of justice in the city had been a branch of the consular office, but to which the consuls could not

Plut. in
Camillus,
p. 152.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 42.

Year of
R O M E
386.
B. C. 366.

Forty-ninth
mil. trib.

Livy, b. 6.
c. 42.

always attend, being commonly during the summer in the field at the head of armies. Camillus's proposal was to separate this function from the consulate, and to create a judge with the title of Prætor, to whom it should be appropriated; and he advised the senate to suffer that one consul might be annually chosen out of the plebeians, on condition that the prætor should be always a patrician. This motion being approved by both parties, the senate confirmed the election of Sextius, and the centuries created the son of Camillus prætor.^e

§. VIII. TRANQUILLITY being thus established, the Romans, in gratitude to the gods, ordered the great games to be celebrated. These used formerly to last but three days, but now a fourth day^f was added; and on this account their name of *ludi magni* was changed into *ludi maximi*. It happened that the present ædiles (for what reason is unknown) refused to take upon them the care of making preparations for this festival; upon which the young patricians cried out, "That since the affair in question was the worship of the gods, they should think it no dishonour to be employed in it, provided they might be appointed ædiles." Accordingly the people, at the motion of the dictator, created a new office in favour of the patricians. It was called the curule ædileship, because these ædiles (two in number) had the honour of the curule chair, which the plebeian ædiles had not. The business was to take care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of justice, and the repair of the city walls, and also to see that no novelty was introduced into religion; in aftertimes they had likewise the inspection over books that were published, and pieces written for the stage.

Notwithstanding some alarms, caused by a report, that the Gauls, who had dispersed themselves in Apulia,

^e The prætorship was the second dignity in the commonwealth; and the prætor had the prætexta, the curule chair, and two lictors, who, bearing fasces, walked before him. The provincial prætors, created in aftertimes, were allowed six lictors. C. & R.

^f Plutarch says, that this fourth day was added to the *Feriæ Latinæ*.

were again got together, and that the Hernici threatened a rebellion, the senate were unwilling to enter upon a war under the administration of a plebeian consul, lest the glory he might acquire should redound to the honour of his whole party; so that all continued quiet both abroad and at home, excepting that the tribunes of the commons expressed their discontent to see, that for one plebeian consul granted to the commons, the nobles had got three new curule magistrates. The senate hereupon were prevailed with to consent, that the curule ædiles should be chosen out of the plebeians every second year; and afterward they left the people at full liberty to choose them every year out of either body.

Year of
R O M E
387.
B. C. 365.

Eighty-
ninth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 1.

§. IX. ROME after these establishments continued at rest, both from foreign wars and intestine divisions, under the new consuls L. Genucius a plebeian, and Servilius Ahala a patrician. But it seems to have been the fate of the city never to be in perfect tranquillity: a pestilential sickness spread itself on a sudden, when nobody could account for it. It could not be ascribed to the irregularity of the seasons: the winter had not been extraordinary dry, nor had the cold weather been too suddenly succeeded by an immoderate heat; nor had the summer been too rainy; nor had the autumnal fruits, for want of sufficient maturity, caused indigestions; nor, lastly, had the Calabrian wind blown any dangerous and unwholesome air to Rome. This plague swept away, together with great numbers of the people, some of the magistrates; one censor, one curule ædile, and three tribunes of the commons: but what made it most memorable, was the death of the great Camillus, who, though full of years, was more regretted, says Plutarch, than the whole multitude of those who died of the same disease.

Year of
R O M E
388.
B. C. 364.

Ninetieth
consulship.

Oros. b. 3.
c. 4.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 2.

CHAP. V.

389. SECT. I. In the following consulate (of C. Sulpicius and C. Licinius Stolo), the plague continuing, and the Romans, to remove it, having in vain tried the superstitious ceremony of the *lectisternium*, they endeavour to appease the gods, by instituting to their honour the scenic shows. This expedient also failing, they try
390. another the next year (L. Æmilius, the second time, and Cn. Genucius, being consuls), which is, to create a dictator to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The plague ceases; but L. Manlius Imperiosus the dictator is unwilling to resign his authority, and uses violence to make the people list themselves for a war with the Hernici. The tribunes however oblige him to abdicate; and
391. in the following consulate of Q. Servilius and L. Genucius (both consuls a second time), he is cited by the tribune Pomponius, to answer for his misconduct during his dictatorship, and particularly for his cruelty to his own son, named Titus. The son, who was in the country, hearing of what had passed, comes to Rome, surprises Pomponius in his bed, and, by threatening to stab him, makes him swear to desist from the prosecution. The people, pleased with the filial piety of young Manlius, give him soon after the post of legionary tribune (or colonel). II. In this same year the earth opens on a sudden in the midst of the Forum, and continues open, to the great terror of the city. M. Curtius, a young patrician, moved by an obscure answer of the augurs, who had been thereupon consulted, leaps into the gulf completely armed and on horseback. Some authors say, that the earth immediately closed. III. The consul Genucius, the first plebeian Rome had ever placed at the head of an army, conducts the war against the Hernici. He falls into an ambush, his legions are routed, and he himself slain. This disaster is imputed by the patricians to the anger of the gods, on account of the profanation of the augural ceremonies, by inaugurating a plebeian. The surviving consul names Ap-
 plebeian
 general.
 392. pius Claudius dictator, who, carrying on the war, gains a victory, but with great loss. IV. The people, notwithstanding the clamours of the patricians, choose Licinius Stolo (that famous plebeian) a second time to the consulate. They give him for a colleague, C. Sulpicius Peticens. But the Tyburtes revolting soon after, and it being suspected that they were encouraged to this revolt by a secret promise of assistance from the Gauls, it is thought necessary to create a dictator. T. Quinctius Pennus is named to that dignity. The Gauls advance within three miles of Rome, encamping on the banks of the Anio. The Romans pitch their camp on the opposite side; a bridge parts the two armies. On this bridge young
 T. Manlius
 Torquatus.
 393. Manlius in single combat slays the mightiest champion of the Gauls, a man of gigantic stature; which accident so discourages them, that they leave their camp in the night, and in confusion. The next year (in the consulate of M. Fabius Ambustus and C. Poetilius Libo) the Gauls appear again in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the Romans (under the conduct of Servilius Ahala, created dictator) once more defeat them. The two consuls make war with success against the Tyburtes and the Hernici.

Year of
 R O M E
 389.
 B. C. 363.
 Ninety-first
 consulship.

§. I. IN the year of Rome 389, Sulpicius and C. Licinius Stolo took possession of the consulship. The latter was that famous Licinius (son-in-law to Fabius Ambustus) who jointly with his colleague Sextius had contrived the three laws, and at the end of ten years, during which he had been tribune of the commons, had obtained the publication of them. And now the promise Fabius had made to his younger daughter was fulfilled, and she had the pleasure of seeing the lictors with their fasces march before her plebeian husband, and of hearing them thunder at her gate.

The plague still continuing, the Romans to put a stop to it had recourse to their old superstition of the lectisternium. But this proved ineffectual; and they endeavoured therefore to avert the anger of the gods by a new institution to their honour. Hitherto Rome had no other public sports but those of the circus, that is to say, races and wrestling, which were very proper exercises for so warlike a people. But now they introduced a new sort of shows, which at first were innocent, but afterward became indecent, and had a natural tendency to corrupt men's manners. These shows were called *sce-nici*, because they were represented on a scene, that is, a stage built in the shade. The performers, who were brought to Rome from *Hetruria*,^s danced to the flute, and kept time with their motions and gestures; but their entries had no manner of relation to one another; neither were the dances accompanied with any verses or discourses in these early times.

Year of
R O M E
389.

B. C. 363.

Ninety-first
consulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 2.

Val. Max.
b. 2. c. 1.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 2.

This kind of comedy being performed in a part of the circus near the banks of the Tiber, and the river happening to overflow at this time, the people concluded, that the new remedy they had invented to appease the

^s The *Hetrurian* word which signified a player or dancer, was *hister*; and hence the name of *histriones*, given by the Romans to all stage-players. The first speakers on the stage fell into the vicious taste of the *Fescennini*, a people of *Hetruria*, who threw coarse and unpremeditated jests at one another. These were soon succeeded by satires written in verse, and set to the flute; which satires were repeated with suitable gestures. And some years after, *Livius Andronicus*, who acted his own pieces, turned the satires into regular plays, and confined himself in his compositions to one uniform matter. But he was called upon so often to repeat his plays, that he at last became hoarse, and lost his voice. Hereupon he got the people's consent, that a young man should sing for him, whilst he only accompanied the verses with proper gestures; and then his action soon became more perfect, when his attention was no longer divided between singing and acting. When these theatrical pieces were thus brought into form, the farces, which had made people laugh, were despised and neglected. Nevertheless, the Roman youth revived them, and acted them at the end of their serious pieces. When the professed actors had finished their parts, some young Romans came upon the stage masked, and began to repeat merry verses, as formerly, but such as were free from obscenity. These pieces, which were a sort of composition between satires and regular plays, had their first rise in *Atella*, a city in *Campania*, and were called *exodia*, that is, verses not belonging to the play. The Romans borrowed them from the *Osci*, a people of *Campania*. But the Roman youth never suffered the professed actors to bear any part in their *exodia*, lest they should dishonour them. The persons who acted these pieces were not liable to the penalties to which the *histriones* were subject: their names were not blotted out of the roll of the tribes in which they had been incorporated; nor were they excluded from military services, as infamous persons. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
390.
B. C. 362.

Ninety-
second con-
sulship.

* A second
time.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 3.

gods would be ineffectual. However, as they themselves had been agreeably amused, they did not lay aside the entertainments of the scene.

In the following consulship of L. Æmilius* and Cn. Genucius, the plague not ceasing, the Romans bethought themselves of an old religious ceremony which, according to tradition, had succeeded in the like cases. This was the driving of a nail by a dictator into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the side next Minerva's sanctuary, which was under the same roof. This goddess was deemed the inventress of numbers; and the Romans used to number the years of their state by nails. Livy tells us, that there was a law written in antique characters and obsolete words, and fixed up in the chapel of Minerva, importing, that the chief prætor for the time being should on the ides of September drive the nail. (When this law was made, the Romans were perhaps unacquainted with the numeral letters.) The same author adds, that the consul Horatius, who dedicated the temple of Jupiter the year after the expulsion of Tarquin, performed at the same time the ceremony of driving the nail, which function was afterward transferred from the consuls to the dictators, as magistrates of greater dignity and power; and that the custom having been discontinued, it was now thought a matter of sufficient importance for which a dictator should be expressly created.

T. Manlius was the person named to the dictatorship. It is likely that the plague, which had lasted three years, ceased about this time, because Livy makes no farther mention of it. But Manlius being dissatisfied to have the whole business of his office confined to a religious ceremony, and it being believed that the Hernici were preparing to shake off the Roman yoke, he laid hold of this pretext to continue himself in power. He ordered troops to be raised, and even used violence to make the citizens enlist themselves. However, the tribunes of

the people opposed his design, repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to abdicate. And the consuls for the new year, Q. Servilius * and L. Genucius, † were no sooner in office, than he was cited by Pomponius, one of the tribunes, to answer before the people for the violence and cruelty which he had exercised towards the citizens. But nothing was so much detested as his cruel nature, and the surname of Imperiosus (intolerable in a free city), which he had acquired by his excessive severity, shewn no less to his own blood and kindred than to strangers. For the tribunes, among other things, accused him of inhumanly and barbarously treating one of his own sons for no just cause, and merely upon account of some natural defects. This son of Manlius, named Titus, had an impediment in his speech, and was besides of slow parts; and for these reasons only, his father had confined him to the country, where he made him work like one of his slaves.

Manlius had a copy of his accusation given him, and twenty-seven days to prepare for his defence. All were highly exasperated against him, except the son himself, who hearing of what passed, and not being able to endure the thought that he too should furnish matter of accusation against his father; and to the end that gods and men might know how far he was from wishing to give his father's enemies any assistance; he resolved upon a most extraordinary method to deliver him, a method (as Livy observes) suitable to his rustic education and character, but laudable for the filial piety that inspired it. Early in the morning he privately and alone left the village to which he had been banished, came to Rome, nor stopped till he arrived at the door of Pomponius the tribune, who was not yet up. He sent him word, that the son of Manlius desired to speak with him about an affair that would admit of no delay. The tribune, believing that the young man was come either to thank him for the concern he had taken in his misfor-

Year of
R O M E
391.
B. C. 361.

Ninety-
third con-
sulship.

* A second
time.

† A second
time.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 4.

Cic. Off.
b. 5.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 5.

Year of
R O M E
391.
B. C. 361.

Ninety-
third con-
sulship.

Val. Max.
b. 5. c. 4.

tunes, or perhaps to discover to him some new proofs of his father's tyrannical temper, ordered him to be brought in. Manlius, as soon as they had saluted each other, desired to speak with him in private without witnesses: upon which every body present was ordered to retire. Then the young man, drawing out a poniard, and standing over the tribune, threatened to run him through, if he did not immediately and solemnly swear to desist from the prosecution of his father. Pomponius was too much terrified not to swear whatever the other pleased to dictate; and he excused himself afterward to the people for his dropping the prosecution, by alleging the oath which had been extorted from him. The people were not displeased at the bold enterprise of a son in favour of a father, which was the more laudable, inasmuch as the father's hard usage of his son had not been able to lessen his filial piety. So that not only the father was discharged, but the affair ended much to the honour of young Manlius, who the same year was promoted, by the suffrages of the people, to one of the most important posts in the army. Every Roman legion was commanded by six legionary tribunes, and these officers had been hitherto left to the choice of the general; but this year the people thought fit to elect part of them in the *comitia*. Of twenty-four legionary tribunes, appointed at this time, the people chose six, and T. Manlius was named the second of the six. We shall soon see him by his merit surmount all the disadvantages of his education.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 6.
Val. Max.
b. 5.
Oros. b. 3.
St. Austin.
de Civitate
Dei, b. 5.

§. II. THE same year a very extraordinary accident threw the city into a consternation. The ground, perhaps by the violence of an earthquake, opened to a great breadth and depth in the midst of the Forum, and continued gaping in a frightful manner. Neither could this chasm be filled up by throwing abundance of earth into it, wherein the citizens laboured with great diligence. The augurs being consulted hereupon, told them, "That

their purpose would never be effected, until that thing, wherein the strength and power of the Roman people chiefly consisted, was dedicated and devoted to that place, and that such a sacrifice would secure the eternal duration of the Roman state." Great consultation there was, and much doubt concerning the meaning of this oracle. At length M. Curtius, a patrician, a brave young man, reproving the stupidity of his fellow-citizens, asked them, how they could doubt whether Rome had any thing more valuable than arms and valour? Having armed himself completely, and mounted a horse richly caparisoned, he came to the Forum, where the people were assembled in crowds. While they stood silent with wonder and expectation, he turned his eyes, one while to the Capitol, and then to the pit, and having adored the celestial and infernal gods, and devoted himself to death for his country, he leaped at once horse and man into the gulf. The people, both men and women, threw in after him great quantities of corn, fruit, and other oblations; and it is probable that with these, and afterward with earth and rubbish, the hole was quite filled up. But some authors fabulously report, that the ground immediately closed upon Curtius's precipitating himself into the opening.

Year of
R O M E
391.
B. C. 361.

Ninety-
third con-
sulship.

Val. Max.
b. 5. c. 6.

§. III. AFTER this expiation, the Romans unanimously resolved to turn their arms against the Hernici, who had made depredations in the territory of Rome, and had refused the satisfaction demanded by the heralds of the republic. The conduct of the war fell by lot to Genucius, the first plebeian consul that was ever entrusted with the command of an army; and both parties were very anxious about the success of his expedition, because according to the event it would be judged whether the republic had done well to admit plebeians to share in the consular dignity. It happened unluckily for the commons, that Genucius proved unsuccessful in the campaign. He fell into an ambush, his legions

Livy, b. 7.
c. 6.

Year of
R O M E
391.
B. C. 361.

Ninety-
third con-
sulship.

were routed, and he himself killed. The patricians did not fail to take advantage of this accident. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of Rome were owing to the vengeance of the gods, who had been despised: that the commons might, indeed, by force of a law, deprive the nobles of their birthright, and transfer the auspices to those who could not take them without impiety; but that no such law would prevail against the immortal gods, whose anger at the profanation of their rites was sufficiently declared by the defeat of the army, and the death of its commander.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 7.

Servilius, the surviving consul, with the approbation of the senate, named to the dictatorship Appius Claudius, the man who had the most distinguished himself in the opposition made to the new law complained of. While Appius was raising a second army at Rome, the Hernici, flushed with their success, advanced to attack the camp of the Romans under the command of C. Sulpicius, who had been lieutenant to Genucius, and had since that general's defeat collected his scattered troops. The Romans courageously sallied out of their entrenchments and repulsed the enemy. Appius soon after arrived with his new levies, and having rewarded the bravery of the lieutenant and his soldiers with praises, prepared for a general battle.

On the other hand, the Hernici, in order to preserve the advantage they had gained over Genucius, exhausted their whole country of men to reinforce their army; and, among the multitude of their soldiers, chose out 3200, whom they divided into eight cohorts, of 400 each. These were the flower of their army, and made a separate corps, that their valour might be the more conspicuous; and to engage them to behave themselves bravely, their generals honoured them with marks of distinction, promised them double pay, and exempted them from all the drudgery of military service. In the general action, which soon followed, when the Roman

knights had made several efforts in vain to disorder the enemy's battalions, and when with permission of their general they had dismounted, and placed themselves in the first line of the foot, the eight chosen cohorts made head against them, so that the flower of both nations came now to a close engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, and it seemed to be only the better fortune of the Romans which determined it in their favour. However, they lost a fourth part of their army, and a great number of knights. Appius had no triumph granted him, which can be imputed to nothing but the unwillingness of the people to do honour to the most declared enemy of the plebeian party.

Year of
R O M E
391.
B. C. 361.

Ninety-
third con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 8.

§. IV. AND now, notwithstanding the misfortune of Genucius, and the murmurs of the nobility, the centuries made no scruple to choose a consul out of the plebeians for the next year. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo was elected a second time; and with him was joined C. Sulpicius, surnamed Peticus. Under these generals the Romans advanced into the country of the Hernici, and finding no enemy in the field, laid siege to Ferentinum. This place having surrendered, they took the road to Rome; but when they came to Tybur, they found the gates shut against them. There had been frequently misunderstandings between the republic and the Tyburtes, but now it was war declared; and the Romans, perhaps believing that the Tyburtes could not have the confidence to think of coping with the republic, unless encouraged by some secret intelligence with the Gauls, who were in motion, thought proper, as in time of imminent danger, to name a dictator. T. Quinctius Pennus was the person nominated to that dignity; and he appointed S. Cornelius to be his general of the horse.

Year of
R O M E
392.
B. C. 360.

Ninety-
fourth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 9.

The apprehensions of the republic were not groundless. The Cisalpine Gauls having taken arms again to revenge their defeat, came and encamped three miles

Year of
R O M E
392.
B. C. 360.

Ninety-
fourth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 10.

* In Latin,
torquis.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 11.

from Rome, near one of the bridges of the Anio. The Romans, under the command of the dictator, immediately advanced to meet them. Nothing but the river parted the two armies, and neither party endeavoured to break down the bridge, lest it should seem to argue fear. This bridge became the scene of many combats between the champions of the two armies. One day a Gaul of a gigantic size advanced upon the bridge, and challenged the stoutest of the enemy to single combat. His extraordinary stature struck such a terror into the bravest of the Romans, that not one of them, for a long time, durst enter the lists against him. Young Manlius alone, who had so remarkably signalized his piety to his father, thought he had found a danger worthy of his valour. He went to the dictator, and asked permission of him to encounter the Gaul. "For (said he) though I were sure of victory, I would never fight out of my rank without your command; but if you will give me leave, I will shew that huge beast that I am descended of the same family which drove the Gauls headlong from the Capitol." "Go, Manlius (answered the dictator), and be as courageous for the glory of thy country, as thou wast for the defence of thy father." The two champions soon came to an engagement. Manlius had for this combat chosen a short sword, made both for cutting and stabbing; and artfully getting within the long one of his enemy, gave him two stabs, and laid him breathless on the ground. The Gaul had a collar* about his neck, which Manlius took from him, and put it about his own, in token of victory; and hence it was that he got the surname of Torquatus, which descended to his posterity. The event of this single combat seemed to the Gauls so bad an omen for the rest of the war, that they abandoned their camp in the night, and dispersed themselves in Campania. Nor could they well have retired to their own country without the assistance of the Tyburtes, who furnished them with provisions.

This people had too openly declared against the republic to be suffered to go unpunished ; and so soon therefore as the consuls for the new year, M. Fabius Ambustus and C. Poetilius Libo, entered upon their office, levies were made at Rome to chastise them. Poetilius conducted this war, while Fabius marched against the Hernici, who persisted in their revolt. The republic was at this time destitute of all assistance from abroad. The very Latins, formerly so attached to her, stood absolutely neuter. In the meantime, the Gauls ventured to advance again to the very neighbourhood of Rome, and blocked up the gate Collina. To make head against these dangerous enemies, the republic named Servilius Ahala dictator, without recalling either of the consuls. Servilius came to an engagement with the Gauls, under the very walls of Rome, where the Romans, fighting within sight of their fathers, wives, and children, were irresistible. The Gauls fled towards Tybur, and being favoured by the Tyburtes, who made a sally to facilitate their retreat, entered it, notwithstanding the opposition of Poetilius, who attacked them in their flight. Poetilius, nevertheless, obtained a triumph, while his colleague Fabius, who had fought with success against the Hernici, had only an ovation. The dictator, who had most deserved a triumph, declined that honour, and laid down his dictatorship.

Year of
R O M E
393.

B. C. 359.

Ninety-fifth
consulship.

CHAP. VI.

394. SECT. I. The fasces are transferred to M. Popilius Lænas and Cn. Manlius. A domestic sedition, soon quelled; an incursion of the Tyburtes soon repulsed; and the commencement of a new war against Rome by the Tarquinienses, are the chief events of this consulship. II. The succeeding consuls are C. Fabius Ambustus and C. Plautius Proculus. The Gauls appear on a sudden in the plains of Prænestè. Hereupon C. Sulpicius is named dictator, who, with an army strengthened by the Latins (who now renew their ancient treaties with Rome), marches against the Gauls. The dictator, for prudential reasons, avoids an engagement with the enemy, till he is forced to it by the mutinying of his soldiers, impatiently ardent to fight. By the help of a new stratagem, he obtains a complete victory. He has a triumph at his return, and then resigns the government to the consuls. Plautius subdues the Hernici; but Fabius is vanquished by the Tarquinienses. III. Two new tribes are formed. A law is passed against openly canvassing for votes. Another (in the following administration of C. Marcius Rutilus and Cn. Manlius, who is now a second time consul), fixing the legal interest of money at one per cent. Licinius Stolo, author of the law against any man's possessing more than 500 acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is passed against holding the *comitia* in any place but Rome. IV. New consuls are chosen, M. Fabius Ambustus and M. Popilius Lænas (both a second time); but the Falisci and Tarquinienses having engaged all Hetruria to take part with them against Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, the plebeian consul of the last year, is named dictator by Popilius, the plebeian consul of this, to the great displeasure of the nobles. He obtained a complete victory over the enemy, and has a triumph, in spite of the opposition of the senate. However, he is not suffered (because a plebeian) to hold the *comitia* for the new election of consuls. The assembly is held by an interrex; and then two patricians (C. Sulpicius Peticus, a third time, and M. Valerius) are chosen to the consulate, contrary to the intent of one of the Licinian laws, and the custom for eleven years past. The next year the fasces are again in the hands of two patricians. These are M. Fabius Ambustus (a third time consul) and T. Quinctius Pennus. The former subdues the Tyburtes; the latter defeats the Tarquinienses. (The Samnites conclude an alliance with the Romans.) The nobles prevail once more to have only patricians in the government. C. Sulpicius Peticus (a fourth time) and M. Valerius (a second time) are promoted to the consulate. The former is appointed to lead an army into Hetruria against the Tarquinienses and Falisci; the latter another against the Volsci; and soon after, T. Manlius (who had never been consul) is named dictator, to conduct a third army against the Cærites. The Cærites submit. The consuls act only on the defensive.
395. Two new tribes.
396. Plebeian dictator.
- 397.
- 398.
- 399.
400. Dictator who had not been consul.

Year of
R O M E
394.

B. C. 358.

Ninety-
sixth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 12.
Cic. in Brut.

§. I. THE Tyburtes made a jest of Poetilius's triumph, and threatened to be soon again at the gates of Rome. This made the Romans sensible, that these enemies were neither conquered nor humbled; and the new consuls therefore, M. Popilius Lænas and Cn. Manlius Imperiosus, would probably have led an army into the territory of Tybur, if they had not been hindered by a sudden rising in the city, of the people against the senate. Popilius was pontifex to the goddess Carmenta, as well as consul, and was just offering a sacrifice, when he received the news of the commotion. He ran from the altar in his pontifical robe to the place where the people were assembled, and by his influence put a stop

to the sedition. And because the robe he then wore was *læna*, he thence got the name of *Lænas*. But Popilius was very soon obliged to assume the soldier. A handful of Tyburtes, out of a bravado, and to make good their late threatenings, came in the dead of the night to the very gates of Rome, and alarmed the city. The two consuls, as soon as it was day, marched out with their troops at different gates, and easily repulsed these bold enterprisers, whose attempt served only to re-establish tranquillity in Rome, and totally entinguish the sedition.

Year of
R O M E
394.
B. C. 358.

Ninety-
sixth con-
sulship.

In this same year the Tarquinienses, a people of Hetruria, entered the Roman territory in arms; nevertheless, the Romans postponed their revenge till they had chosen new consuls.

§. II. THE persons elected were C. Fabius Ambustus and C. Plautius Proculus. The hostilities of the Tarquinienses were soon followed by a new alarm from the Boii, who appeared on a sudden in the plain of Præneste, and advanced as far as Pedum. But in the midst of these distresses of the republic, the Latins (for what reason is uncertain) very seasonably renewed their ancient treaty of alliance with Rome, and furnished her with the same quota of men as formerly. With this reinforcement she was in a condition to make head against all her enemies. C. Sulpicius was named dictator, to conduct the war against the Gauls. With the best legions of the consular armies, strengthened by the Latin auxiliaries, he took the field and met the enemy. Both armies were very ardent to engage; but the dictator restrained the impetuosity of his troops, thinking it better policy not to run the hazard of a battle, since the Gauls must necessarily be distressed for want of provisions, having prepared no magazines, and being no longer supplied by the Latins. The soldiers however did not enter into their general's views, and universally murmured against him, as a timorous commander of

Year of
R O M E
395.
B. C. 357.

Ninety-se-
venth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 12—14.
Appian. in
Celtic.

Year of
R O M E
395.
B. C. 357.

Ninety-se-
venth con-
sulship.

brave men. They came in crowds to the dictator's quarters, and demanded access to him, having named Sextius Tullius (a man of distinguished courage, and who for seven years past had been first captain of the first corps in the army) to be their speaker. Sulpicius was surprised to find himself surrounded by a number of mutineers, and especially to see Sextius at their head, whom he had thought an unblamable officer. Sextius, in the name of the army, reproached him with the disadvantageous opinion he seemed to have entertained of the valour of his troops, and urged him to lead them to the enemy. His speech to the dictator was followed by the acclamations of the multitude, who all cried out for leave to arm and march to battle. Sulpicius found himself under a necessity of promising to comply with their desires; but then, taking Sextius aside, he asked him, "What it was that had put him at the head of a faction?" The brave centurion replied, "That it was not any want of respect to his general, or ignorance of the martial laws; but to prevent the soldiers choosing an insolent leader, who might do something injurious to the dignity of the dictator." He then advised Sulpicius to yield to the desires of the soldiers, who otherwise seemed inclined to seize the first opportunity of fighting, whether he would or not. An accident presently convinced the dictator of the truth of what Sextius had told him. Two beasts of burden which escaped out of the Roman intrenchments, and were seized by the Gauls, had like to have been the occasion of a general action. The Roman soldiers were with difficulty restrained by their centurions. Sulpicius therefore thought it no longer proper to delay the engagement, and gave notice in the camp that he would offer battle the next day.

Frontin.
Stratage-
mata.

The Romans being inferior to the Gauls in number, the dictator, to remedy this disadvantage, made use of a stratagem which had never been practised before. He

ordered his muleteers to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horses, to mount them, march silently up to the hills, and hide themselves in the woods, till they received farther orders. This extraordinary body of troopers, to the number of about 1000, appearing opportunely in the plain in the heat of the action, so intimidated the Gauls, who feared to be surrounded, that they presently dispersed and fled, losing more men in their flight than in the action, for few of them escaped the slaughter.

Year of
R O M E
395.
B. C. 357.

Ninety-seventh consulship.

Sulpicius, when he had been honoured with a triumph, and had made a present of some of the enemy's spoils to Jupiter Capitolinus, abdicated the dictatorship, and the government returned into the hands of the two consuls for the year. Plautius vanquished the Hernici, and totally subdued them. But Fabius was defeated in battle by the Tarquinienses, who, to shew their contempt of the republic, cut the throats of 307 Roman prisoners. However, the conciliation of the Latins, the total overthrow of the Gauls, and the reduction of the Hernici, made this a prosperous year for the republic. Rome was now in almost as flourishing a condition as before it was taken by king Brennus.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 15.

§. III. SOME Roman citizens being at this time sent into the Pomptin territory, to stop the incursions of the Veliterni and Privernates, formed a new tribe there, called Pomptina, which, with the tribe Publicia, or Popilia, lately established in the territory of the Volsci, made the whole number of the tribes twenty-seven.

At this time likewise a law was made, at the motion of Poetilius the tribune, and with approbation of the senate, against openly canvassing for votes. It was occasioned by the ambition of the *novi homines*, or upstart gentlemen, who, not content with soliciting suffrages in the Forum Romanum, went even to the country-fairs, and other public meetings, to buy voices. This, says Livy, was the first law of the kind preferred to the

B. 4. c. 25.

Year of
R O M E
395.
B. C. 337.

Ninety-se-
venth con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
396.
B. C. 356.

Ninety-
eighth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 16.
Val. Max.
b. 8. c. 6.
Plin. b. 18.
c. 3.

* *Tollendæ
ambitionis
caussa.*

† A second
time.

people; nevertheless, according to the same author, a law was passed in the year 321, forbidding the candidates to make their robes whiter than ordinary, and this in order to give a check to the practice of canvassing for offices.*

Under the following administration of C. Marcius Rutilus and Cn. Manlius Imperiosus,† the interest of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of the tribunes of the people, settled at one per cent. per month.^h This regulation so displeased the avaricious patricians, that, to revenge themselves on the plebeians, they cited the famous Licinius Stolo to answer for the breach of one of the four laws (which he himself had so zealously promoted), prohibiting any citizen to possess more than 500 acres of land. Licinius actually possessed 1,000; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his son, and made him the nominal possessor of one half of them. However, he was convicted, before the prætor, of fraud, and fined 10,000 asses of brass.ⁱ These intestine commotions being over, the consul Marcius was ordered to conduct an army against the Privernates, who the year before had declared against Rome. Marcius routed the enemy in the field, and pursued them to Privernum, which, to preserve it from being plundered, they immediately surrendered.

^h Livy's words are, *De unciario fœnore*—rogatio est perlata, &c. "The interest of money, both in Rome and Greece, was high for a considerable time. Simple interest was exacted monthly in both places, at the rate of one per cent. per month.—The Romans paid a denarius a month for 100 denarii; and it is mentioned by Cicero as monthly.—And because the *as* was reckoned any *integer*, it was likewise called *asses usuræ*; so that *asses usuræ* and *centesimæ usuræ* are the same thing.—Livy and Tacitus mention the *fœnus unciarium*, and *semiunciarium*, as high, which according to the proportion of the *as*, being but 1-12th or 1-24th in the month, must only make 1 or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. And the law of the XII. tables forbids, 'Ne quis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto.' So it is expressed by Tacitus. These expressions cannot be interpreted according to the analogy of the tables, but differ from all the others; and they certainly denote the *centesima usura*; but how this way of expression in these two authors has happened, I can give no account: it seems they put the *uncia* for the *as* or *integer*.—*Semisses usuræ* or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per month, six per cent. a year, which Pliny calls *civilis et modica*, came to be the public and customary interest of money; for the *asses usuræ* came to be a grievance, and occasioned great tumults among the people; yet still he that took it was not reckoned to transgress any law; and there were some greedy usurers that exacted double, triple, nay four times as much." Arbuthnot, chap. 22. Of the Interest of Money.

ⁱ Or 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* Arbuthnot.

But Cn. Manlius, the other consul, gained little glory in his expedition against the Falisci, whom he had been sent to punish for several insults on the republic. Nothing was talked of in Rome, but his attempt upon the constitution. He had ventured to assemble the tribes near Sutrium, and had there made a law in his camp, that the twentieth part of the price of every slave, thereafter sold, should be paid into the public treasury. The senate had consented to this law, notwithstanding the irregularity of holding the *comitia* by tribes in the camp. But the tribunes of the people thought this step of the consul of dangerous consequence to the public liberty; and therefore got a law passed, forbidding any man to assemble the people in *comitia*, any where but in Rome, upon pain of death. However, the law relating to the twentieth part of the price of slaves was not repealed.

Year of
R O M E
396.
B. C. 356.

Ninety-
eighth con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 16.

§. IV. THE consuls for the following year, M. Fabius Ambustus and M. Popilius Lænas (both a second time), no sooner entered on their office, than they took their military employments by lot. Popilius commanded the army which was to act against the Tyburtes. He found them shut up within their walls, and ravaged their lands without opposition. But Fabius had a more difficult war to manage against the united Falisci and Tarquinienses. They stirred up all Hetruria against the republic. The Hetrurians advanced towards the Roman territory, as far as the salt pits, on the banks of the Tiber; and their approach obliged the Romans to have recourse to the usual remedy in great emergencies. The consul Popilius was ordered to name a dictator; and as he was a plebeian himself, he pitched upon C. Marcius Rutilus, the plebeian consul of the last year, to raise him to that dignity. The dictator likewise chose a plebeian, C. Plaucius Proculus, to be his general of horse: so that now the government of the republic was almost entirely in the hands of men of true merit, chosen out of the

Year of
R O M E
397.
B. C. 355.

Ninety-
ninth con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
397.
B. C. 355.

Ninety-
ninth con-
sulship.

people. The patricians, stung with jealousy at these promotions, did all they could to hinder the dictator from having the necessaries for the war : but, on the other hand, the people hastened the preparations for the campaign, and the general marched out to meet the enemy. He surprised their camp, forced it, and took 8,000 prisoners. Notwithstanding so complete a victory, the senate opposed the triumph of a plebeian dictator ; but the people did him justice, and he entered Rome triumphantly the day before the nones of May.

And now the time drawing nigh for electing new consuls, and Fabius not being at Rome, the nobility pretended that it was unlawful for any plebeian, though a dictator, to preside in the *comitia* ; because by the pontifical laws, the election of chief magistrates should be consecrated by auguries ; and auguries, say they, belong of right only to patricians. And for this time they prevailed. The republic had recourse to an interregnum ; and, which is very extraordinary, the plebeians, in the very year in which they triumphed most, were excluded from a share in the government ; two patricians were chosen consuls in the ensuing *comitia*. The tribunes of the people exclaimed against the election, as contrary to the custom practised for eleven years past, during which time one of the consuls had always been a plebeian. But the president of the *comitia* silenced their clamour, by citing a law* of the twelve tables, that only the last edicts of the people should be of force ; for they inferred, that the people, by choosing two patricians, had in effect abolished the former custom.

* See 8th
law of the
9th table,
vol. i. p.
486.

Year of
R O M E
398.
B. C. 354.

100th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 18.

† A third
time.

The new consuls, C. Sulpicius Peticus† and M. Valerius Poplicola, after a slight battle, took Empulum from the Tyburtes, but did nothing else remarkable abroad during their administration. Their chief view was to keep the consulate in patrician hands ; and when the time came for new elections, they declared that they would never resign their dignity to any other than patri-

cians. This occasioned great commotions and tumults in the Campus Martius, insomuch that the greater number of the people cried out, that a secession was necessary, and in reality quitted the assembly, leaving only the least passionate behind them. These gave their suffrages for two patricians, M. Fabius Ambustus* and T. Quinctius Pennus; and thus the nobility carried their point. The consuls took the field; the former against the Tyburtes, whom he totally subdued; the latter against the Tarquinienses, on whom the Romans now revenged the cruelty committed on the 307 Roman soldiers formerly mentioned. Quinctius, having defeated them in a bloody battle, put all the prisoners to the sword, except 358, whom he sent to Rome, where, by order of the senate, they were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. These victories extended the reputation of the Romans; insomuch that the Samnites sent an embassy to the republic, courted her friendship, and concluded an alliance with her, probably upon the same foot as that with the Latins and Hernici. Without changing their laws or government, they engaged to furnish the Romans with troops in their necessity; and the Romans promised to protect them against their enemies both at home and abroad. This was constantly the first step taken by the politic republic, in subduing the nations that lay nearest to her. She flattered them with the title of allies of the Roman people; and when by their assistance she had made herself mistress of the more distant countries, those who had suffered themselves to be lulled asleep under the title of allies, found themselves involved in her conquests; and though they were still called allies, they were treated as subjects.

Though the people were still very desirous to have one of the consuls plebeian, the nobility, as their creditors, had them so much under at this time, that they kept the consulship in their own hands; and C. Sulpicius Peticus* and M. Valerius Poplicola† were again pro-

Year of
R O M E
399.
B. C. 353.

101st consulship.

* A third time.
Livy, b. 7. c. 19.

* A fourth time.
† A second time.

Year of
R O M E
400.
B. C. 352.

102d con-
sulship.

moted to that dignity. While the republic was preparing her levies to act against the Tarquinienses, she received advice from the Latins, that the Volsci were upon the point of entering the Roman territory; and this obliged her to divide her forces between the two consuls. Sulpicius marched into Hetruria, Valerius against the Volsci. Valerius had already encamped on the confines of the territory of Tusculum, when he was recalled to Rome to nominate a dictator. This was occasioned by letters from Sulpicius, which imported, that the Cærites were undoubtedly disposed to take part with the Tarquinienses; that his army was not strong enough to repress the insolence of these enemies united; and that even the Falisci had joined the latter. In order therefore to have a third army on foot, to oppose the Cærites, while the two consuls checked the progress, the one of the Volsci, the other of the Tarquinienses and Falisci, Valerius was directed to name a dictator. Accordingly he named T. Manlius Torquatus to that dignity, who appointed Cornelius Cossus to be his general of horse. Though Manlius had never been consul (a necessary step to rise regularly to the dictatorship), yet his merit was such, that no opposition was made to his promotion.

But now the inhabitants of Cære, intimidated by the preparations made against them, instead of pursuing the war, sent an embassy to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate. The senate referred the deputies to the people, who being moved to compassion by the repentance of the Cærites, and especially when reminded that Cære had been formerly the asylum of the vestals, and the receptacle of their gods, granted them a truce for 100 years, and the dictator, instead of marching against them, led his troops against the Falisci. But neither on this side did he find an enemy in the field to contend with; so that having laid their country waste, he immediately returned to Rome.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 20.

CHAP. VII.

SECT. I. The tribunes of the people oppose the holding of the *comitia* for electing new magistrates, till the dictatorship of Manlius and the consular year are expired; and during the interregnum that follows, they prevail to have C. Marcius Rutilus, a plebeian, raised (now a second time) to the consulate with P. Valerius. 401. These magistrates take effectual measures to relieve the debtors, in order to maintain peace at home. II. Upon a false rumour that the twelve lucumonies of Hetruria are preparing for a war with Rome, Julius Iulus is named dictator. Julius employs his influence to get two patricians chosen to the consulate for the next year. The people, though they oppose this design, and hinder the meeting of the centuries during his dictatorship, suffer C. Sulpicius (now a fifth time) and T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, both patricians, to be declared consuls when the *comitia* are afterward held by an interrex. Nevertheless, in this very consulate, the commons prevail, for the first time, to have a plebeian chosen to the censorship. This was the same C. Marcius Rutilus who had been created dictator in 397. Plebeian censor. III. And notwithstanding that the present consuls name a dictator, to hold the *comitia* for the election of their successors, in order to get two patricians chosen, M. Popilius Lænas, a plebeian, is promoted (now a third time) to the consulate with L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius falling sick, the plebeian consul has the sole conduct of a new war with the Gauls. M. Valerius, the prætor of Rome, is placed at the head of an army to defend the city; this being the first instance of a prætor's acting as a general. Popilius defeats the Gauls in battle; but being disabled from doing business, by a wound, and his colleague continuing sick, they name Furius Camillus dictator, to hold the *comitia* for the new elections, where the dictator himself, with Appius Claudius Crassus (both patricians) are chosen consuls. Appius dying shortly after, Camillus is suffered to govern the republic without a colleague. He marches a powerful army against the Gauls, who had spread themselves on the sea-coast of Latium. M. Valerius (afterward surnamed Corvus), a legionary tribune, kills in single combat a champion of the Gauls, and this occasions a general action, in which the Romans obtain the victory. Camillus being obliged still to keep the field, in order to hinder the descent of some Greek pirates on the coast, names T. Manlius dictator, to hold the *comitia* for the new elections. Manlius, pleased with the exploit of Valerius, resembling what he himself had formerly done, influences the people to choose him, though but twenty-three years of age, to be one of the consuls. The colleague given him is Popilius Lænas, now promoted the fourth time to that dignity. IV. The Romans conclude a treaty with the Carthaginians. V. In the following consulate of C. Plantius Hypsæus and T. Manlius Torquatus, the interest of money is lowered to half per cent. A new war with the Volsci breaks out during the administration of their successors, Valerius Corvus (now a second time consul) and C. Poetilius Libo. Valerius defeats the enemy, takes from them Satricum, and burns it. The secular games are celebrated for the second time according to Fast. Cap. VI. The next year's consuls, M. Fabius Dorso and S. Sulpicius Camerinus, name L. Furius Camillus to be dictator (a second time) on occasion of a war with a new enemy, the Aurunci. Furius overthrows them in battle, and at his return builds a temple, which he had vowed, during the action, to Juno Moneta. The year following, the Romans imagining that the goddess, conformable to her name Moneta, admonished them by prodigies of the impending wrath of the gods, C. Marcius Rutilus (now consul a second time) and T. Manlius (a second time) appoint P. Valerius to be dictator, to order the celebration of the *Feræ Latinae*. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409.

§. I. ALL things were quiet in the city, till the time came for new elections. The dictator, who was to have presided in the *comitia*, had formed the design of hindering any plebeian being chosen to the consulship; but the tribunes of the people, perceiving his intention, op-

Year of
R O M E
400.
B. C. 352.

102d consulship.
Livy, b. 7.
c. 21.

Year of
R O M E
400.
B. C. 352.

102d con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
401.
B. C. 351.

103d con-
sulship.

* A second
time.

posed the assembling of the centuries, till the expiration of his dictatorship, and of the consuls' year, both which ended at the same time. An interregnum ensued; and the two parties were irreconcilable. The people began to make complaints about their debts, as well as of the infraction of the Licinian law, relating to the election of consuls; and the disputes grew to such a height, as seemed to threaten an open revolt. This apprehension induced the senate at length to suffer the Licinian law to take place, and to permit the centuries to choose one of the consuls out of the plebeians. C. Marcius Rutilus,* a plebeian, was joined with P. Valerius Poplicola in the consulate. These magistrates made it their first care to reconcile the two parties, by easing the debtors. To this end, they chose out five men^k of known probity, to take an account of all debts, and see them discharged. These five were called bankers, and they had the command of the public treasury, to enable them to perform their commission, which they did to the satisfaction of all parties. Those who, through sloth and carelessness, rather than want, had plunged themselves in debt, either borrowed money of these bankers, giving security to the public, or else deposited the value of their debts in their creditors' hands, in effects, which were valued by the bankers. By this means the greater number of the debtors were relieved without wronging any person, and with little loss to the public.

§. II. BUT while the republic was taking these methods to secure peace at home, she was suddenly alarmed with the report of a new war, which she must quickly sustain abroad against the twelve lucumonies of Hetru-ria; upon which the senate immediately named Julius Iulus dictator. The report however proved groundless, and was (probably) raised by the patricians, only to get a man at the head of affairs, who might prevent the Licinian law from taking place in the ensuing elections.

^k C. Duilius, P. Decius Mus, M. Papirius, Q. Publilius, T. Æmilius.

And, indeed, he employed all his credit and power to that end, but without success; for the people were so warm and steady in opposing his design, that both he and the consuls were out of office before they could get the *comitia* assembled.

Year of
R O M E
401.
B. C. 351.

103d con-
sulship.

In the interregnum which ensued, C. Sulpicius Peticus and M. Fabius governed by turns; and the people, by the complaisance which they had for these men, seem to have been actuated by some particular pique against the late dictator, in their opposition to his desires; for now they readily suffered two patricians to be raised to the consulship. Sulpicius* himself was one of them, and T. Quinctius Cincinnatus the other. The former marched against the Tarquinienses, and the latter against the Falisci: but these two nations being tired out by the calamities of war, submitted to the republic, and obtained a truce for forty years.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 22.

Year of
R O M E
402.
B. C. 353.

104th con-
sulship.

* A fifth
time.

The present interval of peace seemed a proper season for holding the *comitia*, to elect new censors. A day was accordingly fixed for this purpose, and it was the first time that any plebeian was seen to stand candidate for that important office. C. Marcius Rutilus, having been twice consul and once dictator, thought he might well aspire to any dignity in the republic. He was the first of the commons who had been raised to the dictatorship; and, in spite of the opposition of the nobles, he had obtained a triumph for his exploits in that station. And now, in the *comitia* by centuries, he was declared censor, with Cn. Manlius a patrician.

§. III. BUT though the patricians had not been able to exclude the plebeians from the censorship, they still hoped to secure the consulship wholly to themselves; and the better to succeed in that design, the present consuls named M. Fabius Ambustus (who had been thrice consul) dictator to preside at the next election, imagining, that an absolute governor would be more respected

Year of
R O M E
403.
B. C. 349.

105th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 23.

Appian. in
Celtic.

in the *comitia*, and have more influence. But notwithstanding these precautions, M. Popilius Lænas, a plebeian, was now chosen consul, a third time: and his colleague, L. Cornelius Scipio, falling sick when he should have taken the field, the senate had the farther mortification of seeing the plebeian consul sole general of the troops. Popilius immediately ordered levies to be made to stop the progress of the Gauls, who were ravaging the Latin territory, and approached towards Rome; and to be the sooner in readiness for marching, he appointed the enrolment without the gate Capena,¹ and not upon the Capitol. So great a number of soldiers enlisted themselves on this occasion, that the consul, by order of the senate, divided them into two armies, and left one to guard the city, under the command of M. Valerius Poplicola, the present prætor. And this was the first time that the prætor was seen at the head of an army. Popilius with four legions and some auxiliaries marched against the enemy, defeated them, plundered their camp, and led back to Rome his victorious army, enriched with spoil. He was decreed a triumph at his return; but the ceremony was deferred on account of a wound he had received in the battle, and of which he was not yet recovered. His colleague Scipio continued likewise still sick; so that the republic, seeing both her chief magistrates out of a condition to discharge their functions, desired them to name a dictator to preside at the election of new consuls. Accordingly they named L. Furius Camillus (son of the great Camillus) to that dignity, who appointed P. Cornelius Scipio to be his general of the horse. These two eminent patricians employed their utmost efforts to make the election fall only on men of their own order, and they succeeded. The dictator prevailed to have himself chosen one of the

Livy, b. 7.
c. 24.

¹ The gate Capena, now called the gate of St. Sebastian, led to the Appian Way; as we learn from Frontinus, who tells us, that the censor Appius made a great road from this gate quite to Capua.

consuls ; and Appius Claudius, surnamed Crassus, another patrician, was appointed his colleague.

Year of
R O M E
404.
B. C. 348.

And now the Gauls, who after their late defeat had fled for refuge to the hills of Alba, came down again, and spread themselves upon the sea-coast in the country

106th con-
sulship.

of the Latins. At the same time some Greeks (from what part is uncertain) made a descent on the very same coast where the Gauls were ravaging and plundering, *i. e.* from the mouth of the Tiber to Antium ; but the Gauls, jealous of their booty, forced these new invaders back to their ships. While the Greeks still hovered

about the coast, and the Gauls were yet in Latium, the republic lost one of her generals, who should have acted against these robbers ; Appius, one of the consuls, died during the preparations for the war. It seemed expedient

Livy, b. 7.
c. 25.
Diod. Sic.
b. 16.

to nominate a dictator to act in concert with the surviving consul, but the senate were unwilling to give Camillus any superior. He had obliged them in the late elections, his personal merit was great, and his very name of Camillus was a good omen in a war with the Gauls ; all these considerations made them accept of him as sole governor of the republic ; so that he wanted little more than a greater number of lictors to commence a regular

dictator. His first care was to raise two armies. The Latins were summoned to furnish their contingent of auxiliaries ; but they refused to be commanded by a Roman general ; and, in a national diet, resolved to shake off the dishonourable yoke. However, the consul found Roman citizens enough, who by law were obliged to serve, to compose a body of ten legions, amounting to 45,000 men. Camillus left two of these legions to guard the city ; gave four to L. Pinarius the prætor, whom he sent to defend the sea-coast against the Greeks, and he himself encamped with the other four in the Pomptin territory, a country full of marshes and rivers ; for he had no design of coming to a battle with the Gauls ; his only view was to harass the enemy in their

Year of
R O M E
404.

B. C. 348.

106th con-
sulship.

Aul. Gel.
b. 9. c. 11.
Livy, b. 7.
c. 26.

Auth. of
Lives of
Illust. Men,
c. 29.

* Raven.

Year of
R O M E
405.

B. C. 347.

107th con-
sulship.

posts, intercept their convoys, and, if possible, to starve them. While both armies continued inactive, a fierce Gaul of a gigantic stature appeared between the two camps, defying the bravest man in the Roman legions to single combat. M. Valerius, a legionary tribune, great grandson of the famous Valerius Volusius, accepted the challenge, and is said to have obtained a victory by means of a raven, which had perched upon his helmet ever since daybreak, and which, during the fight, flew in the face of the giant, and so blinded him with his wings, that Valerius easily stabbed him. The Gauls seeing their champion slain, immediately crowded round his body, to hinder him from being stripped of his armour; and the Romans at the same time ran to defend Valerius, and this by degrees brought on a general battle, in which the Gauls were again defeated. Those of them that escaped took their way through the country of the Volsci, and crossing Campania retired as far as the coasts of the Adriatic sea. As for the brave Valerius, the general rewarded him with a crown of gold and ten oxen; and he ever after bore the name of Corvus.*

Nothing now remained for the consul to do, in order to finish this year with honour, but to drive away the Greek pirates that infested the coasts of Latium. With this view he joined his army to that of the prætor Pinarius; but the obstinacy of those adventurers, who, though they durst not land, continued hovering at sea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he had imagined. In the meanwhile the time for the new election for consuls drew near, so that he was obliged to name a dictator to preside in the *comitia*; and on this occasion the famous Manlius Torquatus was again raised to that dignity. A dictator could not fail to have a considerable influence in the assembly of the centuries; and Manlius, who was extremely pleased with the exploit of Valerius, so much resembling his own former victory over a gigantic Gaul, found means to prevail with the

people to choose him one of the consuls, though but twenty-three years of age, and too young to have a place in the senate. With him they joined Popilius Lænas, now consul a fourth time.

Year of
R O M E
405.
B. C. 347.

107th con-
sulship.

As for Camillus, he made so good an appearance on the coast, that the Greeks, not daring to come ashore, and at last wanting fresh water and other necessary provisions, put out to sea.

§. IV. THE armies were disbanded; and Rome, for a short space, had neither war abroad, nor quarrels at home. Her tranquillity however was not complete; a pestilential sickness disturbed it. The senate directed the decemvirs to consult the Sibylline books, and it being there found that the lectisternium would be good against the plague, they ordered that notable ceremony to be performed.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 27.

But the most memorable event of the present year was a treaty of friendship and alliance between Rome and Carthage. It was made at the request of the Carthaginians, who sent ambassadors to Rome for that end; and it seems to have been the first treaty^m concluded between the two states. “Cum Carthaginiensibus

^m Orosius (lib. 3. cap. 7.) calls the treaty made at this time the first—“Primum illud ictum cum Carthaginiensibus fœdus.”

Polybius pretends that so early as the first year of the republic, Rome and Carthage entered into a treaty, the record of which, in the old obsolete Latin, was, in his time, still extant: and he gives us the following translation of it, as made with all possible exactness.

“There shall be peace and friendship between the Romans and the allies of the Romans, and the Carthaginians and the allies of the Carthaginians, on the following conditions:

“The Romans and the allies of the Romans shall not navigate beyond the Fair Promontory [that is, to the southward of it, towards the lesser Syrtis, as Polybius explains it. But the Romans were permitted to have trade and commerce with Carthage and the rest of Afric on the other side the Fair Promontory, as likewise in Sardinia and those parts of Sicily which are dependent on Carthage], unless constrained by tempest or an enemy. If at any time they shall chance to be forced ashore [beyond that promontory], they shall not be permitted to take or buy any thing but what they need for repairing their vessels, and for their sacrifices. None shall make longer stay ashore than five days.

“On those who shall come to traffic, no duty shall be imposed beside the fees to the crier and register; and for payment of whatever shall be sold, whether in Africa or Sardinia, in the presence of those officers, the public faith shall stand engaged to the seller. If any Romans shall come to such places in Sicily as are in subjection to the Carthaginians, they shall have justice done them in all things.

“The Carthaginians shall do nothing to the detriment of the people of Ardea, Antium, Laurentum, Circeii, or Tarracina, or any other of the Latins whomsoever, if

Year of
R O M E
406.
B. C. 346.

108th con-
sulship.

legatis Romæ FÆDUS ICTUM, quum amicitiam ac societatem petentes venissent." Liv. lib. 7. cap. 27.

§. V. IN the following consulship of C. Plautius Hypsæus and T. Manlius Torquatus (who, though twice dictator, had never been consul before), nothing remarkable happened, except the reducing of the interest of money from one per cent. [per month] to half per cent. and the allowing the debtors, upon their paying down one-fourth of their debts, three years to discharge the remainder by annual and equal payments; and the debtors had this farther relief, that no levies were made, nor taxes raised this year.

Year of
R O M E
407.
B. C. 345.

109th con-
sulship.

* A second
time.

But the next year, when Valerius Corvus* and C. Poetilius Libo Visolus were in possession of the fasces, news being brought from Latium, that the Volsci were soliciting the Latins to take arms against Rome, Valerius received orders to march and attack the enemy before their confederates could join them. Satricum, which the Latins had destroyed in 377, had been re-

they be subject [to the Romans]; and if any be not subject, yet the Carthaginians shall make no attempt on their towns: if they make seizure of any such towns, they shall deliver up the same unhurt to the Romans. They shall not build any fort in the country of the Latins: and in case they shall at any time land there in arms, they shall not remain there one night." Polyb. b. 3. c. 22. See what is said in relation to this treaty, in the latter part of the Dissertation on the Credibility, &c. prefixed to the fourth book of this History.

Polybius gives us another treaty, as the second, between the two republics, but does not tell us when it was made. It differed from the first in the following particulars:

The Tyrians and those of Ulica were comprised in it. For it was a treaty between the Romans and their allies on one side, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, Uticenses, and their allies, on the other.

To the Fair Promontory were added Mastia and Tarseium, as places beyond which the Romans were not to go in search of plunder, nor build a city, nor carry on any commerce. [The geographers know not the situation of these places.]

The Romans might trade to the towns of Sicily, subject to the Carthaginians, but were to have no commerce in Sardinia, nor in any part of Africa, except the city of Carthage only. Here they were to be allowed the same rights and privileges [in point of trade] as the citizens themselves; and the Carthaginians were to have the like treatment in Rome.

If the Carthaginians should take any town in the territory of the Latins, not under the Roman dominion, they might keep the pillage and captives, provided they relinquished the town; but if the Carthaginians should make any captives among those of the Latins, who, though not subject to Rome, were, by a written treaty, in league of amity with her, and should bring such captives into any Roman port, and these captives should be discovered and challenged by any Roman, they should be set at liberty.

The Romans were to be subject to the like restrictions with regard to the Carthaginians and their allies. Polyb. b. 3. c. 24.

built and repeopled by the Volsci in 405, and was now the rendezvous of their forces. Here Valerius gave them battle, put them to the rout, and, having taken the town, burnt it, sparing only the temple of the goddess Matuta : after which he returned to Rome, and entered it in triumph with 4000 captives before his chariot. But according to the Capitoline marbles, the triumph of Valerius was not the most pompous show with which the Romans were entertained in his consulate ; the secular games,ⁿ which had been instituted in the year of Rome 297, were now celebrated for the second time.

Year of
R O M E
407.
B. C. 345.

109th con-
sulship.

§. VI. THE Romans, after the victory over the Volsci, were attacked by the Aurunci, a petty nation near the confines of Latium, on the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea ; and the republic being struck with the same terror as if all Latium had declared against her, ordered the consuls M. Fabius Dorso and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus to nominate a dictator : the courts of justice were shut up, and the levies made with the utmost rigour. L. Furius Camillus,* whom the consuls named to the dictatorship, marched away to meet the enemy, and was greatly surprised, when he came within sight of them, to find that they made no better appearance than a gang of robbers. Nevertheless, because they had the hardiness to be the aggressors, and readily to offer him battle, when he appeared, he thought it expedient to seek aid of the gods ; and therefore in the heat of the conflict vowed a temple to Juno Moneta.^o The Aurunci were too weak to resist the Roman forces : Furius returned victorious to Rome ; but, resigning his dictatorship, left to others the care of performing his vow.

Year of
R O M E
408.
B. C. 344.

110th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 28.

* A second
time dicta-
tor.

ⁿ The nature and origin of these games will be spoken of hereafter.

^o This name had been given to the queen of the gods a little before the taking of Rome by the Gauls. It was pretended, that from the temple of Juno had come a voice, accompanied with an earthquake, and that the voice had admonished the Romans to avert the evils that threatened them, by sacrificing a sow with pig. Hence she was called Moneta (from *monere*). Afterward the temple of Juno Moneta became a public mint ; and from thence the medals, which were stamped for current coin in trade, took the name of *moneta*, money.

Cicero, de
Divin. b. 1.
n. 101.

Year of
R O M E
408.
B. C. 344.

110th con-
sulship.

The senate appointed duumvirs to direct the building of the temple, promised to the goddess. It was erected on the Capitol, in the same place where the house of Marcus Manlius had stood. The consuls employed the dictator's army against the Volsci, and coming upon them unawares, took from them Sora.

Year of
R O M E
409.
B. C. 343.

111th con-
sulship.

* A third
time.
† A second
time.
‡ Macrob.
Satur. b. 1.
c. 12.
Oros. b. 3.
c. 7.
Livy, b. 7.
c. 28.

The succeeding consuls, C. Marcius Rutilus* and T. Manlius Imperiosus,† consecrated this new temple the first of June,‡ a year after it had been vowed. This ceremony was immediately followed by prodigies; thick darkness in the daytime, and a shower of stones. After consulting the Sibylline books, the senate judged it expedient (the multitude being full of superstitious fears) to name a dictator, whose business should be to order the solemnization of the festival called *Feriæ Latinæ*. P. Valerius being raised to that office, not only obliged the Roman tribes, but the nations bordering on the Roman territory, to observe the festival, appointing the day when each should perform their devotions.

Severe sentences (it is said) were, at the suit of the ædiles, passed this year against the usurers.

CHAP. VIII.

410.

Samnite
war.

Decius
Mus.

SECT. I. In the succeeding administration of M. Valerius Corvus (a third time consul) and Cornelius Cossus Arvina, happens the first rupture between the Romans and Samnites, on occasion of a war which the latter had carried on with success against the people of Capua in Campania. The Campanians, to engage the Romans to succour them in their distress, make a surrendry of themselves and their country to the republic. Hereupon Valerius is directed to march an army into Campania, and Cornelius to carry the war into Samnium. Valerius, in an action with the Samnites, has the advantage. II. Cornelius, on the other hand, by an imprudent march, brings his army into danger of being entirely cut off by the enemy: however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by a stratagem, suggested and executed by a legionary tribune, named P. Decius Mus; and presently after, following the advice of the same Decius, he gains a victory over the Samnites, who lose 30,000 men in the action. Decius is rewarded with many honours. III. Valerius obtains a second victory over the Samnites in Campania. These successes make the Romans respected abroad.

Year of
R O M E
410.
B. C. 342.

112th con-
sulship.

§. I. THE dictator having, for some reason (not mentioned by the historians), reduced the government to an interregnum, the president of it held the *comitia* by centuries, for electing new consuls. The choice fell (as

the last year) upon two patricians. M. Valerius Corvus* was now raised a third time to the consular dignity, and with him was joined Cornelius Cossus, surnamed Arvina. It was during their administration, that the Romans and Samnites first became enemies. A city to which the republic had no relation at that time, sowed those seeds of discord between the two nations, which produced a lasting hatred.

Year of
R O M E
410.
B. C. 342.

112th con-
sulship.

* A third
time.

The Sidicini, a people of Ausonia, situated beyond the Liris, being attacked by the Samnites, who doubted not to make an easy conquest of their small territory, applied themselves to the Campanians for assistance. It was the interest of the latter to succour their distressed neighbours, and stop the progress of the Samnites; but they undertook the defence of the oppressed with more ostentation than real strength. For, though they possessed a very fruitful country, and though commerce daily increased their riches, this wealth of private persons was the weakness of the state. Luxury reigned universally; the houses were magnificent, but the city without fortifications. The merchant, vain of his wealth, mistook his vanity for courage, and looked down with scorn upon enemies that were not so rich as he.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 29.

This contempt, ever imprudent, often fatal, of an enemy's strength, proved the ruin of Capua. The Samnites, who had a prospect of more glory and advantage in the conquest of the Campanians than of the Sidicini, turned their arms against the former, and having defeated them in two pitched battles, in which the vanquished lost all their youth, drew near to besiege their city, that had now no other defence than weak walls, and inhabitants filled with consternation.

The magistrates in this distress had recourse to Rome; c. 30. they sent a pompous embassy to implore the alliance and assistance of the Romans. Their ambassadors laid before the senate all the motives, both of glory and interest, which could engage the republic to undertake

Year of
R O M E
410.
B. C. 342.

112th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 31.

their defence; the extremity to which they were reduced, and the power of their enemies, which would be considerably augmented by the conquest of so rich a city as Capua. They added, "Such is the misery of our present condition, that if we are not immediately succoured by our friends, we must fall under the power of our enemies. If you defend us, you will secure to yourselves allies full of fidelity and gratitude; we shall honour you as founders of our state, as our parents, nay even as the immortal gods. If you abandon us, what will be the consequence we dread even to imagine." To this humble address the senate, whether out of regard to the faith of treaties, as Livy represents it, or to draw more solid advantages from the assistance they should give the Campanians, than a vain title and empty praises, answered the ambassadors by the consul Valerius, "that they thought the Campanians worthy of their assistance, and wished they could with honour succour them; but that the republic had an ancient alliance with the Samnites, which would not allow her to take arms against them; that the senate however would send deputies to their camp, to entreat them as friends and allies to desist from their hostilities." The Campanian deputies had hitherto spoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the Romans; but now, not thinking the answer they had received sufficient to build great hopes on, the chief of them (pursuant to the powers with which they had been invested before they left Capua) made this farther declaration: "Though the Romans refuse to protect us and ours against violence and injustice, they certainly will not neglect to defend their own. The people of Campania, the city of Capua, our lands, our temples, every thing we have Divine and human, we absolutely give and surrender to you, O conscript fathers, and to the Roman people; from this time forward therefore all our losses will be yours." This said, the ambassadors prostrated them-

selves on the threshold of the senate-house, and holding up their hands to the consuls, shed a flood of tears. Self-interest and compassion made new impressions on the minds of the senators ; they were moved, says Livy, at the sad revolution to which human affairs are liable : to see a nation, late so rich and flourishing, so proud and luxurious, and from whom its neighbours had implored assistance against oppression, reduced in a short time to so dejected a state of mind, as to give themselves and all their possessions into the power of a foreign people. And as the donation was made in due form, by ambassadors authorized to make it, the senate did not think their alliance with the Samnites obliged them to refuse it. Without hesitation therefore, they sent away deputies with instructions to entreat the Samnites, as friends, to spare a province which belonged to Rome ; and, in case of refusal, to give them notice, in the name of the people and senate of Rome, to quit the country immediately. But the Samnite magistrates were so far from being intimidated by the majesty of the Roman name, that, in the very presence of the deputies, they ordered the commanders of their troops to go instantly and ravage Campania.

Year of
R O M E
410.
B. C. 342.
112th con-
sulship.

This insult filled both the people and senate with indignation : and the Romans applied themselves wholly to the making preparations for a war. All the due forms of demanding satisfaction and proclaiming war by the *feciales* having been observed, the two consuls took the field, each at the head of an army. It fell to Valerius's lot to command in Campania, and Cornelius was to enter the country of the Samnites. Valerius posted his troops near Mount Gaurus in Campania ; and being there advantageously situated, he was in no haste to come to a battle, but tried the Samnites in slight skirmishes, to learn their way of managing their arms. At length he assembled his troops, exhorted them " not to be afraid of new enemies, or of a new manner of fight-

Livy, b. 7.
c. 32.

Year of
R O M E
410.
B. C. 342.

112th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 33.

ing ;” bade them remember “ their former victories, and by what general they were now commanded ; that it was Valerius, who had thrice obtained the consulship, not by intrigue, or the nobleness of his birth (honour being now the reward of merit only), but by his bravery ;” reminded them, “ that he was descended from the great Poplicola, and had himself been always a Poplicola in the true meaning of the word.—Go then, Romans (he added), fall upon the enemy, and, in return for my affection to you, gain me the honours of a triumph.”

Never was consul more popular ; never was general more tenderly beloved by his soldiers. He took a pleasure in mixing with them, and sharing the labours of the meanest among them. Valerius frequently made one at their diversions, whether wrestling or running, and did not disdain to enter the lists with a common soldier. He always kept his temper, and, whether victorious or vanquished in these exercises, his countenance never changed. He was continually bestowing favours, but with a just regard to times and persons. He was easy in his private conversation, and gave every man full liberty to express his sentiments in his own manner ; but as for himself, he ever maintained a certain dignity in his discourses. It was natural for troops to love and respect a general of this character. They marched out of the camp with a more than usual ardour for victory.

When the two armies were drawn up, and faced each other, their numbers appeared to be pretty equal. The battle was fought with wonderful resolution on both sides ; but the Samnites began at length to give ground, when the night put an end to the conflict. The Romans had never engaged with more stubborn enemies, and perhaps would not have known that they had gained much advantage, if the Samnites had not deserted their camp in the night.

C. 34,

§. II. BUT whilst Valerius was signaling his courage in Campania, his colleague Cornelius Cossus, who had

been advantageously posted near Saticula on the confines of Samnium, left his camp (for what reason is unknown); and marched his troops through a mountainous country into a forest, all the roads of which were narrow, and out of which there was but one passage, and that through a deep valley. It was not in his power to alter his march, when he discovered, that both the wood and the valley were lined with Samnites, and that he was in a manner surrounded by the enemy. In this distress P. Decius Mus, a legionary tribune, proposed to the consul to detach him with the *principes* and *hastati* of one legion, to take possession of an eminence which overlooked the Samnites, and which they had neglected. He added, "When you see me posted there, continue your march without fear through the valley; the enemy will not dare to attack you while they are exposed to our darts." The consul approved of the motion. Decius was not discovered by the enemy till he had just gained the eminence; and then the Samnites were in such a surprise, that they could come to no determination what to do, whether to attack the consul, or Decius. In the meantime, Cornelius took advantage of their irresolution, and marched through the valley without molestation; and soon after the night came on.

Decius had at first expected to be attacked by the enemy on his hill; and hoped by the advantage of the ground to be able to withstand them. When he found that they neither came to assail him, nor yet raised any works between him and them, he assembled his soldiers, and exhorted them not to follow the enemy's example, but to form some design with expedition, and to execute it with courage. Then, while it was yet daylight, changing his habit with a private soldier, and being accompanied by his centurions, whom he made to do the like, that the enemy might not distinguish them to be officers, he took a view of all the avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return

Year of
R O M E
410.
B. C. 342.

112th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 35.

Year of
R O M E
410.
B. C. 342.

112th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 36.

silently to the main body, at the second watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were reassembled, he laid before them the necessity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to stay for daylight or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy, while they were asleep. The latter being universally approved, Decius led his troops down from the rock in great silence; but when they had got half way through the enemy's camp, a Roman soldier struck his foot against the buckler of a Samnite, and the noise awakening a centinel, he gave the alarm in that quarter. The Samnites ran to arms, without knowing whether it were Decius with his troops, the consul with his army, or some Samnite of the camp, who had disturbed their rest. In the midst of this uncertainty, Decius ordered his men to give a great shout, which so increased the consternation of the Samnites, that they were in a manner frozen with fear, and the Romans easily made their escape. When they were come near the consul's camp, Decius commanded them to halt: "It is not fit (said he), that after so glorious an exploit you should enter the camp in silence and darkness; rest yourselves therefore here till the light returns." The next morning Decius and his troops marched into the camp, with the acclamations of the army, who called them their preservers, and gave thanks to the gods for their happy return. But when the consul (having summoned all his soldiers to hear his harangue) was beginning to make the panegyric of Decius, this brave tribune advised him, instead of losing time in panegyrics, to march away immediately, and surprise the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had sent out detachments in quest of him. This advice was followed; the Romans surprised the Samnites scattered about the hills and woods, and pursued them into their camp, where 30,000 of them were cut to pieces.

C. 37.

This success added much to the glory of Decius, who

was honoured with all the military rewards that were ever given to a subaltern. Beside a crown of gold, he received from the general a present of 100 oxen, and a white bull with gilded horns. As for the soldiers of his detachment, the consul, in recompence of their merit, assigned them a double quantity of corn, not only for the present, but during life, and he gave each of them two sags.^p The army likewise shewed their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an obsidional crown.^q And, lastly, his own detachment, which he had brought safely out of the danger into which he had led them, bestowed a mark of distinction on their leader, and crowned him with a civic crown, or a crown of oak-leaves, which was deemed the most honourable of all rewards. Thus adorned with three crowns, he offered up his white bull in sacrifice to Mars, and distributed his hundred oxen among the companions of his danger, and sharers of his glory.

Year of
R O M E
410.
B. C. 342.

112th con-
sulship.

Aul. Gell.
b. 5.

Auth. of the
Lives of
Illust. Men,
c. 26.

§. III. BUT the campaign was not yet ended. The Samnites having recovered their courage, and raised new forces, appeared before Suessula, a town situated between Nola and Capua. Valerius marched against them, and when he came within a small distance of them, encamped his troops within as narrow a compass as he possibly could, and by this he deceived the enemy; for they taking a view of his camp, and finding it so small, imagined the Romans to be but weak in number, and therefore, full of confidence, offered them battle. Valerius kept close within his intrenchments, and made such a show of fear, that the Samnite soldiers were for

Livy, b. 7.
c. 37.

^p The sagum of the Romans was a military habit, open from top to bottom, and usually fastened on the right shoulder with a buckle, or a clasp. It was not different in shape from the chlamys of the Greeks, and the paludamentum of the generals. The only difference between them was, that the paludamentum was made of a richer stuff, was generally of a purple colour, and both longer and fuller than the sagum. The adjoining plate will shew the form of this garment, which the Latin authors call sagum, and chlamys, and paludamentum.

^q It was customary among the Romans for the garrison of a besieged place to crown the general who came to its relief, and raised the siege, with a chaplet or garland made of the grass growing in the place. It was called *corona obsidionalis*. A. Gell. l. 5. c. 6.

Year of
R O M E
410.
B. C. 342.

112th con-
sulship.

immediately forcing his lines. However, the officers restrained their impetuosity; and believing that the Romans must soon want provisions, they judged it a wise part to continue quiet in their camp, and watch them, not reflecting that the Romans were in a friend's country, whose interest it was to support them. In short, the Samnites themselves were the first who wanted necessaries, and were obliged to send out large detachments to convoy provisions to their camp. Valerius observing this, seized the moment when the greater part of the enemy's troops were dispersed about the country, attacked their camp, forced it, made a great slaughter there, and then with his cavalry chased the several parties that were abroad foraging. In this action the Romans took 170 standards from the enemy.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 38.

The successes of Valerius and Cornelius (to whom the senate decreed the honours of the triumph) made the republic respected abroad; the Falisci entered into a treaty of alliance with her, and that whole lucumony of Hetruria became Roman. The Latins, who had stood neuter to see the event of the war, commenced hostilities against the Peligni (a Samnite nation) as it were to assist the Romans; and lastly, the Carthaginians sent a compliment of congratulation to the republic, with the present of a gold crown of twenty-five pounds weight to Jupiter Capitolinus, by way of thanksgiving for her victories.

Euseb.
Chron.

By a census taken this year it appeared, that the number of Romans able to bear arms amounted to 160,000.

CHAP. IX.

C. Marcius Rutilus is elected (the fourth time) to the consulate, and with him 411.

Q. Servilius Ahala. The former marches an army into Campania. He finds a general depravation of manners in some cohorts of Roman soldiers who had been left in Capua all the winter; and discovers that they had plotted to make that delightful city their own, and to settle there. To disappoint this scheme, he artfully contrives to send away the most mutinous and enterprising, without treating them disgracefully, or letting his design appear. The soldiers at length suspecting it, are alarmed with the apprehension of punishment. All the soldiers of one cohort desert. These having posted themselves advantageously near Anxur, are soon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the city and the camp. They force one Quinctius, an old soldier, whom they find employed in husbandry, to be their leader to conduct them to Rome. Valerius Corvus is hereupon named dictator, to march an army against the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from Rome, comes to a parley with them, and, being a man extremely beloved by the soldiers, prevails with them to submit; yet the rebels, besides pardon, obtain some concessions from the republic.

THE consuls for the new year were C. Marcius Rutilus, a plebeian (now raised to that dignity a fourth time), and Q. Servilius Ahala, a patrician. The latter encamped the army allotted him in the neighbourhood of Rome, while the former marched with another into Campania. A body of Romans had, at the request of the Campanians, been left in Capua all the winter, to defend them from the enemies' incursions. When Marcius arrived in that city, he perceived a great alteration in those soldiers of the republic. Discipline had been neglected; their austerity of manners was changed into effeminacy, and their sobriety into intemperance. The charms of the climate and the air, which they breathed in idleness, had so far bewitched them, that they did not care to hear their own country mentioned; and the less, as at home they were oppressed by their creditors. They had entered into a plot among themselves, to drive the natives out of Campania, seize it for their own possession, and settle there. Marcius was informed of all this; and as he was a man of great experience and prudence, he made use of the gentlest methods to induce them to drop their design. He checked the sedition for the present, by indulging them in the hope that they might put their scheme in execution whenever they pleased: for he caused a rumour to be

Year of
R O M E
411.
B. C. 341.

113th consulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 38, 39,
&c.

Year of
R O M E
411.

B. C. 341.

113th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 39.

spread that they should spend the following winter in the same places. This hope prevailed likewise among the other Romans dispersed up and down in Campania. In the meantime he contrived, under various pretences, to send away the most factious, at first one by one, and afterward by whole cohorts; yet so, that no soldier was dismissed with disgrace. But at length the troops observed the general's conduct, and penetrated into his intentions. They presently imagined, that their companions had been tried and condemned at Rome, and that they themselves must undergo the same fate. In this apprehension, the first expedient that occurred to them was desertion; and the soldiers of one cohort were so bent upon it, that they straight marched away, and posted themselves near Anxur in Lautulæ, which was the name the Romans gave to the narrow pass there between the sea on one side, and high mountains on the other. To these deserters all those whom the consul had dismissed, or who were oppressed by debts, resorted; and new desertions following close upon the first, the malecontents in a little time increased to a moderate army. But still they were at a loss for a leader. To supply this want, they surprised by night in his bed one T. Quinctius (an eminent soldier, who had retired from public life to his farm), and forced him to go along with them, and lead them as their general to Rome.

Fast. Capit.
Livy, b. 7.
c. 40.
Auth. of the
Lives of
Illust. Men.

The city was so terrified at the approach of these mutineers, that the republic had recourse to her usual remedy in great emergencies; the consuls named a dictator. Valerius Corvus was the man pitched upon, and he, at the head of an army, met the rebels eight miles from Rome, in the Appian Way. The dictator had always distinguished himself by a tender love for his soldiers; and these very mutineers were a part of the victorious army which he had commanded the last year. He endeavoured therefore to bring them back to their duty by gentle methods; and, advancing into the mid-

dle space between the two armies, expostulated with them in the softest terms on their strange and unaccountable behaviour, so contrary not only to the tender regard they owed to their country, but even to the grateful returns which he himself might have expected from them, considering how zealous he had ever been for their interests, and with what condescension and kindness he had always treated them in the highest stations to which he had been promoted, as well as in his private capacity. He told them, that his prayer to the gods before he left Rome had not been to conquer them in battle, but to reconcile them to their country; and that he was so far from desiring to reduce them by force of arms, that if they resolved to fight, they must be the first to sound the trumpet for the charge, and must begin the attack too, before he would draw his sword against them. Then addressing himself to Quinctius, “Whether it be willingly or by force, T. Quinctius, that you are engaged on that side, you will do well, in case of a battle, to retire into the hindmost ranks; it will be less dishonourable for you even to turn your back, and fly before your fellow-citizens, than to fight against your country. But if it be only in order to peace and reconciliation that you appear at the head of your party, you may, consistently with your honour and duty, continue there to be their interpreter. Speak then, make your demands, ask any conditions that are reasonable, and they shall be granted. Nay, it will be better to grant you even unreasonable terms, than that we should begin a detestable civil war, and Romans imbrue their hands in Roman blood.”

Valerius had no sooner ended, than Quinctius, turning to the rebels, told them, with tears in his eyes, that he could be of no service to their cause, unless in obtaining for them an advantageous peace; and he advised them to put themselves entirely into the hands of the dictator, who had a fatherly affection for them, and

Year of
R O M E
411.
B. C. 341.

113th consulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 41.

Year of
R O M E
411.
B.C. 341.

113th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
e. 42.

leave it to him to manage their interests at Rome. This motion was followed by a shout of approbation; and then the dictator, having given the mutineers hopes of all reasonable concessions, returned to the city, and obtained from the senate an act of grace, which was afterward confirmed by the people in *comitia*. And in the same assembly, and at the request of the rebels, were passed some new military laws, which revenge alone inspired them to demand. Particularly they insisted, that the pay of the cavalry should be reduced; and this, because not one single man of that corps had joined them in their revolt. Some authors say that at this time all usury was abolished in Rome, by a law made at the motion of Genucius, a tribune of the people; and that the commons passed likewise these other laws: That no man should have the same office twice within ten years, or possess two different offices in the same year; and that the two consuls might be chosen out of the plebeians. If these articles were obtained at this time, it is evident that the rebel army must have been exceedingly formidable. Livy tells us, that the historians differ in most of the circumstances of this event,

CHAP. X.

SECT. I. The Romans, by these condescensions to the rebels, lose credit among their 412.
 neighbours. Privernum revolts, but is quickly reduced by C. Plautius Hypsæus
 (now the second time consul). His colleague L. Æmilius lays waste the country
 of the Samnites, who thereupon sue for peace, and an alliance with Rome. These
 being obtained, they turn their arms once more against the Sidicini, who being
 refused succour by the senate at Rome, even upon the terms of being subject to
 the republic, give themselves to the Latins, already in arms, to recover their in-
 dependence. The Campanians join the Latins. An army, formed of these three
 nations, enters Samnium, but soon retires. II. The Samnites send an embassy to
 the republic, to complain of her suffering the Latins and Campanians to commit
 hostilities in Samnium. They receive an answer unsatisfactory to them, offensive
 to the Campanians, and which, seeming to betray a sense of weakness in the Ro-
 mans, elates the spirits of the Latins. Manlius Torquatus is promoted (a third 413.
 time) to the consulate with P. Decius Mus. Alexander king of Epirus, uncle of
 Alexander the Great, comes into Italy on the invitation of the Tarentines, to make
 war with the Bruttians, and concludes an alliance of friendship with Rome.
 III. The Romans summon ten of the Latin chiefs to appear at Rome, and give
 account of their preparations for war. The Latin council send L. Annius with
 nine more to Rome, to demand, as the condition of renewing the alliance between
 the two nations, that one of the consuls and half of the senate of Rome be for the
 future chosen out of the Latins. This demand is rejected with indignation, and Latin war.
 war is declared. IV. Manlius and Decius having marched two armies into the
 field, and encamped near the enemy, dream both of them the same dream concern-
 ing the event of the war. V. The consul Manlius causes his own son to be be- Severity of
 headed, for having fought in single combat with one of the enemies' officers, Manlius
 though he proved victorious; because he had fought without leave from his general. Torquatus.
 VI. The Romans come to a battle with the Latins. The wing where the consul
 Decius commands beginning to lose ground, he, to recover the day to his party, Devote-
 and pursuant to the interpretation which had been given of his dream, devotes ment of
 himself to death, rushing alone into the thickest of the enemy. His troops getting Decius.
 fresh courage and strength from superstition, and Manlius conducting the battle
 with great skill, the Latins are totally routed, and fly to Minturnæ. Manlius gives
 them a second overthrow; after which both they and the Campanians submit, and
 are most of them dispossessed of their lands. VII. In the following consulate of 414.
 Q. Publilius and T. Æmilius, some of the Latins rebel, and form two armies.
 Publilius succeeding in an expedition against one of them, is decreed a triumph.
 Æmilius, not having equal success against the other, is refused that honour. Here-
 upon he inveighs against the senate, and incites the people to sedition; and be-
 cause the senate, to prevent disturbances, order him to name a dictator, he in
 revenge nominates to that dignity his plebeian colleague. The dictator, during
 his whole administration, employs his power and influence for the advantage of
 the plebeians, and obtains some laws in their favour. The senate, to pique
 Æmilius, tender of his honour, enable the next year's consuls, L. Furius Camillus 415.
 and C. Mænius, to finish with glory the war which he had left unfinished. VIII.
 The Romans determine the fate of the several conquered cities. The Latins, from Latins sub-
 being allies, are made subjects of Rome. jected.

§. I. THUS was tranquillity re-established in Rome; but the condescensions shewn to rebels, and the war in which the republic was engaged with the Samnites, induced some of her neighbours to fall off from her alliance. The Privernates, in the consulship of C. Plautius Hypsæus* and L. Æmilius Mamercinus, made it appear, by their revolt, that the dread of her power was diminished. However, the consul Plautius, without diffi-

Year of
R O M E
412.

B. C. 340.

114th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 7.
c. 42.

* A second
time.

Year of
R O M E
412.
B. C. 340.

114th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 1.

culty, subdued these enemies: he defeated them in battle, took Privernum, and, though he restored it to the inhabitants, deprived them of two-thirds of their lands, and placed a strong garrison in the town. Thence he marched against the Volsci of Antium, and had a bloody engagement with them near Satricum: a sudden storm put an end to it before victory had declared for either side. It was the purpose of the Romans to renew the fight the next day; but the Antiates, having numbered their dead, and being disheartened by the great loss of men they had sustained, retired in the night to Antium, with the same haste as if they had been vanquished in the battle.

The other consul, Æmilius, who led his forces into the country of the Samnites, and laid it waste, met with no opposition: they sued to him for a peace. He referred the ambassadors to the senate, of whom they requested two things; peace with Rome, and permission to make war on the Sidicini. Both these requests they obtained; and the Roman army returned home, after receiving from the Samnites a year's pay and three months' provisions, pursuant to their agreement with the consul, when he granted them a truce till their ambassadors should come back from Rome.

And now the Samnites turned their forces against the Sidicini. These, after the example of the Campanians in the like distress, had recourse to the Roman republic for protection, offering to make an absolute surrendry to her of their country and their liberty: but the senate with scorn rejected the offer as made too late, and as the mere effect of extreme necessity: whereupon the Sidicini immediately gave themselves to the Latins, who of their own motion had already taken arms to attack the Samnites. Nor did the Campanians forbear to join the Latins in this war, so much deeper an impression did their minds retain of the injuries they had received from the Samnites, than of the benefits they had received from the Romans.

A considerable army, formed out of these three nations, entered Samnium, laying waste all before them; and in some slight engagements they had the advantage: nevertheless, their commander, who was a Latin, not caring to lessen his strength (destined to more important service) by too frequent skirmishes, withdrew his forces very soon out of the enemy's country.

Year of
R O M E
412.
B. C. 340.

114th con-
sulship.

§. II. THE retreat of the confederates gave the Samnites an opportunity of sending ambassadors to Rome: who, when admitted by the senate to an audience, complained of their hard fortune, in that they suffered no less since their alliance with the Romans, than they had done when in enmity with them; and humbly prayed that the Romans would be satisfied with having snatched out of their hands a certain victory over the Campanians and Sidicini, and not suffer them also to be subdued by those the most base and cowardly people of all Italy. They added, "If the Latins and Campanians are subject to you, why do not you forbid them to enter our country in a hostile manner? If they are rebels, why do not you chastise them?" These questions puzzled the senators, unwilling to own that they had no longer any power over the Latins, and fearing at the same time to alienate them entirely by a censure on their proceedings. The consul Plautius therefore in the name of the senate, gave this ambiguous answer: "The Campanians are our subjects, and we will force them to desist from troubling you: but as for the Latins, they are not restrained by our treaty of alliance with them from making war against whom they please:" an answer, which, as it left the Samnites in a melancholy uncertainty with relation to the intentions of the republic, so it wholly alienated the Campanians by the menace it contained; and as for the Latins, they grew so proud upon it, as to imagine they could now demand nothing, which the Romans would dare to refuse. Under colour of preparing to carry on the war with the Samnites, they convened

Livy, b. 8.
c. 3.

Year of
R O M E
412.
B. C. 340.

114th con-
sulship.

frequent assemblies of their chiefs, where they formed designs against Rome, in all which the Campanians took part. The Roman senate, though the confederates used all endeavours to keep their consultations secret, received full information of what was doing; and, to the end that the consuls who would have the management of so important a war, might be the sooner in commission, the fathers obliged the present to abdicate before the expiration of their year; and because it was doubtful whether these consuls, quitting their magistracy before the usual time, could, consistently with true religion, hold the *comitia* for electing their successors, the government was reduced to an interregnum.

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.

c. 3, 4.

* A third
time.

§. III. M. FABIVS (the second interrex) having convened the centuries, they chose T. Manlius Torquatus* and Decius Mus to be consuls for the new year.^r And now, although the Romans had no doubt of the defection of their allies, and especially of the Latins, yet the conscript fathers cited ten of the chief leaders of the Latins to appear at Rome, to receive the orders of the republic. The Latins had chosen themselves two prætors, or presidents of their great council (who were likewise to be the managers of the war), L. Annius and L. Numicius, the one a native of Setia, the other of Circeii, two Roman colonies. These men being especially summoned by name, assembled the council, acquainted them with the summons, pointed out the heads upon which they presumed their examination would turn, and asked what answer they should make to the Roman senate. The members of the diet were divided in opinion; upon which Annius in a long harangue laid before them their own strength and flourishing condition; the credit they had with their neighbours, so as to be able to engage

^r Livy tells us (by mistake, as Dodwell thinks), that Alexander king of Epirus, and brother of Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, came at this time into Italy, and would probably have attacked the Romans, had he succeeded in his first enterprises. Aulus Gellius (b. 17. c. 21.) reports, that this prince used to say, that the country he proposed to conquer was a country of men; whereas the provinces which his nephew Alexander went to subdue were inhabited by women only.

even the Roman colonies in their cause; the present weakness of the republic, sufficiently discovered in the answer given by the senate to the Samnite deputies; and in conclusion exhorted the assembly to shake off all dependence upon Rome, and even to refuse an alliance with her, unless she would consent, that one of her consuls, and the half of her senate, should for the future be chosen out of the Latins: and he offered to go in person to Rome, and make this demand in the presence of the senate and people, and even of Jupiter Capitolinus himself.

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

This motion being universally applauded, Annius with nine more ambassadors appeared soon after in presence of the conscript fathers assembled in the Capitol. The consul Manlius spoke first, and in the name of the senate forbade the Latins to make war against the Samnites. To this Annius, more like a conqueror who had taken the Capitol by force of arms, than an ambassador protected by the law of nations, answered, "That the Romans had chosen an ill time to give their orders in such an arbitrary manner, when the Latins were in nothing inferior to them. That in a union between two nations, where the strength on both sides was equal, the authority likewise should be equally shared;" and then he made the demand beforementioned: which so highly provoked the consul, a man no less haughty and passionate than the Latin prætor, that not being able to contain his anger, he loudly declared, "That if the conscript fathers should ever fall into such a madness, as to receive the law from a citizen of Setia, he would himself enter the senate-house sword in hand, and kill every Latin he should find there." Then turning to the statue of Jupiter, he invoked the god to be witness of the pride and ingratitude of the Latins. The rest of the senators joined their exclamations, full of disdain, to those of the consul; while Annius, as some say, in return to their repeated invocations of the gods, who had been witnesses

Livy, b. 8.
c. 5.

c. 6.

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

of the leagues and treaties between the republic and the Latins, raised his voice, and scoffed at the Roman Jupiter. Certain it is, that he left the senate-house in a rage, and retired with such precipitation, that stumbling at the threshold of the door, he fell from the top of the steps to the bottom, and for some time lay senseless. Manlius coming, by the senate's order, to dismiss the ambassadors, and seeing Annius prostrate on the ground, loudly broke out into these expressions; "It goes well!—Gods! you begin a holy war!—Yes, there is a power above! Thou hast a being, great Jupiter! And it is not without reason that we have consecrated this temple to thee, as the father of gods and men!—Why, Romans, why, conscript fathers, do we delay one moment to take arms when we have the gods for our leaders? I will lay the legions of the Latins as low, as their ambassador now lies before you." These words, highly applauded by the people, raised such a spirit in them, that the care of the magistrates, rather than any regard to the law of nations, preserved the ambassadors from being insulted at their departure.

§. IV. THE senate having passed a decree for a war with the Latins, the consuls raised two armies, marched them through the countries of the Marci and Peligni, and being joined by the Samnites, encamped in the neighbourhood of Capua, where the forces of the Latins and their confederates were assembled. The night following, Manlius and Decius are said to have seen, in their sleep, a man of a gigantic stature and majestic look, who told them, "That the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whose general should devote himself to the Dii Manes." As soon as it was day the consuls communicated their dreams to each other; expiatory sacrifices were offered to avert the anger of the gods; and the aruspices being consulted, pretended to make such discoveries in the entrails of the victims as confirmed the dreams. Hereupon, the lieutenants and the tribunes

of the soldiers being called together, the will of the gods was imparted to them, lest the voluntary death (not known to be such) of a consul should strike a terror into the army; and it was agreed between the two consuls, that he, whose troops should first give way, should rush into the midst of the enemy's battalions, and devote himself to certain death, to save his country.

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

§. V. IN the same council of war it was determined, that the ancient strict discipline should be observed, and that no officer or soldier should dare to fight with the enemy out of his rank; and this was proclaimed through all the camp; a precaution extremely necessary at this time, when the Romans were at war with the Latins, with whom they were personally acquainted (having often served together), who spoke the same language, were armed after the same manner, and observed the same way of fighting, and of marshalling their troops. It happened soon after, that young Manlius, the consul's son, being at the head of a detachment of horse, met an advanced squadron of the enemy, whose commander knowing him, challenged him to single combat. Manlius, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late order of the generals, accepted the challenge, killed his adversary, stripped him of his armour, and, loaded with the glorious spoils, came straight to his father's tent: "Father, I have followed your example, and proved myself your son: I was challenged, like you, by an enemy to single combat; I have slain him, and I here lay his spoils at your feet." The consul turned his back upon his son, ordered the troops to be assembled, and then in their presence made him this reply: "Since you, Titus Manlius, in contempt of the consular dignity and the authority of a father, and in contradiction to my express orders, have been so rash as to leave your rank to fight the enemy; since you have destroyed, as far as in you lay, that military discipline which has been hitherto the support of the Roman people, and reduced me to the

Livy, b. 8.
c. 7.

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.
115th con-
sulship.

hard necessity of forgetting myself and mine, or the regard I owe to the public interest, Rome must not suffer the punishment of your fault; we must expiate it ourselves. A sad example shall we be, but a wholesome one to the youth of the Roman soldiery. As for me, both the innate affection of a father for a son, and that specimen which thou, deceived by a vain appearance of honour, hast given of thy valour, move me exceedingly; but since either the consular authority must be established by thy death, or quite destroyed by thy impunity, I cannot think, if there be any of the Manlian blood in thee, thou wilt be backward to repair the breach thou hast made in the military discipline, by undergoing the punishment due to thy offence." This said, he ordered the lictors^s to tie him to a stake, and strike off his head. All present were stunned at the cruel sentence, as if it had been pronounced against themselves; and if they continued quiet, it was more out of fear and astonishment than modesty. And no sooner was the young man beheaded, and his blood seen to gush out, than, coming to themselves, they vented their anger in imprecations and invectives against the father: but as to the son, they covered his dead body with the spoils of the Latin whom he had vanquished, and expressed their affection for him by the most pompous obsequies which they could, in the field, perform to his honour. Extreme and excessive doubtless was this severity of Manlius: nevertheless, it had this good effect, that it made his army wonderfully tractable for the future, and strictly observant of discipline, which proved of great moment in the general engagement with the enemy a few days after.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 8.

§. VI. THE Romans on a day of battle drew up their soldiers in three lines, distinguished by the names of the *HASTATI*, the *PRINCIPES*, and the *TRIarii*.

The *HASTATI*, who composed the first line, had their names from the javelins called *hastæ*, which they bore.

^s According to Zonaras, (b. 7.) Manlius first crowned his son as a victor.

The PRINCIPES, who made the second line, were so called because originally they were placed in the front of the battle, and began^t the attack; and in those times they were generally the richest and the noblest of the Roman youth. They fought with swords.

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

The TRIARII were so named because they made the third line. They were commonly veterans, or hardy old soldiers, the main strength and hopes of their party. They bore the javelin called *pilum*, whence they had the name of PILANI MILITES; and for the same reason the soldiers of the two lines before them had that of ANTE-PILANI.^u

Varro, b. 4.
de Ling.
Lat.

Originally each of these three lines was entire, there were no breaks or intervals between the manipuli or

^t Mr. Kennet thinks it probable, that this was before the institution of the *hastati*.

^u How differently soever the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, might be armed in these times, they afterward bore much the same arms; and therefore Polybius has not divided them in his description, but speaks of them all together.

In Polybius's time, a legion of 4000 men had 600 *triarii*, 1200 *principes*, and as many *hastati*; the rest were *velites*. If the legion happened to be more numerous, each of the three last corps was increased in proportion, but the *triarii* never exceeded 600.

The *velites* were commonly young men of mean condition; they had their name *a volando*, or *a velocitate*, from their swiftness or expedition. They hovered in loose order before the army. Their arms were—

The Spanish sword, which the Romans thought of the best shape and temper, and fittest for execution, being something like the Turkish scimitar, but more sharp at the point. The soldiers wore it on their right side.

Hastæ, or light and slender javelins. Each man had seven.

Parma, a kind of round buckler, three feet in diameter, of wood covered with leather.

Galerus, a light casque for their head, generally made of the skin of some wild beast.

The arms of the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii* (beside the sword abovementioned), were the *scutum*, the *pilum*, the *galea*, and the *lorica*.

The *scutum* was a buckler of wood, the parts being joined together with little plates of iron, and the whole covered with a bull's hide. An iron plate went about it without to keep off blows, and another within to hinder it from taking any damage by lying on the ground. In the middle was an iron boss or *umbo* jutting out, very serviceable to glance off stones and darts, and sometimes to press violently upon the enemy, and drive all before them. They are to be distinguished from the *clypei*, which were less, and quite round, belonging more properly to other nations, though for some little time used by the Romans. The *scuta* themselves were of two kinds; the *ovata* and the *imbricata*; the former is a plain oval figure, the other oblong, and bending inward like half a cylinder. Polybius makes the *scuta* four feet long, and Plutarch (Plut. in P. Æmil.) calls them *πρόθρηξ*, reaching down to the feet. And it is very probable that they covered almost the whole body, since in Livy (b. 44.) we meet with soldiers who stood on the guard, sometimes sleeping with their head on their shield, having fixed the other part of it on the earth.

The *pilum* was a missive weapon, which in a charge they darted at the enemy. It was commonly four-square, but sometimes round, composed of a piece of wood about three cubits long, and a slip of iron of the same length, hooked and jagged at the end. They took abundance of care in joining the two parts together, and did it so artifi-

Year of
R O M E
413.

B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

Justus Lip-
sius de Mil.
Rom. b. 4.
c. 1.

companies that composed it; nor were there any void spaces left behind the lines, so that the whole body of infantry was close and compact, like the Macedonian phalanx.

But at the time of this war of the Romans with the Latins, the method of marshalling the troops was different.

Between the first and second lines was a space of fifty feet; and the triarii were drawn up at the distance of 100 feet behind the principes.

And, as spaces were left between the lines, so likewise between the manipuli, or companies of each line. But these openings were not so disposed, as to yield a direct passage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear. The manipuli of the second line stood behind the openings of the first, and the manipuli of the third be-

cially, that it would sooner break in the iron itself than in the joint. Every man had two of these *pila*; and this number the poets allude to:

Bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.—Virg. *Æn.* i. 317.

Quæ duo sola manu gestans acclivia monti

Fixerat, intorquet jacula—— Statius, *Theb.* 2.

C. Marius (Plut. in Mar.) in the Cimbrian war contrived these *pila* after a new fashion; for before, where the wood was joined to the iron, it was made fast with two iron pins; now Marius let one of them alone as it was, and pulling out the other, put a weak wooden peg in its place; contriving it so, that when it was stuck in the enemy's shield, it should not stand outright as formerly; but the wooden peg breaking, the iron should bend, and so the javelin sticking fast by its crooked point, should weigh down the shield.

The *galea* was a headpiece, or morion, coming down to the shoulders, commonly of brass.

The *lorica* was a brigandine, or coat of mail, generally made of leather, and worked over with little hooks of iron, and sometimes adorned with small scales of thin gold; as we find in Virgil:

Loricam consortam hamis—*Æn.* iii. 467.

And,—Nec duplici squama lorica fidelis et auro.—*Æn.* ix. 707.

Sometimes the *loricae* were a sort of linen cassocs, such as Suetonius attributes to Galba, and like that of Alexander in Plutarch; or those of the Spanish troops described by Polybins in his account of the battle of Cannæ.

The poorer soldiers, who were rated under 1000 drachms, instead of this brigandine, wore a *pectorale* or breastplate of thin brass about twelve fingers square; and this, with what have been already described, rendered them completely armed; unless we add the *ocreae*, or greaves, which they wore on their legs; which perhaps they borrowed (as many other customs) from the Grecians, so well known by the title of—*εὐνήμεδες Ἀχαιοί*.

In the elder times of the Romans, their horse used only a round shield, with a helmet on their head, and a couple of javelins in their hands, great part of their body being left without defence. But as soon as they found the great inconveniences to which they were hereby exposed, they began to arm themselves like the Grecian horse, or much like their own foot, only their shield was a little shorter and squarer, and their lance or javelin thicker with spikes at each end, that if one miscarried, the other might be serviceable.—Kenn. *Antiq.* p. 2. b. 4. ch. 9.

hind those of the second, so that the order of the whole resembled that of a quincunx.

Year of
R O M E

413.

B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

When the hastati happened to be overpowered, they retired softly towards the principes, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and together with them renewed the fight. But if the principes and the hastati thus joined were too weak to sustain the fury of the battle, they all fell back into the wider intervals of the triarii; and then all together being united into a firm mass, they made another effort much more impetuous than any was before: if this assault proved ineffectual, the day was entirely lost as to the foot, there being no farther reserves.*

Livy speaks of the rorarii and the accensi, as two corps of troops that were a kind of supernumeraries to the triarii, but not soldiers equal to them for strength or courage.

In the middle of the space between the principes and the triarii, where stood the Roman eagles, the consuls and lieutenant-generals took their posts. Behind the generals the triarii (while the hastati and principes were fighting) kept firm with their right knees on the ground, their great bucklers on their shoulders, and resting themselves on their spears, which, pointing upwards, formed a kind of palisade before them.

As for the Roman cavalry, they were always posted at the two corners of the army, like wings on a body, and fought sometimes on foot and sometimes on horseback, like our dragoons. At this time there were but 300 to a legion of 5,000 foot. Of four such legions and 12,000 horse, the present army consisted.

* The stratagem of rallying thus by means of these openings in the lines, has been reckoned almost the whole art and secret of the Roman discipline, and it was almost impossible it should prove unsuccessful, if duly observed: for fortune, in every engagement, must have failed them three several times, before they could be routed; and the enemy must have had the strength and resolution to overcome them in three several encounters for the decision of one battle; whereas most other nations, and even the Grecians themselves, drawing up their whole army as it were in one front, trusted themselves and their fortunes to the success of a single charge.—Kennet's Antiq. p. 2. b. 4. ch. 10.

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 9

The consuls Manlius and Decius, before they drew their troops out of the camp, offered sacrifices to the gods. It is said that the aruspex shewed to Decius the liver of his victim wounded in the friendly side^y (a bad omen for him); but declared that the beast had no other mark of being unacceptable to the gods; and that, as to Manlius's victim, the signs were as favourable as could be wished. "It is enough," said Decius; "all is well, if my colleague has engaged the gods to be propitious to him."

When the day of battle came, Manlius commanded the right wing, Decius the left. It was fought on both sides at first with equal strength and courage; but at length the Roman hastati of the left wing were forced to give ground, and retire into the intervals of the principes. This disadvantage put Decius in mind of his agreement with his colleague on occasion of their dreams. He called out therefore to Valerius, the pontifex maximus, to perform on him the ceremony of consecration, in order to his devotement to death to save his legions. Valerius bade him put on his pretexta,^z cover his head, put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and then standing with both his feet upon his javelin repeat after him the following words: "O Janus, Jupiter, father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona; O ye Lares, ye Novensiles,^a ye deified heroes,* ye gods who have power over us and our enemies, ye gods of hell, I honour you, invoke you, and humbly entreat you to prosper the arms of the Roman people, and to strike their enemies with terror, affright, and death; and I do for the safety of the Roman people and their legions devote myself, and with myself, the legions and auxiliaries of our enemies, to the infernal gods and the goddess of the earth."

* Indigetes.

^y *A familiari parte.* The other was the enemy's side of the liver, where their doom was to be read.

^z White robe, bordered with purple.

^a Nine deities, according to Varro, brought to Rome by the Sabines; viz. Lara, Vesta, Minerva, Feronia, Concord, Good Faith, Fortune, Chance, Health. Some take them to be the Nine Muses. C. & R.

Having made this prayer, he ordered his lictors to go in all haste, and tell his colleague Manlius, that he had devoted himself for the safety of the Roman army. Then tucking up his robe, and girding it about him, he mounted his horse, and rode full speed into the thickest of the enemies' battalions. Livy says, that he appeared to them more than human, and that at the sight of him, they seemed as if they were planet-struck; and that he was no sooner fallen to the ground with numberless wounds, than the Latin cohorts all around him dispersed themselves and fled.^b As for the hastati and principes of the Roman left wing, they instantly renewed the charge, like men who had just received the signal to begin to fight; and they were strengthened by the rorarii from the rear; the triarii, with their right knees on the ground, still keeping their post.

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

The battle continued, and the Latins, superior in number, had the better in other parts of the field, when the news was brought to Manlius of his colleague's death. Having let fall some tears, and given him the praises due, he remained a short moment in doubt, whether he should then give the signal for the triarii to rise; but judging it more prudent to reserve them for the finishing blow, he commanded the accensi^c from the rear to the van. The enemy taking these fresh troops to be the Roman triarii, instantly ordered their own triarii to the charge; and this proved the loss of the battle to the Latins; for when they had wearied themselves, and broken or blunted their weapons in repulsing the Romans once more, and when, after they had repulsed what they fancied to be the last reserve of their enemies, they

Livy, b. 8.
c. 10.

^b Cicero (b. 3. de Nat. Deor.) derides that superstitious credulity, which ascribed such wonderful effects to these devotements. He could not conceive how men of sense could form to themselves any such beings as mischievous gods, who thirsted after human blood. So that he looked on these voluntary devotements as no more at bottom than heroic acts of valour, or the last efforts of generals, who, when their troops were disheartened and broken, threw themselves into the midst of the enemy's battalions, in order to engage their soldiers to follow them. C. & R.

^c Father Rouille on this occasion speaks of the *accensi* as light-armed soldiers, who fought with slings; but if so, how could the Latins mistake them for the Roman triarii?

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

thought themselves sure of the victory, the Roman triarii by order of Manlius appeared on a sudden, as if they had started out of the ground. Their arms were shining, and their strength entire. Having received the hastati and principes into the intervals of their ranks, they first gave a shout that dismayed the enemy, and then fell upon them with such fury, and made so terrible a slaughter, that scarce a fourth part of the army escaped.

This battle was fought not far from Mount Vesuvius. During the action the Samnites, drawn up in battalia at the foot of that mountain, served to keep the Latins in fear: or, perhaps (as some writers reported), they came to the assistance of the Romans, after the conflict was over. Manlius acquired great honour by his conduct in this important day; both Latins and Romans agreeing afterward in opinion, that whichever army he had commanded must have been victorious.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 11.

Those of the Latins who escaped the slaughter, and were scattered about the country, collected themselves soon after into one body, and took shelter at Vescia, near the Liris. Here Numicius their general exhorted and encouraged them to try the fortune of arms once more with the Romans; and his motion was approved. In order to get an augmentation of his troops, he artfully caused letters to be spread about in Latium, and the country of the Volsci, representing the flight of the Latins as only an honourable retreat, and by this means he drew to his camp many who had not assisted at the late action; and having thus hastily formed a new army, he marched immediately away, taking the road to Capua. Manlius, informed of the enemies' motions, met them in their march, gave them another overthrow, and then entered Latium to lay it waste. He met with no resistance; the Latin towns surrendered at discretion, as did Privernum in the territory of the Volsci. Campania was likewise totally brought into subjection. The consul

dispossessed the Campanians, Latins, and Privernates, of their estates, and distributed them among the commons of Rome. However, the Latins and Campanians were not all deprived of their estates without distinction. The Laurentini in Latium, and the Campanian knights, to the number of 1,600, had not been concerned in the revolt; and they were therefore continued in their possessions and privileges; nay, the latter were made citizens of Rome, but without right of suffrage; and an annual pension of 450 denarii^d was assigned to each of them out of the public revenues of Campania.

Year of
R O M E
413.
B. C. 339.

115th con-
sulship.

Manlius had deserved the honours of a triumph, and doubtless he obtained them (though Livy says nothing of it). But he could not recover the good-will of the Roman youth; they bore him an implacable hatred for his severity, none but the old men went out to meet him at his return to Rome. Soon after, he fell sick; and as a Roman general was wanted in the field, to oppose some fresh incursions of the Antiates, he named to the dictatorship L. Papirius Crassus, who appointed L. Papirius Cursor to be his master of the horse. The dictator kept his troops some months in the field at free quarter, and then returned to the city, to preside at the election of new consuls.

Fast. Capit.
Livy, b. 8.
c. 12.

§. VII. It had been customary, for some time past, to observe the law which directed to choose one of the two consuls out of the plebeians; and now Q. Publilius, a plebeian, was joined with Tib. Æmilius, a patrician, in the government. The former proving successful in an expedition against a body of Latins (rebellious on account of their lands being taken from them), obtained the honours of a triumph. Upon which Æmilius, jealous of his colleague's glory, demanded the same honours, as the reward for some advantage he had gained over another body of Latins assembled at Pedum, though he had not finished his expedition; but the conscript

Year of
R O M E
414.
B. C. 338.

116th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 12.

^d 14*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.* Arbuthnot.

Year of
R O M E
414.
B. C. 338.

116th con-
sulship.

fathers absolutely refused his request, till he should take that place either by surrendry or assault, a refusal so highly resented by Æmilius, that never did any tribune of the commons inveigh more bitterly against the nobility than the patrician consul did on this occasion. The subject of his harangues was the unequal distribution the senate had made of the lands in Latium; and he began to raise a disturbance. The senate, to put an end to it, ordered him to name a dictator, under pretence of carrying on the war more vigorously against the Latins. Æmilius obeyed, but at the same time revenged himself on the conscript fathers, by nominating his plebeian colleague Publilius, who appointed Brutus Scæva, another plebeian, to be his general of the horse. The dictator being a man entirely devoted to the commons, immediately seized this favourable opportunity to establish their rights, and even to extend their privileges. And these things he effected by three laws which he passed, 1. That the decrees made by the commons, at the request of their tribunes, should be observed by all the Romans [the Quirites^e]. 2. That, for the future, the laws which were to be passed by the centuries should be authorized^f by the senate before they were put to the vote, in the *comitia*; whereas hitherto the *comitia centuriata* had used to pass the laws first, and the senate to accept or reject them as they pleased. 3. That one of the censors should always for the future be a plebeian.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 13.

The senate, much mortified at this downfall of the patricians, resolved to revenge themselves on Æmilius; and knowing him to be very tender of his honour, attacked him on that side. To shew the Romans how negligently he had conducted himself in the discharge of the commission he had received to finish the Latin war, they ordered the new consuls, L. Furius Camillus, grand-

^e Ut plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent. This law seems to be of the same import with that passed by Horatius and Valerius in 304, the year after the decemvirate.

^f Ut legum, quæ comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent.

son of the great Camillus, and C. Mænius, a plebeian, to undertake the same enterprise, and to lay siege to Pedum. And that the generals might not be foiled in the attempt, they plentifully furnished them with men, provisions, arms, and proper engines. Upon the report of Camillus's march to besiege Pedum, the forces of Tybur, Præneste, Aricia, Lanuvium, Velitræ, and Antium, hastened to relieve the place; but these troops were defeated, and Camillus the same day took the town by assault. The consuls having finished the war, and totally subdued Latium, returned to Rome, where they not only had the honours of a triumph, but, by order of the republic, two equestrian statues erected for them in the Forum.

Year of
R O M E
415.
B. C. 337.

117th con-
sulship.

And now the great affair in the senate was to determine the fate of the conquered. Camillus, in his harangue upon this occasion, told the fathers, that the success of their arms against the Latins had been such, that it now depended on their pleasure whether Latium should be any more; but that it deserved their consideration, whether it would not be of greater advantage to the republic to shew mercy to the conquered, and admit them to the privileges of Roman citizens, thereby increasing the number of her subjects, than utterly to exterminate them, and reduce their country to a desert. The consul declared himself for the first, and the conscript fathers in general were inclined to clemency: but as some of the Latin cities had been more criminal than others, they made a distinction in their treatment of them. Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum, and Pedum, were made Roman municipia;^s their soldiers were to be incorporated in the legions, and to be no longer upon the foot of auxiliaries. Tusculum had had the same

Livy, b. 8.
c. 14.

^s The privileges granted by the Romans to the municipal towns were more or less, according to the services they had done the republic. The citizens of some municipia had only the title of Roman citizens. Others enjoyed all the privileges properly belonging to that title. They were enrolled in the tribes, had a right of suffrage, could stand candidates for offices, and served in the army upon the foot of legionaries.

Year of
R O M E
415.
B. C. 337.

117th con-
sulship.

* Flor. b. 1.
c. 11.

privilege before, and it was now confirmed. But Velitræ was razed, and its senate and inhabitants banished to another city, beyond the Tiber, because it had often rebelled since it was made a Roman colony (in the year 261). Antium was not destroyed; the Antiates were granted the freedom of Roman citizens; but they were forbidden the sea; and their fleet, consisting of six galleys,* was partly burnt, and partly carried away into the Roman ports. With the brass beaks [*rostra*] of these vessels the consul Mænius adorned the pulpit, from whence the Roman magistrates harangued the people, and hence it was ever after called the Rostra. The inhabitants of Tybur and Præneste were deprived of all their lands for having formerly assisted the Gauls; and lastly, all the Latins in general were forbidden to assemble their diets as formerly; to marry out of their respective cities; or to have common markets or fairs for trade.

As for Cumæ and Suessula, and the other cities of Campania, they were treated as Capua had been, *i. e.* their lands were all taken from them, and divided among the Romans. Thus a three years' war was ended in the subduing of two fine countries to the republic; and the Latins, from being the allies of Rome, became her subjects.

CHAP. XI.

416.
Plebeian
prætor.

418.

Two new
tribes.
422.
Priver-
nates.
424.

SECT. I. In the following consulate of C. Sulpicius Longus and P. Ælius Pætus, PUBLILIUS, though a plebeian, obtains the PRÆTORSHIP; so that all the great dignities in the state, except those of the priesthood, are now common to the two orders. From this year, 416, to the year 425, the most memorable events are—the invention of moveable towers and covered galleries, by the consul M. Valerius Corvus (in the year 418) at the siege of Cale, the chief city of the Ausones, allies of the Sidicini: the republic's changing the custom of raising a new army upon every change of consuls: the reduction of the Sidicini (probably in 420): the addition of two new tribes (in 421) to the twenty-seven old ones: a plot formed (in 422) by some hundreds of Roman women to poison their husbands: the revolt of Privernum (in 423), the reduction of that city (in 424), and the courageous and noble answer given by one of the citizens, when questioned by the Roman senate concerning the conduct which the Privernates would observe for the future.

§. I. ROME had never been in a better condition to attempt the conquest of all Italy than now, when those

warm contentions for power at home, which had often retarded the progress of the Roman arms abroad, were at an end. The plebeians shared almost all the great offices in the state with the patricians; the consulship, quæstorship, ædileship, and censorship: they were excluded only from the prætorship and the sacerdotal dignities. And in the following year, when C. Sulpicius Longus and P. Ælius Pætus were in possession of the fasces, Publilius, a plebeian, stood candidate for the prætorship, and obtained it. The consul Sulpicius had refused to admit his name among those of the other candidates; but the senate were easy in the matter, thinking it perhaps unreasonable and absurd that a plebeian, who had been consul and dictator, should merely on account of his birth be excluded from the prætorship. And thus the plebeians being arrived at the height of their desires (for they did not yet pretend to the pontificate and augurate), all pretences for faction were entirely taken away. Real personal merit, not high birth, nor the merit of men's ancestors, was now chiefly regarded in the distribution of honours: so that this period of time may, more properly than any of the former, be called the age of ROMAN VIRTUE.

The republic, through the indolence of her present consuls, neglected to revenge the Aurunci on their enemies the Sidicini, who this year had invaded their country, and made themselves masters of their principal city. The Aurunci had submitted to the Romans in the consulship of Manlius Torquatus, and had continued faithful amidst all the confusions of the Latin war. They well deserved therefore to be succoured; and accordingly the consuls of the new year, L. Papirius and Cæso Dui-
lius, were now ordered to lead an army to their assistance; and though the Ausones joined their neighbours the Sidicini, these united forces were easily put to the rout. They fled for shelter behind the walls of their

Year of
R O M E
416.
B. C. 336.

118th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 15.

Year of
R O M E
417.
B. C. 335.

119th con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 8.
c. 16.

Year of
R O M E
418.
B. C. 334.

cities ; and the consuls returned to Rome, without reaping much glory from the campaign.

120th con-
sulship.

But in the following consulship of M. Valerius Corvus (now raised to that dignity a fourth time) and M. Atilius Regulus, the former (to whom his colleague, at the request of the senate, had yielded the command of the army without drawing lots) laid siege to Cales, the chief city of the Ausones. He invented covered galleries and moveable towers for screening his men, and carrying on the attacks, and at length took the place by assault.

Fast. Capit.

After this the two consuls, having first nominated a dictator to preside at the ensuing elections, joined their forces, and marched against the Sidicini ; but notwithstanding that they used all expedition to finish their conquest before the expiration of their year, they were forced to leave the completion of it to their successors,

Year of
R O M E
419.
B. C. 333.

121st con-
sulship.

T. Veturius Calvinus and Sp. Posthumius Albinus. As soon as these new magistrates were named, and before they entered on their office, they, to make themselves acceptable to the commons, solicited and obtained a decree for settling a colony of Roman citizens at Cales, and dividing the district of that city among them ; and that the distribution of the lands might be made the more equally, the senate chose out three persons of known equity to conduct and settle the colony, consisting of 2,500 men.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 17.

The Romans seem at this time to have quite abolished that custom they formerly had, of raising a new army upon every change of chief magistrates. An army raised by one general now passed from him to his successor, and so on till the end of the war. Accordingly, Veturius and Posthumius put themselves at the head of the troops which Corvus had commanded, and entered the country of the Sidicini ; who, to avoid a battle, suffered their territory to be laid waste, and appeared no more in the field. Nevertheless, a report was spread at Rome, after the return of the consuls, that the Sidicini

had once more assembled a formidable army, and were joined by the Samnites, which caused so great an alarm, that the consuls, by order of the senate, named a dictator, as in a time of imminent danger. Their choice fell upon P. Cornelius Rufinus. This supreme magistrate however soon abdicated, upon some pretended defect in his inauguration. Nay, superstition prevailed so far at this time, that because a plague raged at Rome, and because the college of augurs declared, that all the auspices of the year had been infected by the contagious air, the chief magistrates were all displaced, and the republic fell into an interregnum.

Year of
R O M E
419.
B. C. 333.

121st consulship.

Livy says nothing of what happened in the year 420, when L. Papirius Cursor and C. Poetilius Libo Visolus were consuls, according to the Fasti Capitolini. It was very probably a year barren of events, unless the Sidicini were then subdued, which is not unlikely, since we find no other epoch of their reduction.

Year of
R O M E
420.
B. C. 332.

122d consulship.

In the succeeding consulship of A. Cornelius* and Cn. Domitius, a rumour, that those terrible enemies, the Gauls, were preparing for a war with the republic, occasioned the sudden nomination of M. Papirius Crassus to be dictator; but while he was levying troops to oppose their attempts, more certain accounts came that all was quiet on that side. Some suspicion of the Samnites at this time prevailing, the dictator would not withdraw from the country of the Sidicini a Roman army that was there encamped. The Samnites were indeed raising troops, but it was to defend Italy against Alexander, king of Epirus, who, under pretence of succouring the Tarentines (then at war with the Lucanians and Bruttians), had made a descent at Pæstum, and began to grow formidable to all the eastern parts of Italy. What suspended the progress of his arms is unknown; but after some small advantages obtained against the enemies of the Tarentines, he made a treaty with the Romans.

Year of
R O M E
421.
B. C. 331.

123d consulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 17.

* A second time.

Justin, b.
12. c. 2.

Year of
R O M E
421.
B. C. 331.

123d con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 17.

The late addition of so many new citizens as Rome had received since the reduction of the Latins, made it necessary to take a new census, and to increase the number of the tribes. To the twenty-seven, already in being, were added the Mæcian and Scaptian [the first near Lanuvium, the second between Tybur and Præ-neste].

Year of
R O M E
422.
B. C. 330.

124th con-
sulship.

Oros. b. 3.
c. 10.

Val. Max.
b. 2. c. 5.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 18.

But in the midst of this repose from foreign alarms, and in the beginning of the new consulship of M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Valerius Potitus, there sprung up in the bosom of the republic a new kind of monsters, more terrible than any army of invaders from abroad. Some women of distinction, to the number of 170, according to some, or 360 according to others, formed a plot to poison their husbands, and took the opportunity of an epidemical distemper to put their design in execution. Their wickedness being discovered to Fabius, one of the curule ædiles, by a she-slave of one of the ladies, and their persons being seized, two of the prisoners, Sergia and Cornelia, both patrician women, were brought before the assembly of the people. Being there examined, they denied that in the medicines which they had prepared, and which had been found with them, there were any poisonous ingredients. The slave, to verify her accusation, proposed, that the two ladies should take their own potions; and the experiment was immediately ordered to be made. Upon this, Cornelia and Sergia desired to confer with their accomplices, which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poison, and so delivered themselves from a more lingering death. The republic ascribed this unheard-of prodigy to a spirit of madness, sent as a punishment from the angry gods; to appease whom they nominated a dictator, to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

This transient dictatorship quickly gave way to the consulship of L. Papirius Crassus* and L. Plautius

* A second time.

Venno. In the beginning of their administration, a deputation came to Rome from the Poluscans and the inhabitants of Fabrateria (both in the territory of the Volsci) to demand protection against the Samnites, by whom they were threatened with an irruption. The senate did not reject their petition, but sent ambassadors to desire the Samnites to put a stop to their hostilities against those two nations. The Samnites complied, and then the republic immediately turned her arms against the Privernates. These rebels, in conjunction with some of the inhabitants of Fundi, were headed by Vitruvius Vaccus, originally of that town, which, after the Latin war, had been admitted to the rights of Roman citizenship. Vitruvius had made himself an inhabitant of Rome, and had enjoyed all the privileges of a citizen born there; but, through the mere vanity of commanding an army, had excited his countrymen to revolt. However, he durst not keep the field when the consuls appeared; he fled for refuge to Privernum. L. Plautius, with one part of the army, entered the territory of Fundi, the senators of which city came out to meet him, and endeavoured to justify themselves from having any share in the revolt. The consul wrote to Rome in their favour, and then marched to rejoin his colleague, who had already blocked up Privernum. The siege of this place was not yet over, when the senate recalled one of the consuls to Rome, to preside in the *comitia* for electing new ones.

Year of
R O M E
423.
B. C. 329.

125th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 19.

c. 20.

The Romans were the terror of their neighbours; but the Gauls in Italy were the terror of the Romans. And the republic being alarmed at the news of the Gauls being in motion, thought fit to bring on the elections before the usual time, in order to provide fit generals for so important a war.^h

^h In the midst of these apprehensions the Romans did not forget their sports and diversions. They at this time built sumptuous porticoes at the entrance of the Circus, for a shelter to the horses, which were before so exposed to the sun, that they were often fatigued before they began the race. C. & R. All that Livy says, is, "*Carceres eo anno in circo primum statuti.*"

Year of
R O M E
424.
B. C. 328.

126th con-
sulship.

* A second
time.

Fast. Capit.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 21.
Val. Max.
b. 6. c. 2.

L. Æmilius* and C. Plautius, the new consuls, entered on their office the very day of their election, and they drew lots for their commands. It fell to Æmilius to act against the Gauls; his colleague was to carry on the siege of Privernum. How much the very shadow of the Gauls terrified Rome, may be judged of by the extraordinary preparations at this time to oppose them. The levies were made with the utmost rigour; no excuse was allowed; the meanest artificers, and those of sedentary occupations, were without distinction put into the roll. But after all these precautions, and many other, advice came that the Gauls were quiet; so that Æmilius joined his colleague before Privernum. The town was taken, and the rebel Vitruvius being made prisoner, was condemned by the senate to be first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Æmilius and Plautius both triumphed on account of this new conquest; and the former, who had spent but little time before the place, obtained the surname of Privernus.ⁱ

What now remained was to punish the Privernates. Those of their senators who had stayed in Privernum after its revolt, were condemned to the same punishment which had been inflicted on the citizens of Velitræ, that is, they were banished beyond the Tiber, and forbid to appear any more on this side of it, under the penalty of a great fine. And though the consul Plautius interceded with the senate for the innocent multitude, and particularly for the prisoners taken in the war, whom he brought to the door of the senate-house, he did not immediately draw the conscript fathers over to his sentiments; they were divided in opinion. One of the Privernates, by a haughty answer, endangered all his

ⁱ The Romans are sometimes reproached with unjustly giving all the glory of an enterprise to the last general concerned in it, and who finished it, notwithstanding that the former commanders had brought it to such a maturity, as to be past the danger of abortion. But it should be considered, that this conduct in a people, whose chief aim was to extend their empire, was founded in wise policy: by giving all the honour of a successful war to him who ended it, they animated their generals to exert themselves on all occasions to make a rapid conquest. C. & R.

fellow-captives. Being asked by a senator, who inclined to rigour, what punishment he thought the Privernates deserved? "The same," said he, "which is due to men who think themselves worthy of LIBERTY." So brisk an answer exasperated some of the assembly, which Plautius perceiving, endeavoured to prevent the ill effect of it, by putting a milder question to the prisoner, and which should naturally draw a softer answer from him: "Suppose (said the consul) we should pardon you; in what manner may we expect you will behave yourselves for the future?" The prisoner answered, "If the peace you grant us be a good one, we shall maintain it faithfully and inviolably; if the terms of it be hard, do not count upon us long." These words made different impressions on the judges. Some construed them as menaces, and as indications of a disposition to a new revolt; but the greater part, and the wiser, found a magnanimity in them worthy of a man and of a free man. Those especially of the senators who had been consuls adhered to Plautius's opinion, who loudly declared, and repeated it often, "that a people whose only desire was LIBERTY, and whose only fear was that of losing it, were worthy to become ROMAN." Accordingly the senate passed a decree in favour of the prisoners, and Priver-num was made a municipium.

Year of
R O M E
424.
B. C. 328.

126th con-
sulship.

CHAP. XII.

425. SECT. I. The next year (in the consulate of C. Plautius Proculus and P. Cornelius Scapula) the Romans give umbrage to the Samnites by planting a colony in their neighbourhood. And the Palæopolitans make an irruption into the Roman territory. II. A remarkable instance of the Romans' abhorrence of malice, in the prosecution of a criminal. III. The fasces being transferred to Q. Publilius (now a second time consul) and L. Cornelius Lentulus, the former marches an army against the Palæopolitans. Cornelius encamps another near Capua, to keep in awe the Campanians, who are thought to be gained over by the Samnites, between whom and the republic there is a new rupture. IV. The next year's consuls, C. Poetilius Libo and L. Papirius Mugillanus, having their forces strengthened by the Lucanians and Apulians, take some towns from the Samnites. And Publilius (who, with the title of proconsul, is continued at the head of the same army he had commanded the last year when consul) takes Palæopolis by means of a stratagem laid and executed by two of the citizens. For this exploit Publilius, though but a proconsul, is decreed a triumph. V. The Tarentines having lost their protector, king Alexander of Epirus, and being jealous of the growing power of Rome, by an artful stratagem deprive her of all assistance from the Lucanians, seducing them into a league with the Samnites. VI. About this time the infamous passion of a Roman named Papirius, for one of his insolvent debtors, occasions the passing of a law at Rome, whereby creditors are disabled from seizing the persons of their debtors.
- 426.
- 427.
- A proconsul triumphs.
- A law in favour of debtors.

Year of
R O M E
425.
B. C. 327.

127th consulship.
Livy, b. 8.
c. 22.

§. I. IT was now customary for the Romans either to send colonies to the conquered cities, or to give the inhabitants the right of Roman citizenship. For they had found to their cost the ill consequences of that independence in which they had left the Latins after their first reduction of them. In pursuance of this new policy, the senate, in the consulship of C. Plautius Proculus and P. Cornelius Scapula, sent a colony of Romans to Fregellæ, a city in the territory of the Sidicini, which the Romans had rebuilt after the Samnites had razed it. The repairing and fortifying of this place, and the planting a colony in it, gave umbrage to the Samnites, and proved the occasion of that furious war which soon after broke out between them and the republic.

In the meantime the inhabitants of Palæopolis made incursions into the Roman territory. These people were originally Eubæans, who came into Italy and built Cumæ. From thence they spread themselves farther; and a colony of Cumans built Naples, or Neapolis, *i. e.* the new city; and finding in the neighbourhood of Naples a town ready built, they possessed themselves of it, and called it Palæopolis, or Palaiopolis, *i. e.* the old city.

§. II. THE news of this irruption of the Palæopolitans was brought to Rome just before the holding of the assemblies of the tribes and of the centuries ; the first for the election of tribunes of the people, the second for that of consuls. It is remarkable, that in the *comitia* by tribes, the people at this time chose one Q. Flavius, a man of a most infamous character, to be one of their tribunes. The occasion of it was extraordinary. He had been accused not long before of doing violence to a lady. Valerius, one of the curule ædiles, was his chief prosecutor ; and the evidence was clear. Fourteen of the twenty-nine tribes had already voted him guilty, when the accused, in order to move the rest of his judges to favour him, made vehement protestations, and called heaven and earth to witness his innocence. Upon this, Valerius cried out with a louder voice, “What is it to me whether thou art guilty or innocent provided thou be destroyed ?” The tribes were so offended at these words, that they acquitted the criminal by a majority of suffrages. Flavius, soon after, lost his mother ; and it being then customary to offer sacrifices in honour of the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than usual, and in gratitude to the people for their late favour, distributed the flesh among them. They in return now chose him tribune, though absent.

Year of
R O M E
425.
B. C. 327.

127th con-
sulship.

Val. Max.
b. 8. c. 1.

§. III. THE *comitia* by centuries appointed L. Cornelius Lentulus and Q. Publilius Philo* to be the new consuls. Publilius marched an army towards Palæopolis, and foreseeing that this place would not easily be taken while supplied with men and provisions from Naples, he prudently encamped his troops in the narrow tract of ground between the two cities. In the meantime Cornelius, who had posted himself with another army near Capua, to keep the Campanians in awe (who were thought to be gained over by the Samnites to join them against Rome), received undoubted intelligence, that the Samnites openly solicited the Roman colonies to revolt.

Year of
R O M E
426.
B. C. 326.

128th con-
sulship.

* A second
time.

Year of
R O M E
426.
B. C. 326.

128th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 23.

Upon this the senate dispatched ambassadors into Samnium to learn the reason of a conduct so contrary to the faith of treaties. The ambassadors met with a haughty reception. The Samnites complained of the proceeding of the republic, and particularly of the rebuilding and fortifying of Fregellæ, which (they said) was a wrong done to the Samnite nation; and to reproaches they added even menaces. The ambassadors, without losing their temper, proposed to refer the matter to the arbitration of their common allies. "Arbitrators!" cried the Samnites, "we will have none, but the gods and our swords; battles will determine our pretensions better than words and judges; Mars shall put an end to our disputes, in the plains of Campania. Let our armies face each other between Capua and Suessula, and there try, whether the Samnites or the Romans shall be lords of Italy." The ambassadors replied, "We shall not go whither our enemies invite us; but whithersoever our generals shall think fit to lead us."

Year of
R O M E
427.
B. C. 325.

129th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 25.

§. IV. SUCH was the situation of affairs abroad when the time drew near for the new elections. The senate, without recalling the consuls to Rome, ordered a dictator to be named to preside at them. But when Cornelius had nominated M. Claudius Marcellus, a plebeian, the augurs pretended, for some frivolous reason, that the nomination was invalid; and though the tribunes charged the college with imposture, and with pretending religion, when their view was only to wound the plebeian interest, the government fell into an interregnum; and then the *comitia* chose C. Poetilius Libo and L. Papirius Mugillanus consuls for the ensuing year. They put themselves at the head of the army which Cornelius had commanded, and with which he had already entered Samnium, and they had the good fortune to be joined by the people of Lucania and Apulia, two nations to which the Romans had been hitherto almost utter strangers. With this reinforcement they pene-

trated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and took three towns from them.

Year of
R O M E
427.
B. C. 325.

But these conquests were of little moment in comparison of that made by Publilius, whom the people, at the motion of their tribunes, had continued in the command of the army before Palæpolis, with the title of proconsul. He had already, as was before mentioned, cut off the communication between that place and Naples, so that the besieged were much straitened for want of provisions. Nor was this the greatest calamity which the Palæpolitans suffered : 4,000 Samnites, and 2,000 of the inhabitants of Nola, a city of Campania, under pretence of defending Palæpolis, had, before it was invested, got into the town, where they kept the citizens in a state of cruel slavery, treating them as prisoners of war, and even doing violence to their wives and to their children of both sexes. In this distress, having long waited in vain for relief from the Tarentines, whose presence they hoped would deliver them from the oppression of their defenders, the inhabitants at length resolved to put the place into the hands of the Romans. The Palæpolitans, as has been observed, were originally Greeks, and the stratagem they made use of had in it much of Grecian artifice. Nymphius and Charilaus, the two chief magistrates of the city, undertook, with the consent of the principal inhabitants, to act two different parts, in order to the execution of the common design. Charilaus escaped as a deserter to the Roman camp, where he applied himself to the proconsul, and imparted to him the desire of his countrymen to purchase the friendship of the Romans by surrendering their city to them. He declared, that he had nothing in view but the interest of his country and of the Roman republic, and demanded no condition to his own private advantage. Publilius received him kindly, applauded his generosity, and readily entered into the scheme proposed. He put him at the head of 3,000

129th consulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 23.

c. 25.

Year of
R O M E
427.
B. C. 325.

129th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 26.

Romans, who at a proper time were to attack the place in that part which was defended by the Samnites. In the meantime Nymphius, who had stayed in Palæpolis, inveighed most vehemently against his colleague for his desertion, and by his counterfeited anger so effectually blinded the Samnite commanders, that without any suspicion they fell into the snare he had prepared for them. He advised them, as the surest method, to force the Romans to withdraw their troops from the neighbourhood of the city, immediately to equip the fleet which lay in the port, and make a descent in the Roman territory; and he offered to undertake in person the execution of his project. This motion was highly approved, and as the ships lay dry on the shore, all diligence was instantly used to set them afloat. Nymphius contrived to have the Samnite troops chiefly employed in that laborious work, which, under pretence of better concealing the design, he ordered to be done in the night; and when by this means he had left that part of the wall, by which the Romans were to enter, but weakly guarded, he gave notice to his colleague, with whom he all along kept a private correspondence, to begin the attack. Charilaus with his 3,000 Romans advanced without loss of time, and, being favoured by the inhabitants, easily made himself master of the place. As for the Samnites (who were most of them busied without the town), finding themselves betrayed, they made the best of their way to their own country, without arms or baggage, being ever after the derision of their countrymen, who continually reproached them with the Palæpolitan equipment.

Notwithstanding that the Romans had got possession of the town by the good-will of the inhabitants, yet, inasmuch as it was by means of the siege that the latter were brought to take those measures they did in favour of the republic, the proconsul was decreed a triumph for his success. Livy observes, that two particular honours

were done Publilius, which had never been done before to any Roman; the being continued after the expiration of his consulship at the head of the same army he had commanded when consul, and the being decreed a triumph for exploits performed in an inferior station.

Year of
R O M E
427.
B. C. 325.

129th con-
sulship.

§. V. THE taking of Palæpolis made the Tarentines jealous of the growing power of the republic. They had a little before this lost their chief support by the death of Alexander king of Epirus, who being warned by an oracle to avoid the waters of Acheron and the city of Pandosia, had left his own country, in which were a city and river of those names, and met his fate in Italy, where there happened to be another Pandosia and another Acheron. The story, as related by Livy, is to this effect: The king of Epirus had made a descent in Italy to assist the Tarentines against the Bruttians and Lucanians; and having taken some towns of importance from the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and encamped them on three different hills separated by deep valleys. The Italian Acheron rolled its waters in one of those valleys, and the little city of Pandosia stood on the banks of it. The violent rains, which came on a sudden, filled up the valleys, and cut off the communication between Alexander's three bodies of troops. The enemy seized this occasion to attack them separately, while they could not assist each other, and having easily defeated the two divisions of the army where the king was not, they straight encompassed the hill where he had posted himself. Alexander, by his bravery, forced a passage through the enemy, and having rallied his scattered soldiers, came to a river, where the fresh ruins of a bridge, which the flood had broken down, pointed out the right road for him to take. While they attempted to pass the stream, uncertain whether it were fordable or not, an Epirot soldier, oppressed with fear and fatigue, made this sudden exclamation, "Justly indeed art thou called Acheron!" (*i. e.* River of Sorrow.) The king

Livy, b. 8.
c. 27.

c. 24.

Year of
R O M E
427.
B.C. 325.

129th con-
sulship.

hearing this, and remembering the oracle, stopped short, unresolved whether to go forward or not; but in that instant Sotimus, one of his pages, telling him that his own guards (consisting of 200 Lucanian exiles, whom he had taken into his service) had, in concert with the enemy, plotted his destruction, and the king seeing them in reality advancing to assault him, he sword in hand pushed on his horse, and had almost reached the opposite shore, when one of those faithless guards at a distance launched a javelin at him, which pierced him through, and killed him.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 27.

The Lucanians and Apulians, by going over to the Romans, and declaring for them against the Samnites, had much increased the uneasiness of the Tarentines. These therefore, who were very ready at tricks and artifices, contrived a stratagem to deceive the Lucanians, and bring them off from the party they had espoused. They bribed a company of young Lucanians, of good families, though of little honour, to tear their backs with whips, and then shew themselves to the people, pretending that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the Roman consuls, to whose camp curiosity had led them. The Lucanians were so stupid a people, that, without examining into the truth of so improbable a fact, they immediately demanded a national assembly, which being convened, it was there decreed, "that war should be declared against the Romans; that the ancient alliances should be renewed with the Samnites; and that an embassy should be sent to the latter for that purpose." The Samnites could scarce believe the deputation real; and, before they would hearken to the ambassadors, demanded hostages, and insisted on the towns of Lucania receiving Samnite garrisons. These things were readily granted, nor did the Lucanians discover the cheat till it was too late to repent.

C. 28.

§. VI. AT this time the poor debtors at Rome had the good fortune to shake off the heaviest yoke that lay

upon them. By one of the laws of the twelve tables, creditors were empowered to seize the persons of their insolvent debtors, and keep them in irons. These wretches, till they had discharged their debts by their labour or otherwise, were in all respects slaves, except in name. They were called *nexi*, *i. e.* bound, whereas the slaves were called *servi*. A young plebeian, named Publilius, of extraordinary beauty, and of a good family, had voluntarily made himself a slave to one Papirius, in order to pay his father's debts. Papirius conceived a detestable passion for the young man, and, upon his refusing to comply, caused him to be whipped unmercifully. Publilius made his escape out of the house, complained publicly of the cruel usage, and told the occasion of it. The story filled the people with compassion for the young man, and with resentment and fury against his master. They gathered together tumultuously, and having, by their clamours, obliged the consuls to assemble the senate, presented Publilius before them, with his back all bloody and torn, and then on their knees demanded justice. The senate had regard to their entreaties; and though they decreed nothing against Papirius (perhaps for want of sufficient proof), they passed a law, which was afterward confirmed by the people in *comitia*, that for the future no person whatsoever should be held in fetters or other bonds unless for some crime that deserved it, and only till the criminal had suffered the punishment due by law; and that creditors should have a right to attach the goods only, and not the persons of their debtors.

Year of
R O M E
427.
B. C. 325.

129th con-
sulship.

Varro de
Lingua La-
tina, b. 6.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 28.

CHAP. XIII.

428. Papirius
Cursor and
Q. Fabius.

429.

430.

431.

SECT. I. The Vestini, a people on the coast of the Adriatic sea, take arms against Rome, in the consulate of L. Furius Camillus and D. Junius Brutus. Brutus defeats them in battle. II. Camillus, who was to act against the Samnites, falling sick, names to the dictatorship L. Papirius Cursor, who appoints Quintus Fabius Rullianus to be his general of the horse. The dictator having taken the field against the Samnites, returns soon after to Rome on account of some religious scruple, but first forbids Fabius to hazard a battle with the enemy during his absence. Fabius nevertheless attacks the Samnites, and gains a notable victory; after which he burns all the spoil, that it may not do honour to the dictator, by being carried in his triumphal procession. Papirius hastens back to the camp to punish his disobedient general of the horse. Fabius is rescued out of the hands of the lictors, and escapes to Rome. His father immediately gets the senators together, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him. Papirius arrives on a sudden, takes his place in the senate, and orders his lictors to seize young Fabius. The father hereupon appeals to the people. Papirius, though the thing is unprecedented, does not dispute the legality of the appeal; but the people themselves, when the affair comes before them, are unwilling to interpose their authority; they choose rather to become intercessors with the dictator, who at their request pardons the offender. III. Papirius returns to the camp with a new general of the horse, and finding his army ill affected to him, because of his severity in command, changes his manner on a sudden, becomes familiar with his soldiers, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the Samnites to sue for peace. IV. The senate grant the Samnites only a year's truce, which the latter break so soon as they hear that Papirius has quitted the dictatorship: they are joined by the Apulians. Little progress is made in the war this year, when C. Sulpicius Longus and Q. Aulus Cerretanus are consuls. But their successors, Q. Fabius (who had been general of the horse to Papirius) and L. Fulvius Curvus, by skilful conduct obtain a complete victory over the enemy. V. The Samnites repenting of their breach of the truce, endeavour to pacify the Romans by making restitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the treaty.

Year of
R O M E
428.

B. C. 324.

130th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 29.

§. I. THE republic, in the following consulate of L. Furius Camillus and D. Junius Brutus, began to be embarrassed by the great numbers of enemies she had to deal with. Beside the Samnites and Lucanians, the Vestini had declared against her. These were themselves an inconsiderable people upon the coast of the Adriatic sea; but they had powerful neighbours, who in all probability would arm in their defence, if the republic should attack them. This consideration made the senate demur; but at length pride prevailed over prudence; it was not for the honour of Rome to let herself be insulted without revenging it. The two consuls therefore took their commands by lot, and it fell to Camillus to conduct the war against the Samnites, and to Brutus to act against the Vestini. Brutus's first care was to hinder the Vestini from joining the Samnites, which he did, by encamping on the frontiers between the two nations. He soon

after defeated them in battle, and took from them Cutilina and Cingilia.

Year of
R O M E
428.
B. C. 324.

§. II. CAMILLUS, who had made it his business to keep the Samnites upon the defensive in their own country, fell sick, and was obliged to return to Rome; and being there ordered to name a dictator, he pitched upon L. Papirius Cursor, the greatest captain the republic could then boast of, who appointed Q. Fabius Rullianus to be his general of the horse. These took possession of the command of the army in Samnium: but there having been something obscure in the auspices consulted before their departure from Rome, scruple and superstition tormented the dictator when he came to enter upon action; to remove the pain of his doubts and fears, he returned to the city to renew the auspices; but first forbade Fabius, with whom he entrusted the command of the army in his absence, to venture a battle with the enemy.

130th consulship.

Aurel. Viot.
de Viris
Illust. c. 31.

Fabius being fond of glory, and beloved of the army, and disdaining to have his hands so tied up, resolved to hazard an action, notwithstanding the dictator's prohibition. He attacked the Samnites, whom he found in less disorder than he had at first expected, and was once very near losing the day; but then the Roman cavalry, unbridling their horses, drove upon the enemy with such a sudden and irresistible impetuosity, that the latter were put into confusion, and entirely broken and defeated. Twenty thousand of them remained dead upon the field of battle. This victory made the young conqueror grow insolent; and, instead of lodging the spoils of the enemy in the quæstor's hands, to be sold for the advantage of the public, he caused them all to be burnt, that they might not do honour to the dictator, by being carried in his triumphal procession; neither did he send any account of his victory to the dictator, but only to the senate; an instance of great disrespect to the general under whose auspices he had fought.

Val. Max.
b. 3. c. 2.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 30.

Year of
R O M E
428.
B. C. 324.

130th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 31.

C. 32.

Val. Max.
b. 2. c. 7.

These proceedings incensed Papirius, and he hastened to the camp to punish his disobedient general of the horse. Fabius having timely notice of his coming, and of his design, called together the troops, and made an harangue to them, wherein he inveighed against the dictator, "Whose resentments," he said, "threatened not only his life, but the lives of many of the other officers, and even of the private soldiers, who had helped him to gain the victory. That therefore it was the common interest of the army to protect him; and that to them he committed the defence of his life and fortune." The soldiers with one voice cried out to him to take courage, and they promised to defend him to the last breath. Papirius not long after arrived. Having instantly assembled the troops, he ordered the crier to call Quintus Fabius, general of the horse, to appear before him. When Fabius was come near the tribunal, and silence made, the dictator questioned him concerning his violation, not only of the common laws of military discipline, but of the express orders of a dictator, whom he could not but know to have a sovereign authority in the republic, and whom even the consuls themselves, magistrates who succeeded to the regal power, obeyed. Fabius had a bad cause to defend, and was confused in his answers; one while complaining that the dictator was both accuser and judge, and then exclaiming loudly, that he would sooner lose his life, than the glory of his exploits; this moment he attempted to excuse himself, and the next accused the dictator: which provoking Papirius still more, he commanded the lictors to strip the criminal, and prepare their rods and axes. But when these executioners were beginning to tear off his clothes, he cried out to the soldiers for assistance, and by some means made his escape, retiring among the triarii. These things put the army into a great commotion, and raised a clamour throughout the whole assembly; some beseeching, others threatening. The officers who were

near the dictator endeavoured by reasoning and by entreaties to mitigate his resentment against a young man of great hopes, and of a family so highly and so justly honoured in Rome. They represented to him the danger to which he might expose himself by too far exasperating the multitude, who, blind with anger, might be carried to do something extravagant and desperate. All was in vain, Papirius continued inflexible; and their remonstrances seemed more to increase his indignation, than to soften him towards Fabius. But when he would have commanded silence, the noise was so great, that neither his criers nor himself could be heard, and night alone put an end to the tumult. Fabius, though summoned to appear again the next day, did not think it prudent to stand a second trial, but escaped to Rome, there to present himself before less passionate judges.

Year of
R O M E
428.
B. C. 324.

130th consulship.

Entrop. b.
2. c. 8.
Livy, b. 8.
c. 33.

As soon as he arrived, his father (who had been thrice consul, and once dictator) thought it necessary to get the senate assembled without delay, and obtain a favourable decree for him before the return of the dictator. The senate was met, young Fabius had already worked upon the fathers, and made them think Papirius both unjust and barbarous, when on a sudden a great noise was heard at the door of the temple where they were sitting. It was Papirius himself, attended by his lictors, who were dispersing the crowd at the entrance of the sanctuary. Upon his appearance the scene changed. He took his place, ordered his lictors to seize young Fabius, and was immediately obeyed. In vain did the oldest and most venerable senators intercede for the criminal; Papirius was inexorable: so that the father of the young man having no other remedy left, appealed to the people in *comitia*; and though the appeal was unprecedented, the dictator did not hold it expedient to dispute the superior authority of the Roman people.

When the *comitia* were formed, both the Fabii ascended the rostra with Papirius; which he observing,

Year of
R O M E
428.
B. C. 324.

130th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 34.

sternly ordered the master of the horse to be pulled down. Young Fabius immediately descended, and his father followed him; but then the father, placing himself at the foot of the rostra, broke out into bitter invectives against Papirius for his haughtiness and barbarity; he cited some former cases^k (not much to the purpose) where faulty generals had not been so severely punished; he complained that no distinction was made between a fortunate and an unfortunate disobedience; and, in short, omitted nothing that could be said in so bad a cause. He clamoured, he brangled, he complained, he called upon gods and men for help, and, throwing his arms about his son's neck, wept over him a flood of tears. The whole assembly was moved. On the side of the Fabii, says Livy, were the majesty of the senate, the favour of the people, the aid of the tribunes, and a remembrance of the absent army. Papirius, on his own part, spoke in a high strain of the dignity of his office, the military laws, dictatorial edicts revered as the oracles of heaven, Manlius's rigour to his own son: he reproached the Romans with degeneracy from that heroic love of their country, which used to prevail over all paternal affection and private considerations: he urged the many ill consequences of admitting appeals from a dictator to the people, and especially in cases of disobedience in war; and concluded with admonishing the tribunes not to load themselves with the blame of being the authors of those mischiefs to the republic, by their protection of the guilty Fabius.

His discourse threw both the people and their tribunes into great perplexity: for though to receive appeals from the sentence of a dictator was to extend the exercise of the people's power, yet they were afraid of the consequence of interposing (in such a cause especially) against that high authority, which they had so

^k The case of Minucius, see vol. i. p. 455. and that of L. Furius, vol. ii. p. 145.

often found it necessary, for the safety of the republic, to lodge with a single magistrate. Instead therefore of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they only became intercessors for the criminal, humbly beseeching the dictator in the most earnest manner to pardon his general of the horse. The Fabii themselves likewise fell prostrate at his feet, and implored his clemency. Upon this Papirius ordered silence to be made, and then declared, “That he was satisfied: **MILITARY DISCIPLINE** has prevailed, the **DICTATORIAL AUTHORITY** has gained the victory. The delinquent is not acquitted, but condemned, and is pardoned at the intercession of the Roman people and of their tribunes: they have succoured him, not as innocent, not by a just exercise of power, but by their prayers for mercy on a convicted criminal. Live then, Quintus Fabius, more fortunate in this unanimous consent of your country to your preservation, than in the victory you awhile ago so insolently boasted of. Live, Fabius, though you have dared to commit a crime which your own father, in my place, would not have forgiven. You shall be received again into my favour—upon any terms. But as for the Roman people, to whom you owe your life, the best return you can make to them is, to let this day teach you, whether in war or in peace, to obey your lawful commanders. Go, you are at liberty.” Thus ended this affair; and the Romans afterward confessed, to the dictator’s honour, that the perils into which he brought Fabius had conduced as much to the support of military discipline, as the death of young Manlius, condemned by his own father.

Year of
R O M E
428.
B. C. 324.
130th con-
sulship.

§. III. BUT while Papirius stayed in Rome, the Samnites took advantage of his absence to insult his army; whose commander, M. Valerius, a lieutenant-general, was so intimidated by the example of Fabius, that he durst not oppose the hostilities of the enemy. He suffered a party of his foragers to be cut in pieces, rather than stir out

Livy, b. 8.
c. 36.

Year of
R O M E
428.
B.C. 324.

130th con-
sulship.

of his camp to relieve them. This accident helped to exasperate the troops yet more against the dictator; who, when he came to the camp (with L. Papirius Crassus, a relation of his own, whom he had appointed to command the horse in the room of Fabius), found all his men so ill-affected to him, and so little disposed to gain him glory, that he had no hopes of making any progress with them in the war. However, as the enemy offered him battle, and he could not in honour decline fighting, he posted himself so advantageously, and drew up his troops with so much dexterity, that it was not possible for them to be entirely defeated. When the battle was over (in which, though they had fought but faintly, they had not been routed), Papirius acted a part which surprised every body. Not one officer or soldier, who had behaved himself negligently in the fight, was so much as reprimanded by him. He went about with his lieutenants visiting the wounded soldiers, put his head into their tents, asked them how they did, charging their officers to have particular care of each of them by name; and all this he seems to have done without the least appearance of affectation: for we find that the army, which had always held him in esteem, came, in a short time, to have a most tender affection for him.

Year of
R O M E
429.
B. C. 323.

Fast. Capit.

The people at Rome being informed of this great alteration in the dispositions of the soldiers towards their commander, continued him in his employment,¹ and no consuls were chosen for the year 429. As for Papirius, he no longer doubted of victory, and he soon gave the enemy a total overthrow; after which he overran Samnium (leaving all the booty to his soldiers), and reduced

¹ Livy confines Papirius's dictatorship to the foregoing year 428, and places the events of this year 429 in that. So that he makes Papirius's two dictatorships to have been but one. Nevertheless, it appears that Papirius was continued in his office, and created dictator a second time. We have a convincing proof of it in the Fasti Capitolini. They say that L. Papirius triumphed over the Samnites in the year 429, on the third of the nones of March. This makes us believe that Papirius's dictatorship was prolonged to the year 430; and Livy's silence confirms us in this opinion: for he makes no mention of any consuls for the year 429, which is likewise omitted in the consular annals. C. & R.

the Samnites so low, that they sued for peace, which he granted them on three preliminary conditions: that they should clothe all his troops, give them a year's pay, and get the treaty confirmed by the senate.

Year of
R O M E
429.
B. C. 323.

§. IV. PAPIRIUS having triumphed for his late victories, held the *comitia* by centuries, where C. Sulpicius Longus and Q. Aulus Cerretanus were chosen consuls for the next year.

When the conscript fathers came to consider of the peace to be made with the Samnites, they disapproved of the terms offered by them, and therefore granted only a truce for a year, which the Samnites broke so soon as they heard that Papirius was no longer in command.

Year of
R O M E
430.
B. C. 322.

At the same time the Apulians declared for them against Rome. The republic thought it necessary therefore to divide her forces between the two consuls. Aulus led an army into Apulia, and Sulpicius another into Samnium; but both Samnites and Apulians keeping themselves close in their fortified places, the Roman generals reaped little glory from the campaign.

131st consulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 37.

This year the Tusculans were tried before the Roman people upon a bill preferred by the tribune M. Flavius, to punish them for advising and assisting the people of Velitræ and Privernum in the war they made upon the Romans. The Tusculans, with their wives and children, came to Rome, and in the humblest manner solicited the people to have pity on them. All the tribes, except the Pollian, rejected the bill. The Pollian would have had all the men scourged and beheaded, and their wives and children exposed to sale. Of this the Tusculans, who were incorporated into the Papirian tribe, retained so lasting a resentment, that, almost to the times of Livy, scarce any person of the Pollian tribe, who stood candidate for an office, could get the vote of the Papirian.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 38.
Fast. Capit.

Quintus Fabius (who had been general of the horse to the dictator Papirius) and L. Fulvius Corvus, the next year's consuls, marched their joint forces against the

Year of
R O M E
431.
B. C. 321.

132d consulship.

Year of
R O M E
431.
B. C. 321.

132d con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 8.
c. 39.

Samnites (who had raised a formidable army), and gave them an entire overthrow, but not without great difficulty. The Samnites had surprised the Romans, while encamped in a place very disadvantageous both for subsisting their army and for sustaining an attack; and when, for these reasons, the Romans attempted to retire in the night, the enemy watched them so narrowly, and pursued them so close, that the next day they found themselves under a necessity of hazarding a battle. It lasted from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, without either side's giving way, or so much as changing the order in which they were first drawn up. The imprudence of the Samnite cavalry determined the fortune of the day: for having received advice, from one of their most advanced squadrons, that the Romans had left their baggage a good way behind them without any troops to defend it, greediness of plunder induced them to wheel off in order to seize the prey; and the consuls, to whom early notice of their motion was brought, allowed them all the time that was necessary to load their horses with booty, and put themselves out of a condition to fight; and then ordered away the whole body of Roman cavalry to fall upon them. The cavalry executed the order with expedition and success: after which, fetching a compass, they came upon the rear of the Samnite infantry; an unexpected attack, which struck them with terror, and soon after threw them into confusion. The Romans pursued their advantage, and made a dreadful slaughter: those of the Samnites who kept their ground, were cut in pieces by the Roman foot; and those who fled, fell most of them by the swords of the horse, and, among the rest, the general himself.

§. V. So terrible a defeat made the Samnites reflect seriously on their unjust breach of the truce with the Romans; and they imputed their late misfortune to the anger of the gods, whom they supposed to be offended at the violation of their oaths. To appease them, they resolved

to sacrifice the chief author of that breach ; and one Brutulus Papius, a man of distinction, but of a turbulent spirit, was universally pitched upon to be the victim. They passed a decree, that he should be delivered up to the Romans ; and that the spoil and captives taken within the time of the truce, and, in short, whatever their *feciales* had demanded, should be restored to them. In pursuance of this decree, Brutulus, with all his effects, was put into the hands of some Samnite ambassadors, to be carried to Rome ; but he killed himself before he got there. However, they surrendered his dead body to the Romans, who, of what was offered by way of restitution, accepted only the captives and a part of the effects, rejecting whatever could not be claimed by any private Roman as his own.

Year of
R O M E
431.
B. C. 321.

132d con-
sulship.

After this the consul Fulvius returned to Rome, while his colleague Fabius led an army into Apulia. That he succeeded in his expedition, appears by the Capitoline marbles, where he is said to have triumphed over the Samnites and Apulians, Fulvius over the Samnites only. One A. Cornelius was this year chosen dictator, but it was only to preside at the games in the absence of the consuls, and during the sickness of the prætor. However, Livy finding, that, at the time of the defeat of the Samnites, the government was in the hands of a dictator, ascribes by mistake that exploit to him. The Capitoline marbles rectify the error.

Fast. Capit.
Aurel.
Vict. de
Viris Illus-
tribus, c.
32.

Year of
R O M E
431.
B. C. 321.
132d con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 9.
c. 1.

CHAP. XIV.

432.

Caudine
Forks.

433.

SECT. I. The Samnites being refused a peace, notwithstanding the satisfaction they have made for the breach of the truce, prepare to carry on the war with vigour: and they appoint one Pontius, an able officer, to be their general. At Rome T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius are chosen consuls. Pontius by a stratagem draws these generals with their legions into a dangerous pass (called afterward the Caudine Forks) where they are surrounded by the Samnites, and have no possibility of forcing their way out of it. The Samnite general being undetermined in what manner to treat the Romans, is advised by his father, either in a friendly way to set them all free, or without mercy to cut them all off. The son, rejecting this advice, will spare the lives of the Romans, but demands as the condition, that they all pass unarmed under the yoke, officers and soldiers; that they engage to draw all their forces out of Samnium, and give hostages for the performance of this article. The Romans, after some demur, submit to the terms imposed, being exhorted to it by L. Lentulus, a considerable officer in the army. The consuls, at their return to Rome, being ashamed to appear in public, instantly name a dictator to hold the *comitia* for electing new consuls. This election however is not made till the government falls into an interregnum. II. And then the fasces are given to Papirius Cursor (a second time) and to Publilius Philo (a third time). The treaty made with the Samnites being laid before the senate, Posthumius (one of those consuls who had been parties to it) declares that the Roman people are not bound by it, as not being made by their orders; that the honour of the republic will be saved by surrendering him and the rest of the officers concerned in that treaty to the Samnites, which he moves may be forthwith done. This proposal is approved, and put in execution by a *secialis* appointed thereto; but Pontius, the Samnite general, reproaching the Romans with baseness and breach of faith, refuses to accept the prisoners in satisfaction of the treaty. III. Satricum revolts from the Romans; and the Samnites surprise Fregellæ, a Roman colony, and, after a promise of quarter, burn the inhabitants alive. C. Mænius, being appointed dictator to take cognizance of treasonable practices, and alleging all canvassing for offices to be treason against the state, cites several patricians to trial on accusations of that sort; but he is forced, by the clamour of the whole body of the nobles, to desist; and being himself accused of the same crime, abdicates his office, stands a trial, and is acquitted.

Year of
R O M E
422.
B. C. 320.

133d con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 1.

§. I. IT had been a constant maxim with the Romans to pardon the nations which submitted, and to treat none with rigour but the proud and untractable; but their late successes made them now deviate from this rule; and notwithstanding that the Samnites sued to them for a peace, and endeavoured to merit it by the methods which have been related, the senate rejected their petition, and thereby put them under a necessity of continuing the war at all hazards. And while the *centuriate comitia*, at Rome, were choosing T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius consuls for the new year, the Samnites in their diet appointed one Pontius, an able general, to command their troops. Pontius exhorted the assembly not to fear a war with a people who had received restitution of wrongs with haughtiness, and had

refused peace when offered upon the most reasonable terms. "The gods," said he, "are now no longer our enemies; justice accompanies our arms, and we cannot fail of success." He then immediately led his troops near to Caudium (a little town in Samnium), and there encamped as covertly as possible. When the consuls were come within a league of him, he caused a report to be spread, that the Samnite army was laying siege to Luceria in Apulia; and the more effectually to deceive the Romans, he ordered ten of his soldiers in the habit of herdsmen to lead some cattle into different parts, but still in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with instructions to agree all in the same report when taken prisoners by their foragers. The stratagem succeeded. The Romans in a council of war resolved to march to the relief of Luceria; and there being two ways thither, one broad and open, but farther about than the other, which was through certain straits (called since the Caudine Forks), they chose the latter. The nature of the ground was this: Between two circling ridges of mountains, so covered with trees and briers as to be absolutely unsurmountable, was a pretty large marshy meadow, through the middle of which lay the road. At the hither end, the way into it was very deep and narrow through a hollow rock; the way out, at the farther end, more narrow, deep, and difficult. When the Romans, having passed the first, came to this, they found it entirely barred with huge stones and trees laid across: and then they also discerned great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences. To avoid being invested, they instantly turned back, thinking to retire through the pass by which they had entered: the Samnites had already blocked it up. The consternation of the Romans was inexpressible, when they perceived themselves shut in, without a possibility of escaping. They stood silent, and fixed their eyes on one another, each to see whether he could discover any glimmering of

Year of
R O M E
432.

B. C. 320.

133d con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 2.

Entropius,
Florus,
Zonaras,
Orosius,
&c.

Year of
R O M E
432.
B. C. 320.

133d con-
sulship.

hopes in his companion's looks. At length the soldiers seeing the consul's tent pitched, and preparations making towards fortification, set themselves to work, without waiting for orders, to raise a rampart along the water, though they well knew it to be a fruitless labour, and were all the while scoffed at by the enemy. As soon as the army was encamped, the principal officers repaired of their own accord to the consul's tent; but the case was such as allowed no room for counsel or debate. The gods themselves, says Livy, could hardly have given them assistance. Night came on: without taking any refreshment, officers and soldiers spent the hours of rest in discoursing on their unhappy situation.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 3.

On the other hand, the Samnites could not come to any determination what to do with their enemies, who were absolutely at their mercy. After much debate, it was at length universally agreed to consult Herennius, the father of Pontius, a wise old man, whom they looked upon as a kind of oracle. The messenger whom they sent to him for his advice brought back this answer: "That he counselled them not to do the least harm to the Romans, but to open them a free passage home." This advice being rejected, the same messenger was dispatched a second time; and then the old man sent word, "That he would not have them spare the life of one single Roman." The strange difference between these two answers made the Samnites imagine that there was some mystery in the matter, and they pressed Pontius to have his father brought to the camp, that he might explain himself. When the wise Herennius was come, he let them know, that in good policy there was no medium between treating the Romans in the kindest manner, and destroying them absolutely. That by the first (which he thought the best) they would gain the friendship of a powerful nation; that by the second, they would greatly lessen the strength of a dangerous enemy; but that no third way could produce any advan-

tage of either sort. However, this prudent advice was not followed. Pontius and his officers chose a middle way, such as their foolish vanity suggested: they would spare the lives of the Romans, but at the same time treat them as conquered enemies.

Year of
R O M E
432.
B. C. 320.

133d con-
sulship.

Whilst the Samnites were in these deliberations, the Romans sent a deputation to them to desire a truce upon equitable terms, and in case of refusal to invite them to a battle. Pontius with a haughty air answered, "That the Samnites had no battles to fight; that the victory was already gained; and that not a man of the Roman legions should escape, till they had been disarmed, and had passed one by one under the yoke: that, beside this, he expected that the Romans should quit Samnium, and withdraw their colonies from all the cities they had usurped from the Samnites." And he concluded, with forbidding the deputies to appear any more in his presence, if the consuls did not accept the terms proposed.

Livy, b. 9.
o. 4.

The report of this answer threw the legions into the utmost despair. The consuls were struck dumb, and durst not declare themselves for so shameful a treaty. L. Lentulus, a considerable officer in the army, and who had been at the head of the deputation to the Samnites, was the first who broke silence; addressing himself to the consuls, he spoke to this effect: "I have often heard my father say, that, when the Gauls besieged the Capitol, he was the only man in the senate who opposed the redeeming of Rome with gold; and the reason he gave for his opinion was, that the enemy not having shut up the Capitol by intrenchments, nor raised any rampart round it, it was still possible for the Romans, though difficult, to force a passage through the besiegers. Were the case with us the same; were there any possibility of escaping; could we make sallies, as they sometimes did, or could we force the Samnites to a battle, I should soon convince you by my counsel, that I have the same courage as my father; I should speak the same

Year of
R O M E
432.
B. C. 320.

133d con-
sulship.

language, and endeavour yet more by my example, than my words, to animate you to the fight, though in never so disadvantageous a situation for it. For my own part, I would gladly rush into the midst of the enemy, and devote myself for the Roman people, if that could be of any avail to their preservation; for I am truly sensible, that no fortune can be so glorious as to die for the safety of our country. But our country at present is here; its chief stay and strength, the Roman legions, are in this valley. Shall they devote themselves to death for their own preservation? To what end then? To save the walls of Rome? the houses? the crowd of people that inhabit the city?—and which way can even these be preserved, if this army perish? will a weak, unarmed, despondent multitude defend them? Just as they did against the Gauls after the battle of the Allia.—But it is shameful, say you, to give up our arms like cowards. I grant it: yet the love of our country should be such as to make us ready, if need be, to suffer ignominy as well as death; to sacrifice not only our lives, but our glory to preserve it. For the sake of Rome then let us submit to the conditions imposed, be the indignity never so great; nor scruple any longer to obey necessity, to which the gods themselves are subject.”

Livy, b. 9.
c. 5.

This advice was followed. The consuls signified to Pontius, that they consented to lay down their arms, and pass under the yoke; upon which they obtained a conference with him. As to a treaty of peace, they declared, “That they could not conclude any that would be binding on the Roman people without their approbation, and the ministry of the *feciales*. That their power extended no farther than to make promises, which they were ready to strengthen by giving hostages.” The stipulation was accepted on these terms, and the consuls, lieutenant-generals, *quæstors*, and legionary tribunes, all signed the convention; 600 Roman knights were to be given as hostages; and the Samnites were to have power

to cut off their heads, in case the republic did not perform the consuls' promises.

When the day came for the Roman army to pass under the yoke, or gallows, the 600 knights marched first out of the camp, unarmed, and with only their under garment; and these were taken into safe custody. The consuls followed next, then the inferior officers, and at last the soldiers one by one. The Samnites insulted them as they passed; and if any Roman returned but a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down or killed.

Year of
R O M E
432.
B. C. 320.

133d con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 6.

The Romans could have reached Capua the same day; but partly out of distrust of that city, and partly out of shame to be seen there in so wretched a condition, they threw themselves on the ground in the neighbourhood of it, resolving to pass the night in the open air; which when the magistrates of Capua understood, moved with compassion, they sent clothes, horses, and arms, lictors also and fasces to the consuls, and food for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the senate and people went out to meet them with all demonstrations of kindness. Nevertheless the Romans, overwhelmed with shame, seemed unaffected with this hospitality; they kept their eyes fixed on the ground, and shunned all discourse. They were accompanied to the frontiers by several young men of the Campanian nobility; but they still observed the same behaviour, and shewed the same dejection of mind; which, when it was reported to the senate of Capua by the young nobles at their return, made the assembly in general conclude, that the Roman courage was for ever lost, and their affairs desperate. One of them, however, a venerable old man, declared, that he judged differently of the dumb confusion of the Romans: "This obstinate silence, their eyes fixed on the ground, their ears deaf to all consolation, are tokens of an inward rage that ferments without evaporating. If

Year of
R O M E
432.
B. C. 319.

134th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 8.

A second
time.

A third
time.

Year of
R O M E
432.
B. C. 320.

133d con-
sulship.

I am not wholly unacquainted with the temper of the Romans, their remembrance of the Caudine treaty will be more fatal to the Samnites than to them. The Romans will have it in their thoughts wherever they shall encounter the Samnites; but these will not every where find Caudine straits."

Livy, b. 9.
c. 7.

In the meantime the people at Rome, without orders from the senate, and as it were by tacit consent, put on the deepest mourning. The shops all round the Forum were shut up: there was a vacation in all the courts of justice, before any proclamation for it; gold rings and robes of magnificence were laid aside; and the city was more dejected, if possible, than the army itself. Before the arrival of the troops, it was the language of the people, angry not only with the commanders, but with the guiltless soldiers, that they ought not to be received into the city: but as soon as they appeared, the public indignation changed into pity. Nevertheless, they did not enter the city till night: and then every one stole home, and hid himself in his own house: even the consuls banished themselves from society, after they had performed the indispensable duty of naming a dictator to hold the *comitia*. They pitched upon Q. Fabius Ambustus; but some defect being found in the nomination, Æmilius Papus was substituted in his room. Nor did this dictator hold the assembly for the elections; no magistrate of this unfortunate year could please the people; the government fell into an interregnum.

Year of
R O M E
433.
B. C. 319.

134th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 8.

* A second
time.

† A third
time.

§. II. AND now all eyes were cast on two of the greatest men in the republic, Papirius Cursor* and Publius Philo.† These, being chosen consuls in the *comitia*, entered upon their office the very day of their election. Their first care was to obtain a decree of the senate, importing, that there had been no defect in point of religion in their inauguration: after which, the fathers took into consideration the treaty made with the

Samnites by the late consuls. Posthumius, one of those
 unfortunate generals, was called upon to speak first.
 He addressed himself to the assembly with an air of
 great modesty and humility, owned the treaty to be in-
 famous, but declared, that the Roman people were not
 bound by it, since it had been made without their orders;
 and that the republic was obliged in justice to nothing
 more, than to deliver up into the hands of the Samnites
 those of the army who had signed it. And he advised,
 therefore, that the new consuls should lead a new army
 into the field; but that, before they entered upon ac-
 tion, they should surrender to the mercy of the Samnites
 his colleague and him, with all the other officers who
 had been parties to the convention. The senators were
 struck with admiration at the generosity of Posthumius;
 and their compassion for him did not fall short of their
 esteem of his heroic virtue. However, they all ap-
 proved of the proposal, except two tribunes of the
 people, who had (probably) been raised to that office
 since their return from the Caudine Forks. These
 contended, not only “that the motion made by Post-
 humius was unjust with regard to the persons con-
 cerned in the treaty, but that it was by no means suffi-
 cient to discharge the demands which the Samnites had
 upon Rome; and that as to themselves, they were sacro-
 sanct magistrates, inviolable, and not to be delivered up
 to the enemy.” To the last of these pleas, Posthumius
 replied, “that the senate might defer the delivering up
 of the tribunes till their holinesses were out of office,
 and then (if his advice might be followed) cause them
 to be beaten with rods in the public Forum, by way of
 usury for the delay.” But as to himself, and the rest of
 the profane officers concerned in the treaty, he pressed
 the immediate execution of his proposal; and he offered
 such plausible arguments to prove the invalidity of the
 Caudine convention, and the sufficiency of the satis-
 faction designed for the Samnites, that the senate, whe-

Year of
R O M E
433.

B. C. 319.

134th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 9, 10.

Year of
R O M E
433.
B. C. 319.

134th con-
sulship.

ther convinced or not, were universally pleased with his discourse, and acquiesced in his project. Nay, the two tribunes themselves, who had at first opposed it, consented at length to follow the fate of their companions, and to that end abdicated their office.

Posthumius's proposal was no sooner passed into a decree of the senate, but it dispelled that cloud of sorrow, with which the Romans had been covered ever since the misfortune of Caudium; it seemed to them like the breaking out of the sun upon the city after a total eclipse. Nothing was talked of but the generosity of Posthumius, whose devotement they compared to that of Decius; and the Roman youth were so animated, that there needed no orders to raise troops; a new army was formed almost wholly of volunteers, and the Caudine legions were again enrolled. As soon as these forces came near the enemy's camp, preparations were made for surrendering up the Roman officers in due form by a *fecialis*. Cornelius Arvina was the person appointed for this purpose; who having conducted the prisoners bound into Pontius's presence, addressed himself to him in the following words: "Since these men undertook without any commission to conclude a treaty of peace with you, and committed a crime in so doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourselves from any share in the punishment, which they alone have deserved." The *fecialis* had scarce uttered these words, when Posthumius, as if offended with what he had said, gave him a hard blow on the thigh with his knee, and looking sternly at him, "I am now (said he) a Samnite, and you an ambassador of Rome: I have therefore by this blow violated the law of nations, and you are thereby authorized to make war upon us." But this little, low artifice served only to raise the indignation of the Samnite general, and make him despise the author of it. He laid before Posthumius and the *fecialis* the injustice and baseness of their proceedings. He told

Livy, b. 9.
c. 11.

them, that if the Roman people would preserve their honour untainted, and maintain the rules of equity, they must either perform the conditions of the treaty, or send the Roman army again into the Caudine Forks. And as to Posthumius's behaviour to the *fecialis*, he thus expostulated: "Will you be able to impose on the gods by these thin disguises? Will they take Posthumius for a Samnite, and consider the blow he has given, as an insult offered to the Roman people by a Samnite? Is it thus that you sport with religion and the faith of treaties? Are such ludicrous transactions becoming the gravity of a consul, and the dignity of a great nation? Lictors, untie the prisoners, and leave them free to go where they please." And thus the Romans were dismissed.

Year of
R O M E
433.
B. C. 319.
134th con-
sulship.

§. III. But now the Samnites repented too late of their not having hearkened to the wise counsels of old Herennius; they had a foreboding, says Livy, of the misfortunes that afterward befel them; while the Romans, on the other hand, looked upon the liberty they had obtained of making war as equal to victory. Not long after, the inhabitants of Satricum joined with a body of Samnites, who surprised Fregellæ, a Roman colony, in the night, and having by a promise of quarter engaged the greater part of the inhabitants to lay down their arms, burnt them afterward alive. Capua likewise at this time prepared for a revolt; the chief citizens entered into a plot to shake off the Roman yoke. This, with some other alarms, induced the republic to name a dictator, the consuls being employed in the war. C. Mænius was chosen to that dignity, and he appointed M. Foslius to be his general of horse. The new dictator's commission extended only to the making inquiry into state crimes, and punishing them. And there needed no more to put a stop to the revolt of Capua; for the terror of a judge from whom there lay no appeal became so great throughout all Campania,

Livy, b. 9.
c. 12.

c. 26.

Year of
R O M E
433.
B. C. 319.

134th con-
sulship.

that the heads of the conspiracy killed themselves to avoid punishment.

After this, the dictator pretending that the powers given him by his commission, were not confined to the taking cognizance of traitorous persons and practices at Capua only, but extended to the cognizance of all conspirators and conspiracies whatsoever and wheresoever against the Roman state; and pretending farther that all intriguing and canvassing for offices was a kind of treason against the commonwealth, he cited several of the patricians to appear before him on accusations of that kind. The accused having no other resource, called upon the tribunes to interpose their negative, and put a stop to the prosecution; but not one of them would interfere in the matter. Hereupon the whole body of the nobles took the alarm. They exclaimed in all places, that the patricians, to whom, being nobly born, the way (if not obstructed by indirect practices) was naturally open and easy to all honours and dignities, were not the persons on whom this crime should be charged; but certain upstart gentlemen, such as the dictator himself and his master of the horse, who indeed ought rather to be prosecuted themselves, than sit as judges of other men; and they threatened that they would make the two inquisitors know this, so soon as their magistracy should be expired.

Mænius, though free from guilt, yet fearing lest his reputation should suffer by the calumny, assembled the people, and laid before them the uprightness of his intentions and the impartiality of his conduct; and then, to give them a farther proof of his innocence, abdicated the dictatorship, that he might be brought to a trial. Foslius also, for the like purpose, resigned his office at the same time. The senate, by a special commission, appointed the consuls of the year (probably recalled to Rome on this occasion) to be their judges: who having heard the witnesses, and

fully examined the affair, honourably acquitted the accused.^m

Year of
R O M E
433.

B. C. 319.

This kind of inquisition descended afterward to men of less distinction, and in a short time was entirely stopped by force of those very intrigues and cabals against which it was levelled.

134th con-
sulship.

^m The account which has been given of Mænius's affair is taken from Livy, who adds, that Publilius also was soon after brought to a trial on the same sort of accusation, and acquitted; but then Livy refers both these trials to the year 439, when Mænius was indeed dictator, according to the Capitoline marbles, but Publilius was not consul.

If Publilius stood his trial the same year that he was consul, we must suppose that he also, as the Jesuits Catrou and Rouille have well observed, abdicated his office in order thereto. These learned fathers conjecture that this was the case, and that Papirius being thereby left sole consul, named to the dictatorship L. Cornelius Lentulus, who appointed Papirius to be his general of the horse, intending to be governed in all difficulties by his advice, as the ablest man in all the commonwealth to conduct the present war; and what confirms the opinion, that the war was conducted by Papirius this year in quality only of master of the horse, is, that he had no triumph for his conquests.

What induces the Jesuits (who have been followed in the text) to place the trial of Mænius in the year 433, is not the authority only of the Capitoline marbles (which make Mænius dictator this year), but a passage of Livy (b. 9. c. 34.) himself, who in the year 443 makes Sempronius the tribune speak of Mænius being created dictator, to inquire into state crimes, and of his abdication in order to stand his own trial, as things which had happened within ten years: an expression which he probably would not have used, if those events had happened but four years before.

It is indeed very difficult to reconcile the Capitoline marbles with Livy, who seems to be at a loss in this part of the history, and to have made some confusion of times and events, not distinguishing the several dictatorships of Mænius as they are marked on those marbles.

The marbles give us three dictators this year, C. Mænius, L. Cornelius, and T. Manlius. Livy mentions only the second, and in this manner; though he ascribes the exploits of the campaign, we are going to enter upon, to Papirius and Publilius, the consuls of the year, yet he owns that the thing is doubtful, and that some give those exploits to L. Cornelius created dictator, and Papirius Cursor his master of the horse.

CHAP. XV.

- SECT. I. Cornelius Lentulus being created dictator, leads an army against the Samnites encamped near Caudium, and gives them a great overthrow. Papirius Cursor, his general of the horse, takes from them Luceria (in Apulia), and rescues the 600 Roman knights, who had been given as hostages upon the treaty with Pontius. II. Papirius is chosen (a third time) and Q. Aulius Cerretanus (a second time) to the consulate. The latter takes Ferentum, the former recovers Satricum, from the Samnites. The character of Papirius. III. In the consulate of L. Plautius and M. Foslius, a two years' truce is granted to some cities of Samnium. The Roman arms prosper in Apulia. Campania is turned into a Roman præfecture. Two new tribes are formed, which make the whole number thirty-one. IV. The next year (Q. Æmilius and C. Junius being consuls) all Apulia is subdued. Antium receives laws from Rome for its future government. The succeeding consuls, Sp. Nautius and M. Popilius, name a dictator, to begin the siege of Saticula, a Campanian city in alliance with the Samnites; and notwithstanding that those two great men, Papirius Cursor and Publius Philo, are both chosen (the fourth time) to the consulate for the year following, the carrying on of that siege is committed to another dictator, Q. Fabius, the enemy and rival of Papirius. Fabius having taken Saticula, marches to besiege Sora (in the country of the Volsci) which had gone over to the Samnites. By an artful stratagem he defeats the Samnites in the field, but leaves the siege of Sora to be finished by the next year's consuls, M. Patilius and C. Sulpicius (who is now chosen the third time). These generals take Sora by means of a stratagem suggested to them by a deserter from the place. V. The Romans surprise three cities of the Ausones in one day. Luceria in Apulia rebels, and is again reduced. The Samnites are once more defeated in battle by the Romans. The next year, when L. Papirius Cursor (a fifth time) and C. Junius Brutus (a second time) are consuls, C. Poetilius Libo is named dictator to carry on the war. He recovers several cities from the Samnites. The year following, when M. Valerius and P. Decius are in the consulate, the Romans being alarmed with the apprehensions of a war with all Hetruria, appoint C. Sulpicius Longus dictator to conduct it; but no hostilities ensue on either side.
434. 435. Two new tribes. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441.

Year of
R O M E
433.

B. C. 319.

134th con-
sulship.

§. I. It seems highly probable from some passages of Livy, joined with the authority of the Capitoline marbles, that the operations of the campaign were this year governed by Papirius Cursor, not in quality of consul, and colleague to Publius, but of general of the horse to L. Cornelius Lentulus, created dictator.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 12.

The chief view of the Roman generals being to rescue the 600 knights, who had been delivered up to the Samnites as hostages, they to that end divided their forces. Cornelius put himself at the head of the same troops that had passed under the yoke, and led them against the victorious Caudine legions of the Samnites. Papirius marched towards Luceria in Apulia, where the Roman hostages were kept prisoners. Pontius, the Samnite general, was for some time in suspense, whether to march to the relief of Luceria, or stay to make head against the dictator. He feared that, if he marched, the

enemy would fall upon his rear; and that if he did not march, Luceria would be lost. His resolution at length was to put all to the hazard of a battle. The dictator no sooner perceived the intention of the enemy, but he assembled his soldiers, and would have exhorted them, as was usual on such occasions, to behave themselves with the courage becoming Romans; but he found his harangue to be entirely needless. The soldiers, mindful of their late disgrace, were so eager to fight, that they gave no attention to him; with one voice they all cried out, "To battle." When they drew near the Samnites, they pressed their ensigns to march faster, and, being spirited by revenge to a degree of fury, rushed upon the enemy without observing their usual order, or waiting the command of their general. Nothing could stand before them; the Samnites were routed, and their camp taken and plundered.

Year of
R O M E
433.
B. C. 319.

134th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9
c. 13.

On the other hand, Papirius having entered Apulia, and being assisted by the people of Arpi (old enemies of the Samnites, their neighbours), had laid siege to Luceria, but was so straitened by the difficulty of getting provisions, that the arrival of the victorious army at his camp proved very seasonable. The dictator dispersed his legions about the country, intercepted the convoys that were going to the besieged, and facilitated the bringing of provisions to the camp of Papirius. The Samnites, who had likewise an army encamped near Luceria, finding that the place could not hold out long, resolved to give the besiegers battle. Every thing was getting ready on both sides for a general action, when ambassadors arrived from Tarentum, to put a stop to all hostilities by their mediation; and they threatened to declare themselves against whichever party should persist in carrying on the war. Papirius, pretending to listen seriously to what they said, told them, that he would consult the dictator; and accordingly he did so, but it was only on the measures to be taken in the en-

c. 14.

Year of
R O M E
433.
B. C. 319.
134th con-
sulship.

gagement, for which he instantly prepared. While the Romans were sacrificing, as was customary before a battle, the Tarentine ambassadors came for their answer. "The chickens (cried Papirius) feed perfectly well; so the keeper of them tells us. The gods too are much pleased with our sacrifices: under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive." He then led his troops out of the camp, ridiculing the vanity of a little insignificant people, who would needs make themselves mediators of a peace between two powerful nations, when at the same time Tarentum could hardly support itself under its own intestine divisions.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 15.

Oros. b. 3.
c. 15, and
others.

But now the Samnites absolutely declined the fight, alleging that Papirius had deceived them by false hopes of an accommodation, and declaring, that out of respect to the Tarentines they would keep themselves upon the defensive within their camp. This timorousness of the enemy encouraged the Romans to attack them in their intrenchments, which they did with so much success, and with such a spirit of vengeance, that scarce any of the Samnites would have escaped the slaughter, if the Roman generals had not restrained the fury of their troops, in regard to the 600 knights in Luceria, whom the besieged might perhaps, in revenge and despair, put to death. The town being sorely distressed by famine, the garrison sent an offer to release the 600 hostages, on condition that the Romans would raise the siege. Papirius told the deputies who came to him with this proposal, that they should have consulted Pontius about the treatment proper to be expected by the vanquished; and he peremptorily insisted, that all the soldiers in the place, to the number of 7,000, should, unarmed, and with only one garment each, pass under the yoke, and Pontius, who had thrown himself into the town, at the head of them. These conditions were accepted; and thus the Romans retaliated the ignominy they had undergone at the Caudine Forks, and recovered their hostages.

§. II. AFTER the return of Papirius with the army to Rome, Cornelius laid down his dictatorship, and another dictator, T. Manlius, was chosen (as it seems probable) only to hold the *centuriate comitia*, where Papirius Cursor* was again raised to the consulate, Cerretanus† given him for a colleague. The latter and Q. Aulus defeated the Ferentani in Apulia, and took their city, Ferentum. The former reduced Satricum, a city of Latium, which, as we have before observed, had gone over to the Samnites, though its inhabitants had obtained the privileges of Roman citizens.

Year of
R O M E
434.
B. C. 318.

135th con-
sulship.

Fast. Capit.
Livy, b. 9.

c. 16.

* A third
time.

† A second
time.

The Satricans, as soon as the Roman army appeared before the walls, sent out a deputation to sue for peace. Papirius refused to grant it, unless they would kill all the Samnite garrison, or deliver them alive into his hands. And when they expostulated with him, asking, how it was possible for them, who were but weak and unarmed, to master a garrison armed and strong? he bade them advise with those by whose counsel they had received that garrison into the town. The Satrican senate, upon the report of this answer from the consul, were divided in opinion what measures to take, one part consisting of those who had counselled the revolt to the Samnites, the other of the adherents of Rome. It happened that the garrison, for want of provisions to hold out a siege, had resolved to march away the night following. That faction therefore which had called the Samnites in, thought it sufficient to give the consul notice at what hour they would begin to move, through what gate they were to pass, and what road they were to take; but the other party, not content with this, opened another gate to the Romans at the same hour; so that the Samnite garrison were surprised, and cut to pieces, and the town seized the same instant. Papirius, after an inquisition by torture concerning the chief authors of the revolt, caused the most guilty to be scourged

Year of
R O M E
434.
B. C. 318.

135th con-
sulship.

and beheaded, disarmed all the Satricans, and placed a strong body of troops in the place.

For this conquest Papirius, at his return to Rome, had the honour of a triumph, which had not been granted him for his more important exploits the year before, (probably) because he had acted under the auspices of a superior magistrate.

This Papirius is the man whom Livy represents as a hero, who would have been a match for Alexander the Great, had that conqueror turned his arms westward, and come into Italy. He was no less remarkable for his vigour of mind, military skill and courage, than for his strength of body, and wonderful agility in running, which got him the surname of Cursor : and whether it were owing to his robust constitution, or continual exercise, nobody ate or drank more than he ; but he was also indefatigable in war, sharing the severest toils of it without hurting his health. Never had the Roman horse or foot a general that kept them to harder service. It is reported of him, that his cavalry having taken the freedom to desire a little relaxation from their fatigues, after an expedition which had been successful, he answered, “ Yes, by all means ; when you alight from your horses, I excuse you from the trouble of stroking their backs.” Papirius, so severe in point of discipline, was naturally facetious, but not very gentle even in his jests. Walking one day before the door of his tent, while he was dictator, he ordered a certain prætor of Præneste, who in battle had behaved himself shamefully, to be called, and as soon as he appeared, bade the lictor prepare his axe : when he saw the poor Prænestine ready to die with fear at the sound of those words, he presently added, “ Dispatch, lictor, cut away this stump of a tree that spoils my walk :” after which he only fined the prætor, and dismissed him. Such was the character of the renowned Papirius.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 16.

Aurelius
Victor de
Viris Illus-
tribus, c.
31.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 20.

§. III. IN the following consulship of L. Plautius Venno and M. Foslius Flaccinator, many of the Samnite cities

sent deputies to the Roman senate to ask peace; but these being referred to the people in *comitia* (where the Caudine legions doubtless made a part of the assembly), the Samnites could obtain, by urgent entreaties, no more than a two years' truce.

Year of
R O M E
435.
B. C. 317.

136th con-
sulship.

And now the terror, spread throughout Apulia by the Roman army, which Plautius conducted thither, was so great, that the two cities of Teanum and Canusium surrendered to avoid being pillaged. Capua likewise being so divided by intestine seditions, as to be no longer in a condition to govern herself, desired the Romans to give her a governor and new laws; and it was at this time that the Romans first turned Campania into a præfecture,ⁿ and sent thither a præfect.

It was perhaps to make the Campanians some sort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up, or rather to keep them to their duty, that a new Roman tribe was formed in their country. It was called the Falernian tribe, doubtless from the hill Faler-nus, this tribe possessing the delightful plain which surrounded that hill. Another tribe was also established on the borders of the Ufens, and was therefore called Tri-bus Ufentina. So that the Romans had now thirty-one tribes, all which had a right of suffrage in the *comitia* by tribes.

By a census taken this year, the number of men in Rome fit to bear arms appeared to be 250,000.

Fast. Capit.
Livy, b. 9.
c. 19.

§. IV. THIS happy war was followed by another as

c. 20.

ⁿ All the cities which the republic subdued were not upon the same foot. Some were called colonies, some municipia, and some præfectures.

The colonies chose their governors out of their own inhabitants; and, though subject to the Roman people, were a kind of petty republics, modelled after the plan of Rome.

The municipia kept their old laws, and the customs they had among them before they became Roman.

The præfectures were in a worse condition than either the colonies or municipia. The præfects, who were sent to them annually from Rome, had a power of changing their laws, and wholly swallowed up the authority of the other magistrates. Some of these præfects were chosen by the Roman people; and others received their commissions from the prætor of Rome, and were, properly speaking, no more than his substitutes in the provinces. The discord among the Campanians gave the first occasion to the institution of præfects. And afterward the Romans established this form of government in several parts of Italy. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
436.
B. C. 316.

137th con-
sulship.

prosperous, under the administration of Q. Æmilius Barbula and C. Junius Brutus, who subdued and quieted Apulia. Antium followed the example of Capua, in asking a governor and laws from Rome. But this city was not made a Roman præfecture, nor did she receive laws from a single magistrate sent thither for that purpose. The care of making the laws by which the magistrates were to govern was left to the patrons of the colony. It was then customary not only for private families, but likewise for cities, and afterward for provinces to have their patrons, who were often of the principal nobility of Rome. The patrons of the municipia were generally of the families of those consuls who had conquered them; and the protectors of the colonies were the children of those who had received the commission to plant them.

Year of
R O M E
437.
B. C. 315.

138th con-
sulship.

The succeeding consuls, Sp. Nautius and M. Popilius, were scarce entered upon their office, when the republic, either from a distrust of their abilities, or for some other reason unknown, obliged them to nominate a dictator, to carry on the war. They named L. Æmilius, who immediately put himself at the head of the legions. He invested Saticula, a city of Campania, in alliance with the Samnites, and defeated the Samnite army that came to relieve it; but his dictatorship expired before he could take the place. The Samnites not hoping to defend it, laid siege to Plistia.

Year of
R O M E
438.
B. C. 314.

139th con-
sulship.

Fast. Capit.

* A fourth
time.

† A fourth
time.

The Romans had now got such a habit of suffering none but dictators to command their armies, that though the famous Papirius Cursor* and Publilius Philo† were chosen consuls for the following year, we find Q. Fabius Maximus, who had been formerly general of the horse to Papirius, and ever since his implacable enemy, raised at this time to the dictatorship, and commissioned to carry on the siege of Saticula. While he was making his attack, the Samnites came from before Plistia, and their cavalry insulted the Roman camp, in which he had

left his cavalry under the command of Aulus Cerretanus, his general of the horse. Aulus, without consulting the dictator, sallied out with the Roman knights, and, having discovered the general of the Samnites, rushed on him, and laid him dead with the first push of his lance ; but having penetrated too far into the enemies' squadrons, he could not retire ; and the Samnites gave their general's brother the glory of revenging his death : he dismounted Aulus, and then stabbed him as he lay upon the ground. Hereupon the Roman knights alighted from their horses, to recover their general's dead body ; the Samnite cavalry did the same, and a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the Romans prevailed. The Samnites returned to the siege of Plistia* (a city in alliance with the Romans) and took it by assault.

Year of
R O M E
438.
B. C. 314.

139th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 22.

* The situa-
tion of this
place is un-
known.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 23.

In the meantime Saticula capitulated, and then the dictator marched to besiege Sora, on the banks of the Liris, in the country of the Volsci. The Sorans had gone over to the Samnites, having first massacred a Roman colony which had been settled in their city. To defend this place the Samnites followed the dictator with all expedition. When Æmilius understood that they were not far behind him, he faced about, marched to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow pass of Lautulæ. The success of the battle was doubtful, night put an end to it, and both armies continued their march towards Sora.

And now the dictator chose a new general of the horse, L. Fabius, a kinsman of his own, to succeed Aulus. He ordered him to go to Rome, fetch thence some fresh levies, conceal his march from the enemy, and, when he had posted his men in some secure place near Sora, to wait the signal for moving. This was no sooner executed, than the dictator pretended fear, and kept close within his intrenchments, in hopes thereby to draw the Samnite army near his camp ; and it did not

Year of
R O M E
438.
B. C. 314.

139th con-
sulship.

fail to have the desired effect. Then, on a sudden giving the signal for battle, he sallied out of his intrenchments, without letting the soldiers know the succours he had in readiness. They imagined it was some great distress which made their general so suddenly change his resolution; and he confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them that “their case was such, that they must either conquer or perish; that he had ordered fire to be set to their tents and baggage, but that they might soon make up the loss, by the plunder of the rebellious cities.” However, his private orders were to set fire only to those tents which were next the ramparts, and this was to be the signal for the general of the horse to move to his assistance, and fall upon the enemy in the rear. Every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, and by this stratagem the Samnites were entirely defeated, and their camp plundered; and the Roman soldiers had the farther joy of finding at their return to their own camp, that their tents and baggage were not burnt.

Year of
R O M E
439.
B. C. 313.

140th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 24.
* A third
time.

After this the dictator laid siege to Sora, and the siege was continued by his successors in the command of the army, M. Poetilius Libo and C. Sulpicius Longus,* the new consuls. They pitched their camp almost close to the walls of the town. While they were deliberating and in doubt in what part to make their attacks, a deserter from the besieged suggested to them a stratagem for getting possession of the place. What he proposed appeared to the consuls practicable; and, in order to its execution, they, by the advice of the deserter, removed their camp to the distance of six miles from the place: to the end that this might throw the garrison into carelessness and security. Next night the deserter, having posted some cohorts near the town, in a woody spot, where they could lie concealed, stole with ten chosen Roman soldiers into the citadel. Then placing his men in a narrow steep path, that led from the citadel to the town, and where they might easily defend themselves

against a great multitude, he hastily ran down into the town, crying out, "To arms, to arms, the enemy are in possession of the fortress." A fright seized the inhabitants; and in their haste to escape they broke down the gates. The Roman cohorts, roused by the noise, rushed in at one of them, putting all they found in the streets to the sword. In the morning by daybreak the consul, with his army, entered the town, already in the possession of the Roman cohorts. Two hundred and twenty-five of the prisoners, who had been the chief authors of the revolt, and of the massacre of the Roman colony there settled, he sent to Rome, where they were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded.

Year of
R O M E
439.
B. C. 313.
140th con-
sulship.

§. V. THE reduction of Sora was followed by the surprising of three cities of the Ausones (Ausona, Minturnæ, and Vescia) on the same day and at the same hour. The Romans seized these places, and barbarously massacred all the inhabitants, merely upon an accusation (without proof) brought to the consuls by twelve traitors of the nation, of their having formed a design to revolt. But Livy tells us, that this barbarity was owing to the absence of the generals when the towns were seized.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 25.

Luceria, which had rebelled, being taken by assault, not only the Samnite garrison, but the citizens, were put to the sword, and a colony of 2,500 men sent thither from Rome, to secure it for the future against all attempts.

c. 26.

Notwithstanding all these examples of severity, the restless Campanians prepared once more to shake off the Roman yoke; so that the republic thought fit to name a dictator,^o C. Mænius, to go with an army into their country, and keep them in awe. In the meantime the consul Sulpicius appeared with his army near Caudium, where the Samnites had drawn together a great body of troops, and were waiting for the insurrection of the Campanians, who they hoped would join them. The two

Fast. Capit.
Livy, b. 9.
c. 27.

^o See the note at the end of chapter xiv.

Year of
R O M E
439.
B. C. 313.

140th con-
sulship.

armies came to an engagement, in which the Samnites lost 30,000 men killed or taken.^p And the conqueror marched his army to Bovianum, one of the principal cities, if not the capital of Samnium, and passed the winter before it.

Year of
R O M E
440.
B. C. 312.

141st con-
sulship.

Fast. Capit.
Livy, b. 9.
c. 28.

L. Papirius Cursor (a fifth time) and C. Junius Brutus (a second time) were now raised to the consulate: but soon after, for what reason is unknown, the fathers ordered a dictator to be created. The nomination fell upon C. Poetilius Libo, and he was appointed to command the forces. He repaired to the camp near Bovianum, and in a short time quitted that post to retake Fregellæ from the enemy. They evacuated the place without standing a siege, and then the dictator appeared before Nola, a city of Campania, which he quickly reduced, together with Atina and Calatia, both in the same province. This year the Romans planted a colony at Suessa, a city of the Aurunci; and another at Pontia, an island which the Volsci had inhabited, and which lay within sight of their coast. And the senate passed a decree for planting a colony at Interamna and Casinum.

Year of
R O M E
441.
B. C. 311.

142d con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 29.

Whilst M. Valerius Maximus, one of the consuls for the new year, was carrying on the war against the Samnites, and P. Decius Mus, the other, was lying sick at Rome, the senate received advice, that the Hetrurians threatened the republic with an invasion, upon which they ordered Decius to name a dictator.^q C. Sulpicius Longus being promoted to that dignity, raised a powerful army, and made all the preparations which the apprehension of a war with so populous a nation and so near a neighbour required. Nevertheless, he was not in haste to enter upon action; he kept himself upon the defensive, and waited till the Hetrurians should begin the hostilities; and this moderation had the effect

^p Livy gives the consul Poetilius a share in this victory.

^q According to Livy, C. Junius Bubulcus was named dictator; but according to the Fast. Cap. Junius was general of the horse to Sulpicius.

he desired. The Hetrurians upon farther reflections suspended their design, and continued quiet within their own bounds.

Year of
R O M E
441.
B. C. 311.

142d con-
sulship.

CHAP. XVI.

SECT. I. Appius Claudius, one of the censors of Rome, displeases the senate, by admitting the sons of freed men into that body. The people reform this abuse the next year, when C. Junius (the third time) and Q. Æmilius (the second time) are consuls, and make some new regulations. II. Æmilius routs the Hetrurians. III. During the administration of Q. Fabius (a second time consul) and C. Marcius, Appius the censor Appius obstinately refuses to quit his office, though his eighteen months (the legal time for its duration) are expired, presuming on the favour of the people, because he had made an aqueduct to bring water to Rome, and a fine road between that city and Capua. He is prosecuted before the people; seven of the tribunes are against him, but the other three taking him under their protection, he carries his point, and keeps his post.

442.

443.

Appius
Claudius
censor.

§. I. THE domestic tranquillity of the republic was at this time a little disturbed by Appius Claudius, one of the censors. He was an able lawyer, and an oracle among the Romans in all knotty points of law, but a lover of innovations, taking great delight in overturning the most ancient institutions, and in setting up for a legislator. Hitherto, none but patricians, or the most considerable of the commons, had been admitted into the senate; but Appius introduced there the *libertini*, i. e. the sons of those who had been slaves, and had obtained their liberty. Having thus debased the senate, he attacked the priesthood, which had always been confined to the nobility. The oldest priesthood in Rome was that belonging to the altar, called *Ara Maxima*, erected by Evander to Hercules; it had been given at that very time to an old man of the Aborigines, named Potitius, and had continued ever since in his family. The censor prevailed with the Potitii^r to resign this priesthood to the slaves belonging to the public, and employed in the public works.

Pomponius
de Origine
Juris.

D. Hal. b.
1. c. 40.
Val. Max.
b. 1. c. 1.
Livy, b. 9.
c. 29.

But if Appius thus brought a blemish on the senate

^r Livy (b. 9. c. 29.) speaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the Potitii, consisting of twelve families, in which were thirty persons at or past the age of puberty, perished within the year; a warning from the angry gods not to attempt innovations in religion: and that Appius also was struck blind some years after, as a punishment for his profaneness.

Year of
R O M E
441.
B. C. 311.

142d con-
sulship.

Frontinus
de Aquæ-
ductis, b. 1.

and priesthood, he made his country amends by the useful works he undertook with success; particularly an aqueduct seven miles long, whereby he supplied Rome with plenty of wholesome water, which it before wanted. He likewise made that famous road from Rome to Capua which was called the Appian Way, and which Julius Cæsar afterward continued from Capua to Brundisium on the Adriatic. It lasted entire above 800 years.

Year of
R O M E
442.
B. C. 310.

143d con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 30.

* A third
time.

† A second
time.

The succeeding consuls, C. Junius Brutus* and Q. Æmilius Barbula,† were no sooner entered on their office, but they complained to the people in *comitia* of Appius's new list of senators, and cancelled it, so that the senate resumed its former lustre. The people at the same time not only recovered an old privilege, but extended it farther than before: by a law in the year 391, the *comitia* had assumed the privilege of choosing six out of twenty-four legionary tribunes in the consular armies, consisting of four legions. This privilege had been for some time past usurped from them by the consuls and dictators; but now it was decreed, that the people should, instead of six, name sixteen of the twenty-four tribunes. At this time likewise the people, at the motion of Decius Mus, one of their tribunes, appointed two officers‡ to take care of the naval affairs of the re-public.

‡ Duumviri
Navales.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 32.

§. II. WHILST the Romans were employed in these regulations, their consuls prepared to lead two armies into the field.^s It fell to Brutus's lot to carry on the

* Livy tells us, (b. 9. c. 30.) that while the Romans were burdened with the care of two dangerous wars, an adventure happened too trifling to be mentioned in history, were it not for the relation it had to religion. All the public pipers, or players upon the flute, ran away together on a sudden to Tybur in great dudgeon, because the censors had forbid them to feast and carouse in the temple of Jupiter, as they used to do; so that there was nobody to play during the pomp of the sacrifices. The senate, with a pious concern, dispatched some deputies to Tybur, who were to endeavour to prevail with the people of that place, that the pipers might be sent back to Rome. The Tyburtes not being able to win upon these fellows, by persuasion, to return, contrived, on occasion of some festival, to make them all dead-drunk, and then sent them home in carts. When they awaked in the morning, they found themselves in the middle of the Forum. The people, who were got together about them, having prevailed upon them to stay, the privilege of feasting in the temple was

war in Samnium, and to Æmilius to march against the Hetrurians, who had now begun hostilities. Æmilius found the enemy ready to lay siege to Sutrium, a town in alliance with the Romans, about thirty miles from Rome, and a sort of key to the Roman state on that side. The Hetrurians, trusting to their numbers, ventured a battle, and were defeated by the consul, who obtained a triumph at Rome. Nor was Junius Brutus less successful against the Samnites. He first took Cluvia by assault, and then Bovianum, the spoils of which he gave to his soldiers. And now the Samnites, no longer daring to contend with a consular army in the open field, had recourse to artifice, and endeavoured to draw their enemies into new Caudine Forks. Between Cumæ and Puteoli in Campania was the forest of Aver-nus, so called from the lake Avernus in the middle of it, from whose sulphurous waters exhaled such a nau-seous stream, that the birds which attempted to fly over it were believed to be suffocated by the exhalations. The poets make it one of the vents of hell. Into this forest, where the Samnites had posted great numbers of men, they allured the Roman troops by the hopes of booty. But the Romans, upon the first discovery of the ambush, drew up in order with such expedition, and behaved themselves with so much resolution and bravery, that they defeated the enemy, and left 20,000 of them dead upon the spot.

§. III. IN the following consulship of Q. Fabius* and C. Marcius Rutilus, the tranquillity and concord at home, to which so much prosperity abroad was owing, was greatly disturbed by the ambition and obstinacy of the censor Appius. In the year 319, a law had been passed, enacting, that no censor should continue in his office longer than eighteen months: but Appius re-fused to comply with this regulation, and to resign the

restored to them, and a new one was granted them, of strolling about the city three days every year in masquerade, piping and singing. This custom still prevailed in Livy's time.

Year of
R O M E
442.
B. C. 310.

143d con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 31.

Zonaras,
b. 6.

Year of
R O M E
443.
B. C. 309.

144th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 33.

* A second
time.

Year of
R O M E
443.
B. C. 309.

144th con-
sulship.

Pomponius
de Origine
Juris.
Livy, b. 9.
c. 34.
Author de
Viris Illus-
tribus, c.
34.

ensorship (though his colleague did) at the expiration of his term, depending on the favour of the people, who were pleased with his aqueduct and new road. Nevertheless Sempronius Sophus, one of the tribunes, made no scruple to impeach him for this infraction of the Æmilian law. Appius, upon a summons, appearing before the assembly of the people, the tribune asked him, "How he would have behaved himself, had he been one of the censors when that law was passed?" To this Appius answered, that his case was not the same with theirs, and that the law in question bound only the censors of that year. Sempronius, finding that nobody applauded this answer, immediately ordered him to prison. But then Appius appealed to the whole body of the tribunes, of whom three took him under their protection, while the other seven were against him; and as no person could be condemned at their tribunal, unless they were all unanimous, he by this means escaped, and alone held the censorship more than three years longer, contrary to the inclination of the public.

CHAP. XVII.

SECT. I. The consul Fabius defeats the Hetrurians in battle near Sutrium. He penetrates into the Ciminian Forest, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a second overthrow. II. The Roman army, under the consul Marcius, not having equal success against the Samnites, and the consul falling sick, the senate order Fabius to name Papirius Cursor (the man he most hates) to be dictator to carry on that war. Fabius, after some struggle with himself, complies. III. He continues (with the title of proconsul) to conduct the war against the Hetrurians, and routs them once more, though the soldiers of their army had bound themselves by oaths to conquer or die. IV. The dictator, Papirius, is no less successful against the Samnites, who, to raise the courage of their troops, had given them finer arms than usual. He returns to Rome, and, being now very old, retires for the rest of his life from public business. V. Q. Fabius (a third time) and P. Decius Mus (a second time) are chosen consuls. Fabius conducts the war with success against the Samnites, assisted by the Marsi and Peligni. Decius reduces the Hetrurians to sue for an alliance with Rome, but they obtain only a truce for one year. He subdues all Umbria. VI. Appius Claudius, the censor, is chosen to the consulate with L. Volumnius. Appius stays at Rome, while Fabius (in quality of proconsul) carries on the war prosperously in Samnium, and Volumnius leads an army with success against the Salentines. In the following consulate of Q. Marcius and P. Cornelius the Hernici rebel, and are subdued; and the Samnites are twice defeated. The fasces being transferred to Posthumius Megullus and Tib. Minucius, the Romans gain two more victories over the Samnites, but Minucius is slain in the second battle. VII. In the succeeding consulate of Sempronius Sophus and P. Sulpicius Saverrio, the Samnites request and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with Rome. The Æqui, who had lately rebelled, are totally subdued.

§. I. THIS intestine disturbance did not stop the progress of the Roman arms. Fabius marched against the Hetrurians, and defeated them near Sutrium. The runaways took refuge in the Ciminian Forest; a forest, says Livy, more impassable and dreadful than those of Germany, and through which not even a single merchant had ever yet made his way. Fabius was almost the only man in the army who had the boldness to think of entering into it: they were afraid of finding Caudine Forks in Hetruria. The general had with him at this time a near relation, named Cæso Fabius, who had been educated at Cære in Hetruria, and spoke the language of the country perfectly well. Cæso undertook to examine the Forest and the places about it. He was accompanied in this enterprise by only one servant, who having been brought up with him, was also well acquainted with the Tuscan language. Before they set out, they took care to inform themselves of the names of the several governors, and of the nature and situation

Year of
R O M E
443.

B. C. 309.

144th consulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 35, 36.

Year of
R O M E
443.
B. C. 309.

144th con-
sulship.

of the places through which they were to pass, that in conversation they might not be discovered through their ignorance of any thing that was notorious to all the natives. They were clad in the habit of shepherds, bearing each a cleaving bill and two javelins, after the manner of the peasants. But neither their dress, their arms, nor their familiar use of the language, was so good a security to them against a discovery, as the general notion that no stranger would dare to enter that Forest. In this disguise they are said to have travelled as far as to Camerinum^t in Umbria, where they discovered themselves to be Romans, treated with the senate of the city in the name of the consul, and obtained a promise from them to furnish the Roman army with a reinforcement of men, and with thirty days' provision, in case it should come into those parts.

Upon the report made by Cæso at his return, Fabius, when it grew dark, first sent away his baggage, and soon after his infantry, to enter the Forest. He himself stayed in the camp with his cavalry, and early the next morning began to skirmish with the advanced guard of the Hetrurians that were posted without the wood. When by this means he had long enough amused the enemy, he retired into his camp, from whence he went out at another gate, and overtook his main army before night. The next morning by daybreak he reached the top of the hill Ciminus, which was on the farther side of the Forest, and gave name to it: from hence he surveyed awhile the fertile plains of Hetruria, and then sent out a detachment of soldiers, who not only brought off a great booty, but defeated a tumultuous army that had got together to rescue it out of their hands. After this the Romans returned to their camp near Sutrium, where they found two tribunes of the people, with five deputies from the senate, dispatched expressly to forbid Fabius

^t From Sutrium, whence Cæso had set out, to Camerinum in Umbria, it was a two days' journey.

to enter the Ciminian Forest. These messengers were extremely pleased, that they had come too late to hinder an expedition which had succeeded so well. They returned to Rome with the joyful tidings, that a way was opened into Hetruria.

Year of
R O M E
443.
B. C. 309.
144th con-
sulship.

The detachment which Fabius had sent out to plunder, had alarmed all the country near the foot of the hill Ciminus, and even the people of Umbria on the confines of Hetruria, so that prodigious numbers of each nation took the field, and came to the camp before Sutrium. And now the Hetrurians not only brought their camp forward, but came out and drew up their forces in order of battle in the plain, leaving a space for the enemy to do the like. Finding that the Romans declined the fight, they advanced almost to their very trenches; and the soldiers cried out with one voice to their officers, that the remainder of their allowance of provision for that day might be brought to them, for they would stay there under arms, and attack the Roman camp, either in the night or early the next morning. Fabius, to deceive the enemy, still pretended fear, and kept close within his intrenchments; but he bade his men refresh themselves, and be ready for action upon the first signal. To raise their courage he made a short harangue to them, extolling to a high degree the exploits of the Roman arms in Samnium, and assuring them, that the Hetrurians were not soldiers comparable to the Samnites for strength or courage; to this he added some dark words, by which he made them believe he had a secret correspondence with the enemy's camp, and was sure of the victory. About the fourth watch of the night he drew up his army in order of battle, within the intrenchments of the camp, caused the rampart to be levelled, and the ditch to be filled, and then marched out, and surprised the enemy while half asleep, and lying scattered over the plain. Of the Hetrurians were 60,000 men slain or taken prisoners. Those who could escape

Livy, b. 9.
c. 37.

Year of
R O M E
443.
B. C. 309.

144th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 38.

fled into the wood. Their camp was seized and plundered. Some say, that this action happened in the country beyond the hill Ciminus near Perusia. Be that as it will, three of the most considerable lucumones, after this overthrow, sent deputies to Rome to sue for peace; they obtained a truce for thirty years.

§. II. BUT the Roman arms under the conduct of the consul Marcius had not the like success against the Samnites, though he gained at first some advantages over them. The Roman fleet, commanded by P. Cornelius, met with misfortunes. This was the first fleet the Romans had ever put to sea. The admiral made a descent at Pompeii, in Campania, and his troops meeting with no opposition at first, were, by the eager desire of booty, carried farther into the country than was consistent with prudence, so that the inhabitants had time to get together, and they had the good fortune to intercept them in their return. They forced the Romans to relinquish their spoil; slew some of them, and chased those who escaped the sword to their ships.

This news, with a false report that Fabius had met with Caudine Forks in the Ciminian Forest, revived the courage of the Samnites, and they gave Marcius battle. Much blood was spilt in the action on both sides, and it was not known which had the advantage. Nevertheless, as fame gave it against the Romans (because some of the knights, and of the tribunes of the soldiers, and one of the consul's lieutenants, had been killed, and the consul himself wounded), the senate judged it necessary to create a dictator; and nobody doubted but Papirius would be the man. How to get him nominated was the question: for whether Marcius were alive or not, no one at Rome could tell; and the Samnites had guards upon all the roads that led to his camp: and as for Fabius, the other consul, he had a private and personal quarrel with Papirius. In this difficulty, the fathers determined to send to Fabius some

eminent members of their body, men of consular dignity, who to the public authority should add the weight of their own, to engage him to suppress his resentments for the sake of his country. When the deputies, being arrived at his camp, had notified to him the senate's decree, and had thereto added some discourse in the style of exhortation and entreaty to comply, he stood silent for awhile, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and then withdrew without making any answer. At midnight (according to custom) he declared Papirius dictator. Nevertheless, he plainly shewed the violence he had done to himself: for when the deputies returned him thanks for mastering his resentment, he dismissed them without any reply; they could not draw one word from him.

Year of
R O M E
443.
B. C. 309.

144th con-
sulship.

We have a remarkable instance at this time of the excessive superstition of the Romans. Papirius, after his nomination to the dictatorship, and after he had appointed C. Junius Bubulcus to be his master of the horse, had recourse^u (as seems to have been the custom in these days at least) to an assembly of the people by *curiæ* to obtain his commission. It having fallen by lot to the curia called Fautia to vote first, the assembly would not proceed in the matter, because to the same curia had fallen the like prerogative in those unfortunate years, when Rome was taken by the Gauls, and the Roman legions were surprised in the Caudine Forks. The business was put off to the next day, and then Papirius obtained his commission without any ominous circumstance.

He marched away with an army which had been suddenly raised upon the alarm, formerly mentioned, of Fabius's danger in passing the Ciminian Forest, and arrived at Longula on the frontiers of the Volsci, where Marcius delivered up to him the troops under his com-

Livy, b. 9.
c. 39.

^u Ei [Papirio] legem curiatam de imperio ferenti, triste omen diem diffidit, quod Fautia curia fuit principium, duabus insignis cladibus, captæ urbis et Caudinæ pacis: quod utroque anno ejusdem curiæ fuerat principium. Livy, b. 9. c. 38.

Year of
R O M E
444.
B. C. 308.

144th con-
sulship.

Fast. Capit.

mand. Papirius offered the Samnites battle, but they declined it; and for some days after both parties continued quiet in their camps.

§. III. In the meantime Fabius, who in quality of proconsul had been continued at the head of the forces in Hetruria, not only put to flight without difficulty an army of Umbrians, but obtained a notable victory over the Hetrurians, who had assembled on the banks of a little lake called Vadimonius (near Viterbo) a more numerous and more courageous army than they had ever had before. All the soldiers of it were men who had chosen one another to the service,^x and (as some think) made a vow to conquer or die. This is supposed to be the meaning of their *lex sacra*, by which they were bound: whoever violated this oath might by any man be slain with impunity. Be that as it will, the extraordinary engagement, by which they had bound themselves, had such an effect upon them, that during the action the Romans could not believe that they were contending with the same people they had so often vanquished. The first line of the Roman army was cut to pieces, and the second repulsed; so that the proconsul was obliged to bring his triarii to the charge; nor was even this sufficient; it became necessary for the cavalry to dismount, and go to the assistance of the foot. But when the Roman knights, who were quite fresh and in full strength, passing over heaps of slain, had placed themselves in the front of the battle, they made so furious an attack on the enemy, and were so well seconded by the legionary soldiers (though much fatigued), that the Hetrurians were soon broken, and their whole army put to flight. They lost the flower of their troops in this action.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 40.

§. IV. NOR was Papirius less successful against the Samnites, who, to give their soldiers more pride and spirit, had furnished them with finer arms and finer

^x Lege sacrata coacto exercitu, quum vir virum legisset. Livy, b. 9. c. 39.

habits than usual. They divided their troops into two bodies, one of which they clothed in stuff of various colours, and provided with gilt bucklers: the other had silvered bucklers, and were clothed in white habits; and they had all crests to their helmets, to make them look taller. That this novelty might have no ill effect upon the Roman soldiers, their officers put them in mind, that the true dress of a soldier was a sword and courage; that gold and silver were of no use in battles, and made but an ugly figure when distained with blood, but would be a very good booty to enrich the conquerors.

Papirius commanded the right wing of the Romans, which faced the many-coloured troops of the enemy; and his general of the horse, Junius Brutus, commanded the left, which faced their white battalions; Brutus cried out, as he advanced towards the enemy, "I devote these white men to Pluto;" his attack presently threw the Samnites into disorder, and they began to give ground; which Papirius observing, called out to the Romans of the right wing, "What! you have the DICTATOR at your head, and shall victory begin in the left?" While Papirius thus animated the infantry of the right to make a vigorous charge, his two lieutenants (both eminent men, who had been consuls) M. Valerius (on the right) and P. Decius (on the left) quitted the foot, and putting themselves at the head of the cavalry, each on his own side, made a sudden and furious attack on the enemy's flanks. The Samnites finding themselves almost surrounded, a terror seized them, they instantly broke their ranks and fled to their camp; but their loss in the battle had been so great, that they durst not think of defending it. Before night it was taken and burnt.

The dictator after the victory returned to Rome, and had a triumph, of which the fine arms taken from the Samnites were the chief ornaments. They were afterward delivered to the goldsmiths' company, to beautify

Year of
R O M E
444.
B. C. 308.

144th con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
444.
B. C. 308.

144th con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
444.
B. C. 308.

Fast. Capit.

Year of
R O M E
444.
B. C. 308.

144th con-
sulship.

the Roman Forum with them; and hence arose the custom of the ædiles adorning the Forum on those days when the images of the gods were carried in procession through the streets of Rome in chariots.

The triumph of the proconsul Fabius followed that of the dictator, and though less splendid, was accompanied with more applause, because he had no sharer in his glory; whereas the other had been much indebted for his success, not only to his general of the horse, but to his two lieutenants, Valerius and Decius.

Year of
R O M E
445.
B. C. 307.

145th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 41.

§. V. PAPIRIUS was now grown old. He appeared no more in any public station, but for the future left all the glory of heroical exploits to his rival Q. Fabius, who was now (the third time) with P. Decius Mus (the second time) raised to the consulate. Samnium fell by lot to the former, and Hetruria to the latter. Fabius took Nuceria [the last town in Campania, on the other side of Mount Vesuvius] from the Samnites, and defeated them afterward in a battle, but a battle so inconsiderable, that it would not deserve notice in history, had it not presented the republic with new enemies who had not before appeared. The Marsi and Peligni, two petty nations in the neighbourhood of Samnium, northward, had joined the Samnites, though with little benefit to their allies.

As for Decius, he made such a happy progress in his province, that all Hetruria desired an alliance with Rome: but the republic having (doubtless) formed the design of conquering this country, granted the Heturians only a truce for one year. Soon after the Umbrians assembled all their forces, and, being joined by great numbers of Heturians, they confidently boasted, that, leaving Decius behind them in Hetruria, they would march directly to Rome. This put both the consuls in motion. Decius made long marches from Hetruria, and encamped his army in the Pupinian field, near the river Anio, about eight miles distant from

Rome. But the enterprising Fabius no sooner received orders from the senate (alarmed by the preparations of the Umbrians) than he quitted Samnium, crossed Sabinia, entered Umbria, and encamped in the very heart of the country near Mevania, on the banks of the Clitumnus. The Umbrians were terrified at his unexpected appearance among them; and though they ventured to give battle, they behaved themselves like women in the action: the Romans hardly made use of their swords; they beat down the enemy with their bucklers alone, so that little blood was spilt; but the whole army were made prisoners, and the whole nation soon after submitted. After this Fabius returned to his camp in Samnium.

Year of
R O M E
445.
B. C. 307.

145th con-
sulship.

§. VI. THE time being now come for a new election of consuls, Appius Claudius, who had held the censorship five years contrary to law, stood candidate for the consulate, and obtained it. L. Volumnius Flamma was appointed his colleague. Appius not being qualified for the command of armies, the senate obliged him to stay in Rome; and notwithstanding his opposition to it, continued Fabius in quality of proconsul, and without any associate, in the command of the troops in Samnium, where he obtained a considerable victory over the enemy near Alifæ, on the banks of the Volturnus. In the meantime Volumnius made war against the Salentines, in the extreme part of Italy, with good success, and for the first time spread the terror of the Roman name in those parts.

Year of
R O M E
446.
B. C. 306.

146th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 42.

In the election of magistrates for the following year, the Romans chose Appius to be prætor, a post much better suited to his talents; and, at the same time, raised Q. Marcius Tremulus and P. Cornelius Arvina to the consulate. The former was ordered to march against a body of Hernici, who had taken arms on account of the severe treatment which some of their countrymen (made prisoners in the last battle of the Romans with the Sam-

Year of
R O M E
447.
B. C. 305.

147th con-
sulship.

Fast. Capit.
Livy, b. 9.
c. 43.

Year of
R O M E
447.
B. C. 305.

147th con-
sulship.

nites) had suffered at Rome. The rebels lost three camps in a few days, and were forced to surrender at discretion. This war being ended, Marcius hastened to join his colleague, who had suffered himself to be invested in narrow passes by the Samnites. The enemy, to prevent the uniting of the two armies, gave Marcius battle, while his troops were fatigued and in some disorder. The place where they attacked him being not far from the camp of Cornelius, the latter could hear the shouts of the combatants, and see the clouds of dust that they raised; judging therefore that his colleague was engaged in fight with the enemy, he sallied out of his intrenchments, fell upon the Samnites in flank, broke through them, and made his way to their camp, which he found empty, and set fire to it. The sight of the fire totally discouraged them, so that they immediately dispersed themselves and fled, leaving 30,000 men dead on the spot. But this action was no sooner over, than the Romans found themselves obliged to enter upon a new engagement with a body of fresh troops coming to reinforce the Samnite army. The success of this battle being the same with that of the preceding one, the Samnites were reduced to sue for peace. The consuls referred their deputies to the senate and people of Rome.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 44.

Whilst Marcius and Cornelius were yet in the field, the time came for electing new magistrates; so that a dictator was named to preside in the *comitia* by centuries, who chose Posthumius Megellus and Tib. Minucius consuls. Before they took possession of their office, the senate determined the fate of the Hernici. Those of their cities that had continued faithful, were allowed to choose whether to live according to their ancient laws, or to have the right of Roman citizenship, and they preferred the former. The rest were declared Roman citizens; and obliged to be governed by Roman laws, whether they liked it or not, yet without having the right of suffrage.

At this time deputies arrived from Carthage, with a compliment and presents to the republic; and some historians say, that a third treaty was now made with the Carthaginians.

Year of
R O M E
448.
B. C. 304.

148th consulship.

The new consuls were both ordered into Samnium, each at the head of two legions. Posthumius directed his march towards the city of Tifernum, and Minucius encamped in the neighbourhood of Bovianum. The first came to a battle with the Samnites, the success of which was equal on both sides; but he pretended to be worsted, retired the next night to the mountains, and there fortified himself in an advantageous place. The Samnites followed and encamped within two miles of him. Posthumius hereupon finished his intrenchments with all expedition, and leaving a sufficient number of troops to guard them, marched out at midnight with the rest, and joined his colleague, who lay in sight of another body of Samnites that waited for an opportunity to engage. Minucius, by the advice of Posthumius, advanced into the plain with only his two legions, and offered the enemy battle. The victory was long disputed; but at length Posthumius appearing with his fresh troops, and falling suddenly upon the Samnites, whose strength was exhausted, the latter suffered a terrible slaughter. They lost one-and-twenty ensigns. This action over, the two consuls led their joint forces to Posthumius's camp, and thence fell upon that body of Samnites which was posted near it. This proved a bloodier battle than the former; Minucius was killed in it, and Statius Gelius, the Samnite general, taken prisoner. Victory declared for the Romans, who took twenty-six ensigns from the enemy.

Livy, b. 9.
c. 43, 44.

The people at Rome, on the news of Minucius's death, immediately appointed Fulvius Corvus to succeed him, and to finish the campaign, which he did by reducing Bovianum and several other cities to surrender, for which he had a triumph at his return home.

Year of
R O M E
449.

B. C. 303.

149th con-
sulship.

Fast. Capit.
Livy, b. 9.
c. 45.

§. VII. IN the beginning of the administration of the succeeding consuls, C. Sempronius Sophus and P. Sulpicius Saverrio, the Samnite nation sent deputies to Rome to desire a renewal of the ancient confederacy with the republic: but the Romans, before they would grant this request, dispatched Sulpicius with an army into Samnium, to examine the sincerity of the Samnites, and discover their real sentiments. They received the consul every where with great marks of respect and friendship; and upon his report of the seeming alteration in their dispositions, a new alliance was made with them on the old foot.

And now the republic prepared to punish her old enemies the *Æqui*, who, notwithstanding the treaty between them and Rome, had many times privately sent succours to the Samnites, and had of late openly espoused their cause, following the example of the *Hernici*. They had likewise returned this haughty answer to the Roman *feciales*, who had been sent to them to demand satisfaction: “That they supposed it was only a trial, whether through the fear of a war they would suffer themselves to be made Roman citizens; which, how desirable a thing it was the *Hernici* had taught them; seeing those of that nation, who had been left free to choose, had preferred their own laws to Roman citizenship; and those who had been compelled to be Roman citizens looked upon it as a punishment.” War was therefore declared against the *Æqui*, and both the consuls were ordered to enter their country. The long subjection and inaction of this people had enervated their courage, and untaught them military discipline. They assembled an army, but there was no order, no subordination among the soldiers, nor could they come to any agreement what measures to take. At length they all unanimously left their camp at midnight, and every one made the best of his way home. The consuls, who the next morning drew up their troops with an intention to

offer battle, were much surprised at the inaction of the enemy, and the silence that reigned in their camp. No advanced guards appeared, no centinels upon the ramparts. At first they suspected an ambush, and proceeded with caution; but when they discovered the truth, resolved to lay siege to the cities whither they had retreated. In fifty days the consuls took forty-one towns, most of which they razed or burnt, which entirely reduced the Æqui; and this rapid destruction spread such a terror among the neighbouring nations, that the Marsi, Peligni, Ferentani, and Marrucini, all sent to solicit an alliance with the republic. Their request was granted.

Year of
R O M E
449.
B. C. 303.

149th consulship.

CHAP. XVIII.

SECT. I. The renowned Q. Fabius being censor this year, acquires the surname of Maximus, for his reformation of an abuse introduced by Appius, who had dispersed great numbers of the freed men and meanest of the people into all the rustic tribes, thereby to influence the elections according to his own humour. (One Flavius, who had been a scribe, is by the strength of this base faction raised to the curule ædileship.) Fabius reconfines those mean fellows to the four city tribes. II. The next year (when Cornelius Lentulus and L. Genucius are consuls) is spent chiefly in sending colonies to the conquered cities. In the succeeding consulate of Livius Denter and Æmilius Paulus, the art of painting is introduced at Rome by C. Fabius, surnamed Pictor. Cleonymus, son of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, brings a fleet upon the coast of Italy, and makes two descents there without success. III. All the following year the republic is governed by two dictators, successively created, Q. Fabius and Valerius Corvus. The former quells an insurrection of the Marsi; the latter obtains a signal victory over the Hetrurians, to whom afterward a truce is granted for two years.

450.

451.

Fabius
Pictor.

452.

§. I. THIS success of the Roman arms abroad was followed by reformations at home. The famous Q. Fabius Rullianus being this year (with P. Decius Mus) in the censorship, employed his power to rectify an abuse introduced by Appius Claudius into the state. Appius, as we have already * seen, to make himself master in the senate, had brought the sons of freed men into it; but this novelty had not lasted above one year; his list of senators was cancelled, and the old one took place. Not succeeding therefore in that enterprise, he, in order to govern the elections in the *comitia*, dispersed the freed men and the very lees of the people, men wholly devoted

* In the
year 441.

Year of
R O M E
449.
B. C. 303.

149th con-
sulship.

Val. Max.
b. 2. c. 2.
Aul. Gel.
b. 6. c. 9.
Livy, b. 9.
c. 46.
Pomponius
de Origine
Juris. Ci-
cero pro
Murena,
11.

Plin. b. 33.
c. 1. §. 6.

to him, into all the Roman tribes, and this occasioned endless broils in the republic. It was owing to the same cause, that the curule ædileship fell this year into the hands of two very mean persons, the one a native of Præneste, the other Cn. Flavius, the grandson of a freed man, and whose first profession had been that of a scribe.^y Having by some means learned the rules by which the pontifices settled the term-days, or the days for hearing causes, and such other matters as were within their peculiar province, he composed a calendar, transcribed it, and fixed it up in the Forum, for the use of the people;^z who being thereby freed from their dependence on the pontifices in this respect, rewarded him with several honourable employments, to which they raised him successively, and at length with the curule ædileship. The nobles were so deeply affected with the indignity offered them by this promotion of Flavius, that many of them laid aside their ornaments, and particularly their gold rings, as in a time of mourning.

Fabius, to re-establish peace in Rome, and to hinder the great dignities from being bestowed on worthless men, reincorporated into the four city tribes those mean fellows whom Appius had taken thence, and dispersed among the country tribes; so that for the future they could influence no more than four tribes, and in these they were not the strongest: a reformation so agreeable to the republic, that on this account alone the Romans gave Fabius the surname of Maximus, which he had not acquired by all his military exploits. It was perpetuated in his branch of the Fabian family.

In this censorship likewise an ordinance was made, that the Roman knights should every year on the ides of July appear on horseback dressed in purple, and

^y Pliny (b. 33. c. 1. sect. 6.) says, that Flavius had been scribe to Appius Claudius Cæcus, and, at his instigation, both made himself master of the secret (by artful inquiries) and published it.

^z Flavius published likewise what Livy calls, "*Civile jus repositum in penetralibus pontificum.*" See Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, p. 77—81, where this matter is satisfactorily explained.

crowned with olive, and march in procession from the temple of Mars to the Capitol [in honour of Castor and Pollux, who fought for the Romans at the lake Regillus].

Year of
R O M E
450.
B. C. 302.

§. II. THE republic being now in peace with her neighbours, the year of the consuls S. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Genucius Aventinensis was almost wholly spent in sending colonies to the conquered cities. To Sora 4,000, to Alba (in the country of the Æqui) 6,000 men were sent. The same year to the Arpinates and Trebulani were granted the privileges of Roman citizens; but from the Frusinates was taken a third part of their land, because they had solicited the Hernici to make war on the Romans. The public tranquillity suffered a short interruption by a gang of robbers in Umbria, who ravaged the country far and near. Their retreat was a great cave with two entrances; and the Romans having found them both, lighted great fires at them, so that some of the wretches (whose whole number amounted to 2,000) were stifled with the smoke, and the rest threw themselves into the flames.

150th con-
sulship.
Vel. Pat.
b. 1.
Livy, b. 10.
c. 1.

This expedition was followed by an inconsiderable war. In the beginning of the consulship of M. Livius Denter and M. Æmilius Paulus, the Æqui took umbrage at the colony of 6,000 men which the republic had lately sent to Alba, and they laid siege to that place. But Junius Brutus, whom the people named dictator upon this occasion, marched against them, and by a speedy victory put an end to the war in eight days' time. At his return home he dedicated to the goddess of Health a temple, which he had vowed when he was consul, and of which he had laid the foundation when he was censor. And this is the first time that history mentions the use of the art of painting in Rome. C. Fabius (afterward consul) painted all the walls of the new temple in fresco, and thence got the surname of Pictor.

Year of
R O M E
451.
B. C. 301.
151st con-
sulship.

Pliny, b.
35. c. 4.
Val. Max.
b. 8. c. 15.
Livy, b. 10.
c. 2.

At this time Cleonymus, the son of Cleomenes king

Year of
R O M E
451.
B. C. 301.

151st con-
sulship.

of Sparta, came with a great fleet on the coast of Italy, with a design to make a settlement there, and he took Thuria [anciently called Sybaris], a city of Lucania. Being driven thence by the Romans, he made a second descent, in the place where Venice now stands. But this expedition proving as unfortunate as the former, he returned to his own country, having lost four-fifths of his fleet.

Year of
R O M E
452.
B. C. 300.

Fast. Capit.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 3.

c. 4.

§. III. THE following year the republic had no consuls, but was governed by two dictators, one after another, each of whom fulfilled his six months. The first was Fabius Maximus. The revolt of the Marsi induced the Romans to put this eminent warrior at the head of their troops. He marched an army against them, and by one single victory quieted that insurrection. Valerius Corvus, who succeeded Fabius, was named to the dictatorship, to conduct a war against the Hettrurians, in which the republic was engaged by taking part in the civil broils of that people. But the Roman legions, having entered Hettruria, were no sooner advanced within a small distance of the enemy, than a religious scruple seized the dictator. He called to mind that there had been some defect in the ceremony of his inauguration, upon which he straight returned to Rome, to renew the *auspicia*. In his absence Sempronius Sophus, his general of the horse, imprudently made an incursion into the country, fell into an ambush, and lost a great number of men, and some colours. The news of this defeat, which was much magnified, caused an extraordinary terror at Rome, and the dictator hastened away with new levies to the camp. At his arrival he found things in a much better condition than had been reported. Sempronius had changed his post for a more safe and advantageous one; the manipuli, who had lost their colours, were impatiently waiting in great shame and disgrace without the camp (where they continued day and night without covering) for an opportunity to

recover their honour, and the whole army desired nothing so much as a battle, that they might have their revenge. Valerius, seeing this good disposition of his troops, led them into the fields of Russellæ, one of the twelve chief cities of Hetruria. The Hetrurians, flushed with their success, followed him, and endeavoured by a stratagem to surprise Fulvius, one of the dictator's lieutenant-generals, who, with a detachment, had possessed himself of a fort at some distance from the Roman camp. Some Hetrurian officers, in the dress of shepherds, came with their flocks near the walls of the fort. This was a bait to draw the Romans out; a body of troops lay ready in ambush to fall upon them. Fulvius discovering their artifice by their speech, which was more elegant than that of shepherds, bade some of his men call out to the pretended shepherds, and tell them, "that they would find it as hard to deceive the Romans as to conquer them." When the Hetrurians perceived that their stratagem would not take effect, they presently after appeared and besieged Fulvius in form. The dictator had notice of his distress, and hastened to his relief, and this brought on a general action. Valerius, to surprise the enemy, instead of posting his cavalry in the wings of his army, as was usual, drew them up behind his infantry, leaving spaces in the lines for the horse to advance upon a signal. And in reality, when the Romans had given the first shout for the combat, it was not their infantry but their cavalry that began the charge. Passing through the intervals beforementioned, they drove full speed upon the enemy; and this unexpected attack so terrified and disconcerted the Hetrurians, unprepared for it, that the battle was neither long nor doubtful. They quickly gave ground, dispersed themselves, and fled; and the victory of the Romans was complete. The Hetrurians, humbled by this fresh blow, once again sued for peace, but could obtain no more than a truce for two years.

Year of
R O M E
452.
B. C. 300.

151st con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 5.

CHAP. XIX.

453.

Plebeian
pontifices
and augurs.Year of
R O M E
453.
B. C. 299.152d con-
sulship.* A fifth
time.
Fast. Capit.Livy, b. 10.
c. 6.

c. 7, 8.

SECT. I. In the year of Rome 453, when Valerius Corvus is the fifth time consul, and has Q. Apuleius Pansa for his colleague, a law is passed at the motion of two tribunes, of the name of Ogulnius, to qualify plebeians for the pontificate and augurate. II. The *Lex Valeria* is confirmed anew. III. Q. Fabius Maximus declines the consulship, to which the people would again raise him, and at his own request obtains the curule ædileship, in which office he gains new glory.

§. I. AT the next election of magistrates, Valerius Corvus, though absent, was again promoted to the consulship;* and the *comitia* appointed Q. Apuleius Pansa to be his colleague. During their administration, the Hetrurians and Samnites continued quiet, and the republic enjoyed an interval of tranquillity abroad. But as it had ever been the fate of Rome to have commotions at home, when she had no foreign enemies, so now two tribunes of the commons, brothers, of the name of Ogulnius, set on foot a new contest with the patricians, concerning honours and dignities. The only important offices which the plebeians did not share with the nobility at this time, were the pontificate and the augurate. Numa had appointed only four pontifices, and that number had never been increased. The augurs, though but three in number at their first institution by Romulus, had been augmented to six. However, the augural college consisted now but of four, probably by the death of two. The Ogulnii presented a petition to have four additional pontifices chosen out of the plebeians, and to have five plebeian augurs added to the four in being. The patricians were highly offended with this proposal; but as they had experienced the fruitlessness of their endeavours to exclude the plebeians from the consulate, and the other great dignities, they made no other opposition to this new encroachment on their prerogatives, than by declaiming in all places against the innovation, as an affront offered to the gods themselves; “May heaven grant that so wicked a profanation of our sacred mysteries draw no calamity on the republic!” The matter was first debated before the assembly of the *curiæ*, where

Appius Claudius, so famous for his attempts to humble the nobility, became now their most zealous advocate. But as his harangue contained nothing more than a repetition of the old arguments that had been so often employed against the admission of plebeians into the consulate, history has not transmitted it to us. On the other hand, P. Decius Mus, who had been twice consul, and once dictator, spoke in behalf of the plebeians. He put the assembly in mind of his father Decius, who devoted himself to death for the Roman legions, and thereby made them victorious: "If Decius was as pure and as agreeable a victim to the gods, as his patrician colleague Manlius would have been, had he offered himself; what should hinder, but that the same Decius might have been chosen to officiate in our religious ceremonies and sacrifices? And after all, whence is it that the patricians derive this peculiar privilege of being alone worthy to minister in sacred things? Did they descend from heaven with the quality of patricians? or did Romulus give that title to their ancestors, only because they could tell who were their fathers and grandfathers, that is, because they were men of free condition? If this be all, I am able to name a consul for my father: and my son may boast, that both his father and grandfather have been honoured with the highest dignities in the republic. But to what purpose should I reason any longer? The patricians have nothing solid to offer, they only seek to amuse us with words and noise, and they know very well that we shall carry our point. My opinion therefore is, that the people by their suffrages do immediately pass the petition of the Ogulnii into a law."

This debate was in the assembly of the *curiæ*, but in order to decide the affair, it had been before agreed to summon the tribes; and there both points were carried in favour of the people, and Decius was chosen one of the new pontifices.

Year of
R O M E
453.
B. C. 299.

152d consulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 9.

Year of
R O M E
453.
B. C. 299.

152d con-
sulship.

* In the
year 244.

† In the
year 304.

§. II. VALERIUS took the opportunity of the present tranquillity to revive an old law,* made by Valerius Poplicola, and afterward renewed by another of his ancestors,† enacting, “that in capital causes the accused should have a right of appealing to the tribunal of the people.” The patricians, by their interest and power, had hindered the effect of this law, and rendered it obsolete ; but it was now once more restored, and expressed in stronger terms than before ; with no other sanction however, but that the transgressors of it should be deemed guilty of a dishonest action ; a penalty which should have been of little influence in a more corrupt age, but sufficient at this time to restrain the Romans, who piqued themselves upon their virtue, and had no hope of rising to great employments, unless they had preserved their reputation pure and untainted.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 9.

C. 11.

§. III. IN the following *comitia* for electing new consuls, Q. Fabius finding that the people were inclined to raise him again to that dignity, though he had not entered his name among the candidates ; and considering that he should gain but little glory in a time of tranquillity, desired the assembly to reserve that mark of their esteem for him till a more tempestuous season, and declared, that a civil employment at present would be more agreeable to him. Accordingly they placed him (with Papirius Cursor, the son of the great Papirius) in the curule ædileship ; nor did his superior merit appear less conspicuous in this station than in military command ; for when, not long after, there happened to be a great scarcity of corn at Rome, he took such effectual care to guard the people against famine, by bringing corn from abroad, and by making a proper and wise distribution of it, that the poorer sort confessed they owed their lives to him.

CHAP. XX.

SECT. I. The *Hetrurians* break the truce with Rome, in the consulate of M. Fulvius Pætinus and T. Manlius Torquatus. Picenum obtains an alliance with the re- 454.
public. The consul Manlius, who was to act against the *Hetrurians*, being killed by a fall from his horse, Valerius Corvus is by every voice in the *comitia* declared consul (the sixth time) to succeed him. The very presence of so renowned a warrior strikes a terror into the enemy; they quit the field, and retire into their towns. (This was the last military expedition of that great man, who lived to 100 years of age). II. In the close of the following consulate of Cn. Fulvius and L. 455.
Cornelius Scipio, a report being spread, that both the *Hetrurians* and the *Samnites* (which last had broke their alliance with Rome) were making mighty preparations to attack the republic, the Romans cast their eyes on the great Fabius to be one of their consuls for the new year, and they oblige him to accept the office contrary to 456.
his inclination; but, at his request, give him P. Decius Mus (who had been consul with him in the year 445) to be his colleague. The *Hetrurians*, instead of taking the field, come to a resolution to ask peace; so that the consuls march their two armies into Samnium, and make terrible devastations in that country.

§. I. THE consuls chosen for the new year were M. Fulvius Petinus and T. Manlius Torquatus. Fulvius
went into Umbria to carry on the siege of Nequinum
(which Apuleius, one of the former consuls, had begun),
and, by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, he
made himself master of the place. The Romans sent a
colony thither, to keep the rest of the Umbrians in awe.

Year of
R O M E
454.

B. C. 298.

153d con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 10.

In this consulate the *Hetrurians* broke their truce with Rome. But when they were preparing to enter the Roman territory, an irruption of the Gauls into their country suspended the design; however, they did not drop it. On the contrary, that they might execute it with the better success, they endeavoured by large sums to engage the Gauls, not only to forbear pillaging *Hetruria*, but to join with them against Rome. The Gauls seemed to listen to the proposal, took the money and withdrew their troops. But when the time came for them to march against the Romans, they excused themselves, unless the *Hetrurians* would assign them a part of their territory to settle in; and this was absolutely refused.

During these negotiations between the *Hetrurians* and Gauls, Picenum, on the borders of the Adriatic, sent deputies to Rome to ask an alliance with the republic; a request which the Romans easily granted in

Year of
R O M E
454.
B. C. 298.

153d con-
sulship.
Liv. b. 10.
a. 11.

the present necessity of their affairs, and then they dispatched away an army to punish the Hettrurians for their breach of faith. The command of it had fallen by lot to Manlius, but this general losing his life by a fall from his horse, the centuries met to choose him a successor, and (which had never happened since the birth of the republic) all the suffrages were given in favour of one and the same man, Valerius Corvus, now the sixth time created consul. His first consulship was in the year 405, according to the Capitoline marbles.^a Though now in a very advanced age, he made the campaign with all the vigour of a man in the bloom of life. His very appearance at the head of the Roman army so terrified the Hettrurians, that they durst not continue in the field, but shut themselves up in their fortified places; nor could the burning of their villages, and the laying waste their country, provoke them to hazard a battle. This was the last of Valerius's military expeditions. In what year he ended his days is unknown, but it is certain that he lived to above a hundred. He was promoted one-and-twenty times to offices that gave him a right to sit in the curule chair (which can be said of no Roman but himself), and, when not in any public station, he made agriculture his chief employment and amusement. He was not only a worthy patriot and good pattern of that affection which men owe their country, but an excellent model of the paternal care which the head of a great family ought to have of his children and relations. Great in peace and great in war, Valerius Corvus shone eminent even among those heroes who appeared in the most glorious, because the most virtuous age of Rome.

Plin. b. 7.
c. 48.
Val. Max.
b. 8. c. 13.
Cicero, in
Catone Ma-
jore.
Plut. in
Mario.
Cicero in
Bruto, c. 14.

Year of
R O M E
455.
B. C. 297.

§. II. TOWARDS the close of the year^b the republic (by what accident is unknown) fell into an interregnum. When the *comitia* were held for a new election of magis-

154th con-
sulship.

^a According to Plutarch, Cicero, Val. Maximus, and others, there were forty-six years between Val. Corvus's first consulate and his last: according to the Fast. Capit. 48.

^b Two new tribes, Aniensis and Terentina, were this year added to the thirty-one in being.

trates, Appius Claudius took it into his head to oppose the admitting of any plebeian into the consulship; but all his rhetoric proved ineffectual, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, a plebeian, was made colleague to L. Cornelius Scipio. During their administration the Heturians took arms again, and the Samnites broke their alliance with Rome. Scipio marched against the former, and gave them battle, the success of which was doubtful. However, the Heturians, after their action, were seized with an unaccountable terror, deserted their camp in the night, and returned to their respective lucumonies; and the consuls pillaged and laid waste the whole country. This is Livy's account. But the Fasti Capitolini make it more probable, that this expedition of the Romans into Hetruria was under the conduct of Fulvius, who afterward marched against the Samnites, and gained an unquestionable victory over them near Bovianum.

Year of
R O M E
455.
B. C. 297.

154th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 12.

Before the expiration of the present consulship, a report prevailed of mighty preparations that the Samnites and Heturians were making to attack the republic once more. Hereupon, the first care of the Romans was to choose able generals for the next campaign; and all eyes immediately turned upon Fabius. But he (from what motive is hard to guess) declined the honour, and excused himself to the people on pretence of his age, and the decay of his strength and vigour. And to shew that he was in earnest, he ordered the law to be read, which forbade any man to bear the office of consul twice within ten years;^c a law made in the year 411, but which had not been strictly observed. Nevertheless, the people being bent upon having him for one of their consuls, made such a clamour when the statute was going to be read, as quite drowned the voice of the person ap-

C. 13.

^c According to Livy and the Fast. Capitol. there had been ten consulates since Fabius was in that station; so that if his objection was good, we must conclude, that the consular years were not always complete years, and are therefore a very uncertain measure of time. C. & R.

Year of
R O M E
455.
B. C. 297.

154th con-
sulship.

pointed to read it ; nay, the tribunes themselves threatened Fabius that if he did not desist from opposing his election, they would get the people to dispense with the law by a formal decree. When Fabius found that there was a necessity of complying, he resisted no longer, but then he desired that they would at least oblige him so far as to give him a colleague to his own mind, and proposed to them Decius Mus, who had been joined with him in his last consulship, and with whom, he told them, he had lived in perfect concord and harmony. The *comitia* granted his request, and those centuries who had not yet voted, gave their voices unanimously for Decius. The rest of the year was spent in restraining the avarice of those who, contrary to law, possessed more than 500 acres of land.

Year of
R O M E
456.
B. C. 296.

115th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 1

* A fourth
time.

† A third
time.

While the new consuls Fabius* and Decius† were considering together in a friendly manner, which of them would be able to conduct the war in this or that province with most advantage, and what number of forces it would be necessary to employ in each, deputies arrived at Rome from Sutrium, Nepete, and Falerii, who all agreed in their report, that the Hetrurians in their last diet had resolved to desire a peace. Upon this both the consuls marched into Samnium, but entered it different ways. Fabius took the shortest cut, by Sora ; and being informed by his scouts, that the Samnites had laid an ambush for him on the banks of the Tifernus, and were waiting for his coming into a deep valley, that they might fall upon him from the hills, he resolved to attack them in their concealment. But they finding their project discovered, left their ambush, and drew up in order of battle in the plain. The brave resistance they made in the beginning of the engagement gave Fabius some uneasiness. He commanded his cavalry to give their horses the reins, and to rush upon the enemy with their usual impetuosity ; but this proved ineffectual. His next recourse was to stratagem. He

Frontini
Stratag.
b. 2.

ordered Scipio, one of his lieutenants, to take the hastati of the first legion, march them by roundabout ways in silence to the top of a neighbouring hill, and thence fall on the enemy in the rear; and this motion was made without being perceived either by the rest of the army, or by the Samnites. In the meantime the latter, proud of having repulsed the Roman cavalry, pushed the first line of the infantry briskly, and forced them to retire through the spaces in the second line, which consisted of the principes. But when these began likewise to lose ground, Scipio appeared with his detachment in the rear of the enemy. Fabius, to encourage his men, made them believe, that it was the army of his colleague Decius come to his assistance. And the same persuasion prevailing among the Samnite troops, they immediately disbanded and fled. The slaughter was not great, but the Romans took twenty-three colours.

Decius, whose name had been of service in this action, had likewise in another respect contributed to the victory, by having defeated the Apulians, who were to have joined the Samnites. After this, the two consular armies continued five months in Samnium, and made incredible devastations; Decius changing his camp forty-five times, and Fabius his eighty-six, for that purpose.

Year of
R O M E
456.
B. C. 296.

155th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 15.

CHAP. XXI.

457.

Appius
Claudius
and Volumnius.

SECT. I. Appius Claudius, who two years before had made a fruitless attempt to exclude the plebeians from the consulate, endeavours now with the same view to get the consular fasces for Fabius and himself. Fabius being president in the *comitia*, opposes his own re-election; whereupon Volumnius Flamma, a plebeian, is joined with Appius in the consulship. Fabius and Decius (in quality of proconsuls) are continued in the command of their respective armies for six months longer. Fabius hinders the Lucanians from joining the Samnites. Decius gains great advantage over the latter, to complete whose destruction Volumnius marches a new army into Samnium. II. But he soon after leaves that country to go to the assistance of his colleague Appius, much embarrassed with a war against the Hetrurians, strengthened by a body of Samnites, and another of Gauls. Appius pretends to be displeased with his arrival, upon which Volumnius offers to lead back his army into Samnium; but the troops of Appius oppose this motion. The united armies of the two consuls come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them. III. After this Volumnius returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the Samnites, who (after Fabius and Decius, whose proconsulate was expired, were returned to Rome) had made an incursion into Campania.

Year of
R O M E
456.
B. C. 296.

155th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 15.

§. I. **FABIUS** returned to Rome to hold the *comitia*.

The centuries, first called, had all voted for him to be

one of the consuls, when he himself opposed the pro-

ceeding. At first he offered the same objection, which

he had employed the year before. But when Appius

Claudius (who had probably secured his own election),

and the whole body of the nobility, surrounded his

chair, and pressed him in the most earnest manner “to

take this opportunity of excluding the plebeians from

the consulship, and thereby restoring both to that ma-

gistracy and to the patricians their pristine dignity,” he

answered, “that he should not have refused to receive

the names of two patricians, if he had observed an in-

tention to join any other but himself with Appius Clau-

dus; but would never give so bad an example, as that

of standing candidate, contrary to law, in an assem-

bly where he himself presided.” Hereupon Volumnius

Flamma, a plebeian, was chosen colleague to Appius.

The patricians, much dissatisfied with Fabius, imputed

his refusal of the consulship to his dislike of Appius for

a colleague, a man who far surpassed him in eloquence,

and the arts of civil government.

Year of
R O M E
457.
B. C. 295.

156th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 16.

Both the consuls of the last year received orders to

continue the war in Samnium, in quality of proconsuls,

for six months; so that the republic had very soon four armies on foot under four generals.

Fabius, after his return into Samnium, was obliged to lead his army against the Lucanians, who had lately rose up in arms; and he spent his proconsulate in keeping them in awe, and hindering them from joining the Samnites. In the meantime Decius pushed the Samnites to the last extremity, drove their army even out of Samnium, and then laid siege to their towns. When he had taken and sacked Murgantia, he persuaded the soldiers to sell their booty for money, that they might not be encumbered with it in their future expeditions. After this, Romulea and Ferentinum were both taken by assault; and, to complete the destruction of Samnium, a new army of two legions and 1500 auxiliaries advanced thither under the command of the consul Volturnius.

Year of
R O M E
457.

B. C. 295.

156th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10,
c. 17.

§. II. THE war with the Hetrurians had fallen by lot to Appius. The storm was now gathered on that side. For the Samnites, who had been driven out of their own country by Decius, had taken refuge in Hetruria, and there, in a diet held at their request, had pressed the chiefs of the lucumonies to exert their utmost strength against the Romans, offering to serve under them at their own expense, and to follow them even to the foot of the Capitol. The Hetrurians, pleased with this proposal, had raised a formidable army, which was strengthened with some troops of the Gauls, whom they had engaged by the force of money to join them. Upon the news of so powerful a confederacy formed against the republic, the Romans dispatched away Appius at the head of two legions and 12,000 auxiliaries; but it was rather to keep the enemy within bounds, than in expectation of any notable advantage from the conduct of their consul. And indeed he was worsted, for want of military skill, in every skirmish and slight action in which he ventured to engage; insomuch that the sol-

c. 18.

Year of
R O M E
457.
B. C. 295.

156th con-
sulship.

Ex-tribus
annalibus
citatis apud
Livium,
b. 10. c. 18.

c. 19.

In the year
446.

diers had no longer any confidence in their general, and the general became distrustful of his soldiers. In this extremity he is said (for the thing is not certain) to have written to his colleague to leave Samnium, and hasten to his assistance. Volumnius came with all expedition, and the troops of Appius were overjoyed at his arrival. But Appius himself seemed surprised at it, disowned the letter, and reproached his colleague with acting dishonourably in quitting the province assigned him, in order to gain the credit of giving assistance to others who did not want it. Volumnius upon this would have immediately returned to Samnium, if the officers of both armies had not entreated him to have no regard to the unaccountable behaviour of Appius, but to consider the interest of the republic, which required his presence in Hetruria: "We are just ready to give battle, and should matters go ill with us for want of your assistance, will it be inquired whether Appius treated you with arrogance or not? No, the Roman people will consider only the ill success of the battle, and impute it to your too hasty resentments." The officers, while they remonstrated these things, insensibly led both the consuls to that part of the camp where the soldiers were wont to meet when the general was to harangue them; and where they were actually assembled. There the two colleagues, in longer discourses than before in their more private conversation, made their complaints of each other; and as Volumnius had the better cause, he surpassed himself on this occasion in speaking, for he was naturally no orator. Upon which Appius could not forbear rallying: "Romans, you are much obliged to me, I have made a dumb consul speak. I remember, that the first time Volumnius and I were joined together in the consulate, he scarce opened his mouth for some months: he had then no tongue, and now, you see, he is grown even eloquent, a perfect orator." Volumnius answered, "I should have been

better pleased if, instead of your teaching me how to talk, I had taught you how to fight. The service of the republic requires at present an able general, more than a fine speaker; and if you have a mind to know which of us understands better the conduct of an army, that may soon be decided. There are two provinces, Samnium and Hetruria; make your choice, I am ready to undertake the war in either of them." At these words the soldiers cried out, that they should both in conjunction carry on the war in Hetruria. Volumnius answered, "Since I have already made one mistake, and have misrepresented the intention of my colleague, I should be sorry to fall into another, by misunderstanding your inclinations. So put the matter therefore out of all doubt: if you would have me stay here, signify it by an acclamation." Instantly the army gave a general shout, which was heard in the camp of the enemy, who immediately took the alarm, and drew up in order of battle. Volumnius without delay marched out to meet them; Appius is said to have hesitated awhile, undetermined whether he should fight or not, till he found that his troops were disposed to follow his colleague, in defiance of the orders of their own general. But then an emulation for glory and the shame of being obscured by a rival, roused him to such a degree, that he exerted himself beyond what could have been expected. He performed the part of an able and brave commander, having first made a vow to Bellona to build her a temple, in case he proved victorious. The united Samnites and Hetrurians were entirely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered.

§. III. THIS victory put an end to the misunderstanding between the two consuls, and they agreed to act jointly against Hetruria. But Volumnius, by an unexpected event, was called back into his own province. The Samnites, though so much exhausted, had raised new levies, spread themselves over Campania, and

Year of
R O M E
457.
B. C. 295.

156th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 20.

Year of
R O M E
457.
B. C. 295.

156th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 21.

ravaged it; which obliged Volumnius (the proconsulate of Fabius and Decius being expired) to hasten to the assistance of the Campanians. When he came to the foot of Mount Massicus, in the district of Cales, he learned that the intention of the enemy (who were encamped near the Vulturnus) was to break up their camp about midnight, march home, disburden themselves of their booty, and then return to make fresh devastations. Volumnius made so much expedition, that he came upon them, when they were unprepared for battle, slew 6,000 of them, and recovered all the spoil they had taken. This success quieted the minds of the people at Rome, who had been much alarmed at the last enterprise of the Samnites; and they now took into consideration the proper means to secure Campania from the like incursions for the future. It was judged proper to settle two colonies, one at the mouth of the Liris, called the colony of Minturnæ, the other at Sinuessa. However, the senate deferred the execution of that design, on account of matters of greater importance, which at this time indispensably required their immediate attention.

CHAP. XXII.

SECT. I. The republic being alarmed by accounts from Appius of extraordinary preparations for war by the Heturians and their allies (the Umbrians, Gauls, and Samnites), elect Fabius (the fifth time) to the consulate, and, at his request the *comitia* grant him Decius again for a colleague, though the first centuries have already voted for Volumnius. Volumnius himself approves of the request. II. A rivalry happens at this time between the patrician and plebeian ladies, for the reputation of strict chastity. III. When the time comes for the consuls to take the field, the senate decree the conduct of the war against the Heturians to Fabius. Decius (to comply with the humour of his party, the plebeians) refuses to yield that command to his patrician colleague, unless it fall to him by lot; and he appeals from the senate's decree to the people. The people having heard the pleas of the two competitors, and considered the present exigence, determine in favour of Fabius as the greater general. IV. Fabius in his way to the camp being informed that Appius has fortified it in such an extraordinary manner as betrays fear, sends orders before him immediately to level the fortifications: and, after his arrival, instead of shutting up his soldiers within lines, he keeps them in constant motion by frequent marches and counter-marches. Before he enters upon action, he returns to Rome, but for what reason is uncertain. The senate, that he may be able to contend with the enemy, judging it necessary to strengthen him by a second army, Fabius desires that his colleague Decius may be the general to command it; which request is granted. The consuls, having sent Volumnius with an army into Samnium, and leaving two other armies encamped near the city to cover it on the side of Heturia, take the field. The forces of the enemy are divided into two bodies, which encamp separately: one consists of Samnites (who had been driven out of their own country) and Gauls; the other of Heturians and Umbrians. Fabius ordering the two armies he had left near Rome to go and ravage a part of Heturia, the Heturians and Umbrians march away to defend it, and in their absence the consuls come to a battle with the united Gauls and Samnites. The left wing of the Romans, which Decius commands, being terrified and broken by the armed chariots used by the Gauls, he, to recover the courage of his men, devotes himself to death in the same manner his father had done on the like occasion. After this, Fabius obtains a complete victory. V. Before the end of the year the Samnites raise two new armies, which are routed by the forces of Appius, now prætor of Rome, and the proconsul Volumnius. Rome is afflicted by a plague, and terrified by prodigies.

Fabius and Decius.

458.

Devote-
ment of
Decius.

§. I. CERTAIN advice came to Rome, that the Heturians had concluded a fresh treaty with the Samnites, Umbrians, and Gauls, and that the armies of the four nations were already assembled in two camps in Heturia, where was only Appius with his troops to make head against them. The *comitia* for the new elections being soon after held, Volumnius (who had been recalled from Samnium to preside in them), before he took the suffrages of the centuries, put the assembly in mind, that they were that day to elect two consuls, who would have four nations to contend with: he added, that he doubted not but, in so perilous a season, they would choose the ablest general in the commonwealth to the consulate; otherwise he would have named a dictator. At

Year of
R O M E
457.
B. C. 295.156th con-
sulship.Liv. b. 10.
c. 21.

Year of
R O M E
457.
B. C. 295.

156th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 22.

these words, all eyes were immediately turned again upon Fabius. But when the centuries, first called, had voted for him and for Volumnius, he started difficulties, as formerly, and excused himself on account of his age. However, he at length signified his consent, provided he might again have Decius for his colleague: "He will be a support to my old age. One censorship and two consulates, in which Decius and I have been already colleagues, have made me know what a happiness it is to the commonwealth to have her magistrates live in concord. It is hard for an old man to suit himself to a new partner in power. It will be much easier to communicate my thoughts freely to a friend with whom I am thoroughly acquainted." Volumnius approved of Fabius's request, and made a fine encomium upon Decius, insisting much "on the great advantages which would flow from the harmony between two generals in such strict friendship." The day being spent in these harangues, the elections were put off to the next, and then Fabius* and Decius† (though the latter was absent from the assembly) were declared consuls; Appius chosen prætor, and Volumnius continued in the command of the army in Samnium, with the title of proconsul.

* A fifth
time.

† A fourth
time.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 23.

§. II. IN this crisis of an approaching terrible war, the people, being very superstitious, multiplied their public acts of devotion; and these gave rise to a quarrel among the Roman ladies. In the ox-market was a temple built to the honour of patrician chastity; and none of the wives of plebeians, how illustrious soever their husbands might be, were ever admitted into it. However, Aula Virginia being herself nobly descended, and being the wife of the plebeian consul Volumnius, claimed a right of assisting at the ceremonies with the patrician ladies. And when the latter opposed her pretensions, "What! (said she) is my virtue suspected? ‡ Was I meanly born? Or have I married two husbands?"

‡ Pudicitia.

(Second marriages were at this time so great a blemish on the Roman women, that it excluded them the temple of chastity.) But all that Virginia could say was to no purpose. She was absolutely refused admittance into the sanctuary. Upon this she formed the resolution of having a temple dedicated to plebeian chastity; she divided a part of her own house from the rest, caused an altar to be erected and consecrated in it, and having there assembled the plebeian women of the greatest distinction, complained to them of the pride of the patrician dames, told them her design, and pressed them to an emulation with those haughty ladies in the point of modesty and virtue. This scheme was readily approved, ceremonies were instituted and observed, much like those practised in the other temple; and this fervour continued for some time; but at length women of little merit and doubtful characters being admitted into the assembly, it sunk into disgrace, and no more mention was made of plebeian chastity.

Year of
R O M E
457.
B. C. 295.

156th con-
sulship.

The same year, the curule ædiles (Cn. and Q. Ogulnius) cited some usurers to trial; and the effects of these being, by sentence, confiscated to the public, those magistrates purchased, with the produce, brazen gates for the Capitol; silver vessels sufficient to furnish three tables in the chapel of Jupiter; a statue of this god in a chariot drawn by four horses, which was placed on the pinnacle of his temple; images of the two infants (founders of the city) suckled by a she-wolf. This monument they placed at the Ruminal Fig-tree, *i. e.* in the place where had stood the wild fig-tree under which Romulus and Remus were said (in the fable concerning them) to have been carried by the stream.^d

§. III. WHEN the time came for Fabius and Decius to enter upon office, it was natural to suppose that the

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.

^d The ædiles, from the same fund, paved with square stone the road from the gate Capena to the temple of Mars, which was not far from it, at the entrance of the Ap-pian Way. About the same time, Ælius and Fulvius, the plebeian ædiles, from the money raised by fines laid on the farmers of the public pasture-grounds, entertained the people with some shows, and presented some gold cups to Ceres.

157th con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 10.
c. 24.

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.

latter would be induced by gratitude, as well as by the age and superior merit of his colleague, to compliment him with the command of the army in Hetruria, without drawing lots. But as the patricians made it a point of honour not to permit any other than Fabius to have the conduct of the Hetrurian war, the plebeians, on the other hand, would not suffer Fabius to have it, unless it fell to him by lot, lest the patrician consuls should for the future claim a right of choosing their provinces, and the pacific-minded Decius was compelled to go with the stream of his party. The question being carried against him in the senate, he appealed to the people in *comitia*. There the two competitors each pleaded his own cause in few words, and more in the language of soldiers than of orators. “What! (said Fabius) have I planted a tree, and shall another gather the fruits of it? It was I who first opened a way into Hetruria through the Ciminian Forest, till then deemed impracticable. To what purpose did the people force me, at my age, to put myself at the helm of affairs, if they intended to give the conduct of the war to another?” After this he fell by degrees to complain of his own choice of a colleague, who seemed rather to be an adversary than a friend, and to repent of the concord in which they had lived together during their partnerships in office. And he concluded with assuring the assembly, that, notwithstanding any thing he had said, he pretended to no other right to command in the present war, than what their opinion of his abilities should give him; and that as he had submitted his cause to the determination of the senate, he was equally ready to abide by the decision of the people.

Decius began his harangue with complaining of the partiality of the senate, who, he said, envied the plebeians every degree of honour: he then pleaded the established custom of the consuls drawing lots for their provinces; after which, he thus proceeded: “Did the

question relate only to the honouring of Fabius, he has so well deserved of the public, and I in particular am so much obliged to him, that I should never be backward to contribute to his glory, if I could do it without shame and disgrace to myself. But who can be so blind as not to see, that if, in the case of a dangerous war, the conduct of it be given to one of the consuls without drawing lots, the other must be deemed insufficient, useless, and supernumerary? Fabius boasts of his exploits in Hetruria, and Decius is ambitious of being able to boast of the like exploits; and perhaps it may be his fortune to extinguish that fire which Fabius only covered, and which has often since broke out afresh. As for honours and rewards, I shall be ever ready to yield them to my colleague, out of respect to his age and dignity; but when the question is of difficulties and dangers, I can never willingly yield these either to him or to any other." When Decius had ended, Fabius made only this short reply: "I desire, Romans, that before you decide on the present dispute, you will hear Appius's letters read." This said, he left the assembly. Appius, in his letters, had painted the dangers with which the republic was threatened in very lively colours; and there needed no more to induce the *comitia* to have recourse to the surest remedy. The people instantly and unanimously determined, that the conduct of the war in Hetruria should be committed to Fabius.

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.

§. IV. AND now all the Roman youth were eager to serve under the command of so able a general. But he, either to dispel the public fears by a show of confidence, or to prevent any associates being joined with him, declared, that he would take no stronger a reinforcement to the army, than 4,000 foot, and 600 horse. With these he marched towards the camp, which the fearful Appius was still strengthening with new fortifications. Not far from it he met a detachment, sent to cut wood

Livy, b. 10.
c. 25.

Year of
R O M E
458.

B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.

in a neighbouring forest. “Whither are you going, soldiers?” said Fabius. They answered, “To the forest, for wood to fortify the camp.”—“What! (cried the general) is it not already fortified?”—“Doubtless it is (replied the soldiers); and we are surrounded by a double ditch and a double rampart, yet we are still afraid.”—“You have wood enough (said Fabius); return to the camp, and level the rampart.” The detachment immediately returned, and put the consul’s orders in execution, which much alarmed both the army and its general, till the workmen informed them, that what they were doing was by the command of Fabius, who would soon be in the camp. Fabius arrived the same day; and the next, Appius set out for Rome, to take possession of the prætorship, to which he had been chosen, as an employment better suited to his talents and capacity than the command of an army.

Fabius observed a quite different conduct from that of his predecessor. Instead of shutting up his soldiers within fortifications, he kept them in continual motion. He said, nothing was more healthful for soldiers than a frequent change of place, and to march from one country to another; and indeed he obliged them often to make as long marches as was possible at that time of the year, for the winter was not yet over, and by this means he gave his troops an air of confidence.

But before the season permitted him to enter upon action, he went back to Rome, either of his own motion, or by invitation of the senate. (Some authors say, that Appius at his return had made a dreadful representation of the forces of the enemy, and had urged the necessity of sending either Decius or Volumnius with a second army to his assistance; and they add, that Decius had upon this occasion declared it to be his opinion, that Fabius ought to be left at full liberty to determine concerning the wants of his army, and the interest of the republic; and had moved, that he might be sent for to

Rome, to give his judgment of the state of affairs.) When Fabius arrived, he gave such an account of things to the senate and people, as neither to increase the apprehensions of the republic, nor to let her sleep in security. As to another general's being joined with him, he said, he should acquiesce in it, on account of the fears of others, not his own, nor because he thought the republic to be in any danger; but then he desired that Decius might be the person: "How is it possible that I should forget the good intelligence in which we formerly lived? There is no man that I can prefer before him. With him I shall never want forces, nor have too many enemies to deal with. But if my colleague has other views, and cares not to act in conjunction with me, I am willing that Volumnius be sent in his stead." The senate, the people, and Decius himself, left the matter wholly to the determination of Fabius. Decius declared, that he was ready to go either to Samnium or Hetruria, as his colleague judged best; a declaration so pleasing to the assembly, and which spread such a joy among them, that they congratulated one another as if victory had been already gained, and they were decreeing their generals a triumph, not the conduct of a war.

Before the consuls left Rome, they sent away the proconsul Volumnius into Samnium, and, in order to cover the city on the side of Hetruria, directed two camps to be pitched, one on the hill Vaticanus, close by the Janiculum, the other in the country of the Falisci. After these regulations they set out for Hetruria, and upon the road received the news of the total defeat of a legion which Fabius had left under the command of Scipio, near old Clusium. A numerous body of those Gauls called Senones had surrounded the Romans, and cut them all off. However, the consuls were not discouraged by this accident. Their army consisted of four legions, a good number of Roman knights, a thousand Campanian horse, and a body of auxiliaries more

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.
157th con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 10.
c. 26.

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 27, 28.

numerous than the forces of the Romans. They divided it into two parts, and encamped separately, but not far from each other, in the plain of Sentinum, about four miles from the enemy. It is said, that the army of the Gauls and Samnites, who encamped together, consisted of 143,330 foot, and 46,000 horse. What the number was of the Hetrurians and Umbrians (who jointly made another camp) is not told. It was agreed among these confederates, that the Gauls and Samnites only should engage the Romans in the field, whilst the Hetrurians and Umbrians attacked their two camps. Fabius had notice, by deserters, of this design; and in order to disconcert it, and make a diversion, he sent directions to the proprætors, Fulvius and Posthumius, who were encamped near Rome, to march their two armies into Hetruria, and ravage it. This stratagem had the desired effect. The Hetrurians and Umbrians hastened to the relief of the poor people, whose houses were plundered, and lands laid waste; and, during their absence, the consuls brought the Gauls and Samnites to a battle. This is the first time that we read of armed chariots used in the wars of Italy. The Gauls surprised the Romans, soon after the action began, with this new way of fighting. Not only the Roman cavalry, but the infantry too of the left wing, which Decius commanded, was disordered, and entirely broken by them; nor could he by his utmost efforts engage his terrified soldiers to rally. In this extremity he remembered the example of his father, and in the very same manner devoted himself to the Dii Manes to save his army. Assisted by M. Livius the pontifex, he performed the same ceremonies, pronounced the same form of words, and rushed unarmed among the enemy. The loss of the general usually occasions the defeat of his troops; but such was the superstition of the Romans, that the death of their general, in this way of sacrifice, gave them new courage. The pontifex, who was himself a brave soldier,

took advantage of their prejudices, put himself at their head, and easily brought them to renew the attack, in which they were seconded by some troops, sent by Fabius from the rear, under the command of his two lieutenants. The fortune of the day quickly changed in favour of the Romans in the left wing.

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 29.

In the meantime, Fabius, who had hitherto done little more than act upon the defensive, artfully managing his troops till the first fury of the Samnites was abated, now ordered his cavalry to wheel about, flank the wings of the enemy, and be ready to charge upon a signal given. He then began to press upon the enemy in front; and as soon as he perceived that their strength was greatly exhausted, he made horse and foot, troops of reserve, all charge at once; nor could the Samnites sustain the shock; they fled to their camp, leaving the Gauls by themselves to make good the fight.

To break the Gauls, who yet kept their ground, Fabius detached a body of 500 Campanian horse to fetch a compass, and fall upon their rear, commanding the principes of the second legion to follow this detachment of horse, and wherever they should see the enemy's ranks broken by them, to press on, and hinder the Gauls from rallying. This motion succeeded so well, that the Gauls were at length defeated.

In the meantime, Fabius forced the camp of the Samnites, and made a terrible slaughter there. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were killed in the action of this day, and 8,000 taken prisoners. Among the former was Gellius Egnatius, an eminent Samnite commander, who by his negotiations had brought about the formidable alliance of the four nations. The Romans lost of the left wing 7,000 men, and 1,200 in the right. The consul's first care, after the victory, was to perform a promise he had made in the heat of the battle, to burn the spoils of the enemy in honour to Jupiter the Conqueror. He then caused search to be made for the body

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 30.

C. 31.

Macro-
bius, b. 3.
c. 13.

of Decius, which being hidden under heaps of the slain, could not be discovered that day, but the day following was found; due obsequies were performed for the dead hero, and Fabius spoke his funeral oration.

As for the proprætors, Fulvius and Posthumius, they gained great advantage in Hetruria; and the proconsul Volumnius obtained a considerable victory over the Samnites at the foot of Mount Tifernus. But notwithstanding all these victories, neither Samnites nor Heturians were yet brought into subjection. The latter took courage, and assembled fresh forces as soon as Fabius left the country, so that he was obliged to lead his army thither again. A new victory obtained over them was the last of this hero's exploits, in the station of chief commander.

Fabius had a son whose surname was Gurgæ, or the Gulf, an appellation given him on account of his excessive intemperance in his youth. This man afterward corrected his way of living, and though he never equalled his father in any kind of merit, became worthy of public offices. He was now curule ædile, and in order to wipe off the shame of his past excesses, turned a zealous reformer of manners. He brought before the tribunal of the people accusations of adultery against great numbers of women of distinction, who, being convicted, were condemned to pecuniary fines. The money arising from these fines, he consecrated to the building of a temple to Venus near the great Circus.

§. V. BEFORE the end of this year the Samnites brought two new armies into the field in different places, and even acted on the offensive. Upon which Appius the prætor was dispatched from Rome to put himself at the head of those troops which Decius had commanded, and was ordered to go to the assistance of the proconsul Volumnius. These two generals having united their forces, defeated the enemy (whom they had constrained to join theirs) in a pitched battle fought in

the Campi Stellates in Campania. The Samnites lost 16,300 men.

Year of
R O M E
458.

Rome had never before made war in so many places at the same time with more success. But in the midst of her rejoicings for such signal victories, she was visited with a dreadful plague. It was a melancholy contrast, as Orosius observes, to behold the triumphal procession of Fabius, often interrupted by funerals; and the applauses of the people by the lamentations of those who bewailed the dead, or the dying.

B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.

Oros. b. 3.
c. 22.

Zonaras,
b. 6.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 31.

Prodigies were never in greater plenty than this year. In three days there flowed successively, from the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus, three different liquors; the first day blood, the second honey, and the third milk; and in divers places it rained earth. The augurs and Sibylline books were consulted upon these imaginary prognostics, and the joy for past victories was much damped by the present calamity, and by the apprehension of impending evils.

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 10.
c. 31.

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 10.
c. 31.

CHAP. XXIII.

459. **SECT. I.** L. Posthumius (the second time) and M. Atilius Regulus are chosen consuls. Posthumius falling sick, the war is carried on against the Samnites by Atilius at the head of only one consular army. The Samnites have the advantage in this campaign, till Posthumius, being recovered, brings a second Roman army into the field; they then retire, and leave their country open to be pillaged. While Posthumius is employed in taking some of their towns, Atilius marches to the relief of Luceria (in Apulia), besieged (as he was told) by the Samnites. He meets the enemy in his way, and comes to a battle with them, the success of which is such, that neither army cares to try a second engagement. Their situation however forces them to it; and then Atilius, by singular bravery and skill, obtains the victory. **II.** In the meantime Posthumius, without orders from the senate, leaves Samnium, and marches into Hetruria, where he reduces three of the lucumonies to sue for peace. Nevertheless, the fathers, at his return to Rome, refuse him a triumph, because of his irregular proceedings. He obtains it however by the favour of the people. **III.** In the new consulate of L. Papirius Cursor (son of the famous Papirius) and Sp. Carvilius, the Samnite war is continued. The Samnites make 16,000 of their soldiers bind themselves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. Their whole army consists of 36,000. While Carvilius lays siege to Cominium, in the eastern extremity of Samnium, Papirius leads his forces against the formidable army of the enemy, encamped near Aquilonia in Hirpinia. He gains the victory by the new stratagem of making the muleteers and other servants of his army (whom he mounted upon mules, and sent to some distance) appear in the heat of the action, like a new army come to his assistance. **IV.** Carvilius takes Cominium; after which the two consuls join their forces to complete the destruction of the Samnites. But the war breaking out afresh in Hetruria, Carvilius leads his army into that country, and reduces the enemy to buy a truce for a year. Both the consuls have triumphs. In this year a sun-dial is the first time seen at Rome. **V.** A new regulation is made at Rome, relating to the guardianship of orphans, and another relating to the public games.
- 460.
- Sun-dial.

Year of
R O M E
458.
B. C. 294.

157th con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 10.
c. 31.

§. I. THE republic had now been forty-eight years in war with the Samnites, almost without interruption; and though the latter had been so often vanquished, they did not relinquish the hope of being finally the conquerors. Four times (says Livy) they had been defeated the very last year; they had lost their ablest general; they saw their allies in the same adverse fortune as themselves; they could neither by their own strength, nor by foreign aid, maintain their ground; yet they did not desist from the war: they were never weary of fighting, even unfortunately, in the defence of liberty: they chose rather to be vanquished than not strive for victory.

Year of
R O M E
459.
B. C. 293.

158th con-
sulship.
Livy, b. 10.
c. 32, 33.
* A second
time.

So considerable were the preparations they made to take the field once more, that the senate thought it necessary to employ against them both the new consuls, L. Posthumius Megellus* and M. Atilius Regulus: but, Posthumius falling sick, Atilius was dispatched away without him, to attack the enemy before they could get

out of Samnium. The two armies met just upon the confines of Campania; and here the consul was no sooner encamped than the Samnites formed the bold design of forcing his lines. By the help of a very thick fog they approached the Roman camp, surprised the advanced guards, made themselves masters of the Decuman gate, and penetrated as far as to the quæstor's tent, where the military chest was kept. The alarm reaching to the general's quarters, he awaked, put himself at the head of some manipuli, and, in short, repulsed the enemy, but durst not pursue them for fear of an ambush. Though this enterprise of the Samnites did not prove successful, yet the courage with which they had felt themselves animated to make the attempt gave them new confidence; and they kept the Romans so closely shut up, that they could not enter Samnium, to live there upon free quarter.

Year of
R O M E
459.
B. C. 293.
158th con-
sulship.

The disadvantageous situation of Atilius's army alarmed the senate and people at Rome; so that Posthumius, though not perfectly recovered, thought himself obliged to set out for Samnium with the two legions allotted him. Upon his arrival the Samnites, being in no condition to make head against two consular armies, decamped in haste, and left their country open to be pillaged. Posthumius applied himself to the besieging of towns, and took Milonia and Triventum; the latter without fighting.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 34—36.

Atilius met with more difficulties and danger in his expeditions. Having received intelligence that the Samnites were besieging Luceria in Apulia, he hastened to its relief, but found the enemy in his way. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the Romans suffered most; and this misfortune so mightily dejected them, that they passed the night in great uneasiness, expecting every moment to see the enemy approach to force their lines. But it happened on the other hand, that the Samnites were no less terrified, and thought

Year of
R O M E
459.
B.C. 293.

158th con-
sulship.

only of returning home. The difficulty was, how to put their design in execution, because the place where they were posted was a kind of defile and much confined, and the Romans were between them and Samnium. They resolved at length to go directly towards the Roman camp, endeavour to march along by the side of it, and make the plain. The consul, imagining that the enemy was come to attack him, gave orders to his legions to prepare for battle, and to follow him out of the camp. But though the officers were ready enough to obey him, the soldiers were so fatigued and intimidated, that he could not, even by soft words, prevail with them to stir. In the meantime the Samnites drew near, and the Roman soldiers pretended to discern, that they were loaded with stakes, as if they meant to form a palisade round the camp. The consul hereupon expostulated with his men on the disgrace of suffering themselves to be shut up in their camp to starve there; and shame at length made them march out, though very slowly and unwillingly. The motion of the Romans was a disappointment to the Samnites, for they had hoped to avoid a battle; however, when they found it necessary to fight, they prepared for it; and thus two coward armies were brought to an engagement entirely against their inclinations. The Romans gave ground, and would have fled into their intrenchments; but Atilius ordering some troops of horse to the rear of his infantry, with directions to kill every Roman who should attempt to enter the camp, the runaways were hereby brought to rally and renew the fight. The victory at length fell to the Romans, after they had lost 7,300 men. Atilius soon after, in his march homeward, met with a body of Samnites, who, having made an incursion into the country of the Volsci, and brought thence a considerable booty and many Roman prisoners, were marching home in great disorder; he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and released the captives. After

this, he returned to Rome, to preside at the new elections.

Year of
R O M E
459.
B. C. 293.

A triumph he was refused for two reasons,^e for having lost so many men in the battle, and for having released his prisoners on the sole condition of their passing under the yoke.

158th con-
sulship.

§. II. THE other consul, Posthumius, because he could find no employment for his troops in Samnium, marched them without any order from the senate into Hetruria. Here he defeated the Volsinienses, took Russellæ by assault, and reduced Volsinii, Perusia, and Aretium (three principal cities) to sue for peace. The senate granted them a truce of forty years, on condition of their paying each 500,000 pounds of brass into the treasury of the republic. For these exploits the consul, without scruple, petitioned the senate for a triumph; not that he expected the fathers would grant it, but because it was customary, on such occasions, to make the first application to them. Some opposed his request, on pretence that he had not taken the field early enough; others, because he had left his province without the senate's direction. Posthumius, perceiving that the members who made these objections were influenced partly by their enmity to him, partly by their friendship for the other consul (whom, having met with the like refusal, they would console, by putting his colleague on the same foot with him), frankly addressed the house in these terms: "Conscript fathers, I shall not have my mind so wholly possessed with the remembrance and contemplation of your majesty, as to forget that I am a consul. The wars which I undertook, I have conducted with success; I have subdued Samnium and Hetruria; I have obtained for the republic victory and peace; and now, in right of the same authority by which I made war, I will triumph." This said, he left the assembly. A contest hereupon arose among the tribunes of the

Livy, b. 10.
c. 37.

^e The Fast. Cap. give Atilius a triumph over the Volsones and Samnites.

Year of
R O M E
459.

B. C. 293.

158th con-
sulship.

* In 304.

† Adversus
interces-
sionem.

Fast. Ca-
pit.

Year of
R O M E
460.

B. C. 292.

159th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 47.

commons: some said, they would forbid his triumph, as unprecedented, and of bad example; others declared they would support him in his pretension. The affair came at length before the people; and Posthumius was summoned to the assembly. He put them in mind, “that the consuls Valerius and Horatius,* and lately Marcius Rutilus, father of one of the present censors, had triumphed, not by the authority of the senate, but by the will of the people.” He added, “that, if he had not known that some of the tribunes, mere vassals to the nobles, would have employed their veto against his bill, he should have made his first application to the *comitia*; for that the good pleasure and favour of the people, unanimous, did, and ever would with him, supply the place of all decrees and commands.” The next day, contrary to the will of the whole senate, and in spite of the opposition of seven of the tribunes,† the consul, aided by the other three, obtained the honours of the triumph; and the people solemnized the day with extraordinary rejoicings.^f

By a census taken this year, the number of Roman citizens, fit to bear arms, appeared to be 262,322. Livy transfers this census to the next year, and calls the lustrum that followed it the nineteenth, reckoning only from the institution (in the year 310) of the censorship; and even then there is the difference of one between his reckoning and that of the Fasti; according to which the census of this year was the twentieth, and the lustrum the thirtieth.

§. III. To L. Papirius Cursor (son of the famous hero of that name, five times consul) and Sp. Carvilius were transferred the consular fasces. Atilius, the late consul, obtained the prætorship. His colleague Posthumius, to avoid a trial before the people, to which a certain tri-

^f Livy, at the end of this account, acquaints us, that there is no certainty concerning the military actions of this year, or the commanders who performed them; and he mentions some particulars, as related by Claudius, others as related by Fabius, which are not in the foregoing narrative, but are in some things inconsistent with it.

bune, named Scantius, had cited him [probably for having left his province without orders], engaged Carvilius to appoint him one of his lieutenants.

Year of
R O M E
460.
B. C. 292.

At this time the Samnites, to make another vigorous effort, published a new law, importing that whoever, of an age fit to bear arms, should not appear in the field on a summons from the general, or should leave the service without permission, his head should be devoted to Jupiter (*i. e.* it should be lawful for any one to kill him wherever found): and they appointed Aquilonia [a town of Hirpinia situated between Beneventum and Luceria] to be the place of rendezvous.

159th con-
sulship.

A numerous army being by this means assembled, the general caused to be erected, in the centre of the camp, a tent or booth 200 feet square, covered on the top with linen cloth, and so close on all sides, that nothing of what passed within could be seen by those without. Here sacrifices were offered according to an old ceremonial, which Ovius Paccius, an old priest, pretended to have found in an old linen book. This rite being performed, the general summoned all the principal men, men distinguished either by their birth or exploits, and introduced them one by one into the tent. Here, to their unspeakable terror, they beheld altars surrounded with slaughtered victims, and centurions standing by with drawn swords, and each person introduced was led to the altars more like a victim than an assistant at a sacrifice. Immediately was administered to him an oath of secrecy as to every thing he should hear or see in that place; after which, he was constrained to pronounce a curse upon himself, his family, and his posterity, if he did not follow wherever the generals should lead him to fight, if he ever fled himself, or if he did not kill those whom he should see flying. Some of the first refusing to swear, were instantly killed; and their bodies, thrown among the carcasses of the victims, were, to those who followed, an effectual lesson

Year of
R O M E
460.
B. C. 292.

159th con-
sulship—

to comply. Of the principal men of the Samnites, when they had all gone through this ceremony, the general selected ten, commanding that each of these should, for the service, choose,^g out of his acquaintance, the man upon whose bravery he could most rely, and that this man should choose another, of whom he had the like opinion, and so on, each man chosen choosing another, till the number of 16,000 was completed. These were called the linen legion (*legio linteata*), from the covering of the tent where the nobility were sworn; and they had finer helmets and bucklers than the rest of the troops, amounting to above 20,000, who, nevertheless, made a fine appearance.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 39.

While these things were doing, Carvilius, at the head of the army which Atilius had left near Interamna, made his way towards Samnium; and his first exploit was the taking of Amiternum, a city of Sabinia, belonging to the Samnites. Papirius in the meantime hastened the new levies at Rome, and, as soon as his legions were complete, entered upon action. He took Furconia (Livy calls it, Duroia) in the neighbourhood of Amiternum, and then joining his colleague, they went together to ravage that part of the Volscian territory, which was under the domination of the Samnites. After this, Carvilius prepared to lay siege to Cominium, in the extremity of the eastern part of Samnium; and Papirius marched to Aquilonia, where the main strength of the Samnites was assembled.

Papirius, after some slight skirmishes with the enemy, acquainted his colleague, by a messenger, that he intended to give battle the next day, in case the auspices were favourable; and desired him to press the siege of Cominium vigorously, that no detachments might be sent from thence to strengthen the Samnite army. Then calling his troops together, he exhorted them “not to

^g This seems to be the meaning of Livy's words; “Decem nominatis ab imperatore, eis dictum, ut vir virum legerent, donec sexdecim millium numerum conficissent.”

fear the enemy for the extraordinary methods they had taken to make themselves valiant ;” told them, “ that oaths, extorted by fear and violence, would never give true courage ;” put them in mind of his father’s victory over the Samnite army, which had “ made themselves fine, as these had done, with proud crests to their helmets, and magnificent bucklers.” Animated by these words, the soldiers with one voice called out to lead them to battle: nay, so universal was the desire of coming to an engagement, that one of the *pullarii*, or keepers of the chickens, made a false report of their behaviour, and declared, that they had leaped presently out of their cage, and fed so greedily, as to let some of their meat drop out of their mouths upon the pavement: good omens these, but the facts were not true. The general seemed overjoyed at the augury, and ordered preparations to be made for fighting. When, the next day, he had assigned his several officers their posts, and had made all the proper dispositions to charge the enemy, his nephew Papirius, a youth born in an age (says Livy) when men were not yet acquainted with that philosophy which teaches a contempt of the gods, discovered to him the error he was in; and he did this at the instigation of some Roman knights, who had overheard the keepers of the chickens disputing about the augury of that day. The general answered, “ I commend your pious zeal and care: but if the augur has given a false account, the vengeance will fall upon his head alone. The augury, as reported to me, was good and fortunate for the Roman people.” He then commanded, that the keepers of the chickens should be placed at the head of the first line; and before the two armies came to a close engagement, he who had made the false report was killed by an unknown hand [probably by order of the consul]. The news being brought to Papirius, he pretended to consider it as a stroke from heaven. “ The gods are with us (he cried), their vengeance has spent itself on

Year of
R O M E
460.

B. C. 292.

159th consulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 40.

Tripudium
Solistimum.

Val. Max.
b. 7. c. 2.

Year of
R O M E
460.
B. C. 292.

159th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 41, 42.

Frontini
Strat. b. 2.
c. 4.

Oros. b. 3.
c. 22.

the guilty head." In the beginning of the action the Samnites, especially those who had bound themselves by oath not to fly, made a vigorous resistance; till on a sudden they perceived at some distance a cloud of dust, such as is wont to be raised by the march of a considerable army. This dust was caused by the servants and muleteers of the Roman camp, whom Papirius had ordered one of his officers to mount upon mules and beasts of burden, and lead them, together with some manipuli of the allies, by roundabout ways, to the top of a neighbouring hill, from whence they were to fall upon the enemy in the heat of the battle. These troops had provided themselves with branches of trees, which they had trailed along the ground, to raise the greater dust. Nothing could be seen but the tops of some standards and lances, and something like cavalry, which seemed to flank a body of infantry on each side. Both armies were deceived by this appearance; and the better to carry on the deceit, Papirius himself pretended to be surprised, and cried out with an air of joy, "Cominium must certainly be taken, and my colleague is come to my assistance. Courage, soldiers, let us make haste to gain the victory, before another army can arrive to share the glory of the day." Then making the signal for his cavalry to charge, they instantly gave the reins to their horses, drove full speed through the files of the infantry (that widened and made room for that purpose) upon the enemy's battalions, and quickly put them to the rout. Twelve thousand of the Samnites, according to Orosius, were slain; but, according to Livy, above 30,000; and Aquilonia, whither most of the fugitives fled for shelter, was soon after taken.

It is recorded (says Livy) that Papirius, whether from natural temper, or from a confidence of success, shewed, in the important battle of this day, a cheerfulness, such as had hardly ever been seen in any other general on a like occasion. From the same strength of mind it was,

that a doubtful augury could not divert him from fighting, and that, in the heat of action, when it was customary for commanders to vow temples to the gods, he only vowed, that, in case of victory, he would make to Jupiter a libation of wine mixed with honey, before he tasted wine himself. The gods were pleased with the vow, and turned the bad omens to good.

Year of
R O M E
460.

B. C. 292.

159th consulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 43. et
seq.

§. IV. Carvilius was preparing to make a vigorous attack upon Cominium, according to the agreement between him and his colleague, when he received a letter which Papirius had wrote to him before the battle, with notice that the Samnites had sent away a large detachment of their army to relieve the place. Upon this news he dispatched Brutus Scæva, with the first legion and twenty cohorts of auxiliaries, to meet the Samnite reinforcement, with orders to amuse or fight them wherever he should find them. In the meantime, with the rest of his army he gave an assault to the town, and took it. The besieged, to the number of 15,400, surrendered at discretion, 4,380 had been slain.

Such was the success at Cominium and Aquilonia. Both these towns were given up to the soldiers to be plundered, and then were burnt. The two detachments did not come to an engagement; for that of the Samnites being recalled when within seven miles of Cominium, Brutus Scæva did not meet with it.

After these conquests, the two armies encamped together; but in a council of war it being judged expedient to push the advantages gained over the Samnites, to the total reduction of them, by taking the rest of their cities, Carvilius went to lay siege to Volana (in Lucania, near Cape Palinurus), dependent doubtless on the Samnites; and Papirius to attempt the conquest of Sepinum, a town situated at the foot of the Apennines, near the head of the Tamarus.

The news of the great success of the Roman arms in C. 45. Samnium was the more agreeable at Rome, as an ac-

Year of
R O M E
460.
B. C. 292.

159th con-
sulship.

count came at the same time, that the Hetrurians were beginning to take arms again ; which account was soon after confirmed by deputies sent from some cities in alliance with the republic. Nor was this all ; the Falisci, who were the nearest neighbours to Rome on the side of Hetruria, revolted, and joined the enemy. It was necessary therefore to recall one of the consuls, with his army, from Samnium ; they were ordered to cast lots for the conduct of the Hetrurian war, and it fell to Carvilius, who by this time had taken Volana, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum from the Samnites.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 46.

Papirius, after the departure of his colleague, took Sepinum by assault, and gave the booty to the soldiers. He then returned to Rome, full of glory, in the month of February, and was honoured with a triumph. The rich spoils taken from the Samnites made his procession very magnificent. Papirius had brought away from the conquered countries 2,533,000 pounds weight of brass,^h and 1,330 pounds weight of silver. But though these riches swelled the pomp of the victor's triumph, he lost the good-will of his soldiers, by giving all into the public treasury. And the people's discontent was yet greater, when a tax came to be laid upon them to pay his troops, which might have been satisfied by distributing among them a part of that wealth. Papirius on this occasion dedicated a temple (to Quirinus) which his father, when dictator, had vowed. He adorned it with the fine spoils taken from the Samnites. Upon this temple was also fixed a sundial, the first ever seen at Rome. Anaximenes, the Milesian, had many years before, as Pliny tells us, discovered the secret, but the invention had not reached to Rome. The Romans for a long while marked only the rising and setting of the sun ; afterward they observed the hour of noon, but in a very gross manner. When the sun shined between the rostra and the house appointed for the reception of ambassadors, one of the

Plin. b. 7.
c. 60.

^h Between 6 and 7,000*l.* sterling.

consul's heralds used to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day. But now they could mark the several hours of the day; and the water-clock, invented soon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

Year of
R O M E
460.
B. C. 292.

159th con-
sulship.

As soon as Papirius had triumphed, he left Rome again, to lead his troops into the territory of Vescia, which the Samnites still infested, and there he passed the rest of the winter. In the meantime, Carvilius, in

Livy, b. 10.
c. 46.

Hetruria, took Troilium by assault, and reduced the Falisci to sue for peace. He granted them, however, no more than a year's truce, and for that he made them pay dear. After this he returned to Rome, and had a triumph. He brought with him 390,000 asses of brassⁱ for the public treasury, without reckoning a considerable sum which he reserved to build a temple to Fortune. And he gave besides to each private soldier of the foot 102 pounds of brass,^k and twice that sum to each centurion and horseman; a small present, but well received, and which the remembrance of Papirius's parsimonious conduct made still more agreeable; and by this means he became popular enough to prevail with the people to drop the prosecution, which the tribune Scantius had begun against Posthumius, one of the consuls of the last year.

Ædem For-
tis Fortunæ.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 47.

§. V. It was probably at this time that Atilius, the other consul of the last year, now prætor, made a new law relating to guardianships. The twelve tables had not provided for those orphans whose fathers died intestate, and who had no near relation to take upon him the guardianship of them. The Atilian law ordained, that the prætor and the tribunes of the people should by a plurality of voices assign such orphans a guardian. At the same time the curule ædiles published an ordinance, that those who had received crowns, as the reward of their military exploits, might wear them at the public games; and that palm-branches should be put in the hands of the victors in those games.

Ulpian de
Tutelis.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 47.

ⁱ 1259l. 7s. 6d. Arbuthnot.

^k 6s. 7d. Arbuthnot.

CHAP. XXIV.

461. **SECT. I. Q. Fabius Gurges** (son of Fabius Maximus) is chosen to the consulate, though his father had opposed his promotion. The colleague given him is Junius Brutus Scæva. Neither the one nor the other is well qualified to conduct an army. Junius however being well assisted by Carvilius, the late consul, makes a successful expedition against the Falisci in Hetruria. But Gurges, through his ill conduct, is shamefully vanquished in a battle with the Samnites. The people of Rome having resolved to punish him, old Fabius pacifies them, by offering to serve under his son the remainder of the campaign. Gurges, assisted by his father's counsel, obtains a glorious victory over the enemy; and Pontius, the famous Samnite general, is taken prisoner. **II.** The Romans, to put a stop to the plague, send ambassadors to bring from Epidaurus the god *Æsculapius*, worshipped there under the form of a serpent. **III.** The god arrives in the beginning of the next consulate of Posthumius (now the third time chosen) and Junius Brutus Bubulcus. Posthumius proudly assumes to himself the conduct of the war in Samnium, without drawing lots with his colleague, or waiting for a decree of the senate in his favour. When he comes into the field, he, contrary to the will of the senate, obliges Fabius Gurges, now proconsul, to desist from the siege of Cominium (which had been retaken by the Samnites), and leave it to him. He takes that town and another. The senate, nevertheless, to punish his disobedience, mortify him in several instances; and in the succeeding consulate (of P. Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus) he is fined by the people for a misdemeanour during his magistracy. **IV.** The consul Curius (a hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty) reduces the Samnites to ask peace, which is now granted them the fourth time, on the conditions prescribed by Curius, whom they in vain endeavour to bribe. **V.** He reduces Sabinia to a state of subjection to the republic, and has two triumphs decreed him for his exploits in one year. He is afterward accused of embezzling some of the spoil taken from the enemy, but is honourably acquitted. **VI.** In quality of proconsul he carries the war into Lucania, the new consuls, M. Valerius Corvinus and Q. Cædicius Noctua, spending their whole year in works of peace, and in sending colonies to the conquered cities. To relieve the prætor of Rome, three new judges are created to try malefactors. The cruelty of a creditor to his debtor, for whom he had conceived an infamous passion, occasions great commotions in Rome in the second consulates of Q. Marcius Tremulus and P. Cornelius Arvina, and a new secession of the people in the following year, when M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Nautius Rutilus are consuls. The patricians, to effect a reconciliation, are obliged to make concessions. Fabius Maximus, in his old age, is made dictator, to finish the accommodation; which done, he presides in the *comitia*, where M. Valerius Potitus and C. Ælius Pœtus are chosen consuls. He soon after dies.
462. A snake imported to stop the plague.
463. Curius Dentatus.
464. The year of the new consuls proves barren of great events.
465. 466. 467.

Year of
R O M E
461.

B. C. 291.

160th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 47.

Val. Max.
b. 4. c. 1.

Oros. b. 3.
c. 22.

§. I. **PAPIRIUS** held the *comitia* for the election of consuls. The choice fell upon two men of small abilities for war, Q. Fabius Gurges (the son of Fabius Maximus) and Junius Brutus Scæva. It is undoubted, that Fabius the father opposed the promotion of his son; but it is very uncertain for what reason; whether, as Valerius Maximus thinks, from a republican principle, and because he thought it of pernicious example to have one family loaded with so many honours, he having himself been promoted to that dignity; or whether on account of some domestic quarrel; or whether because he judged his son unqualified for so high a station. Rome being

at this time visited with a plague, which made terrible havoc, this, together with the incapacity of the new consuls, encouraged the Falisci to break their truce, and the Samnites to take arms again, and spread themselves over Campania. It fell to Brutus's lot to march into Hetruria against the Falisci. The republic, to supply his defects, appointed Carvilius to be his lieutenant, and by his assistance the consul made a successful expedition.

Year of
R O M E
461.
B. C. 291.

160th con-
sulship.

But on the other hand, Fabius Gurges, having all the fire of the Fabii without their usual prudence, rashly, and without drawing up his troops in order of battle, engaged with the Samnites, and lost 3,000 men, he himself escaping only by the favour of the night. The account of the ill conduct of Gurges so exasperated the public against him, that the senate were going to remove him from the command of the army; but then the zeal of Fabius Maximus for the honour of his family was roused, and he undertook his son's cause. Without excusing the precipitate conduct of the consul, he desired the assembly to pardon it, in consideration of the many victories which he himself had formerly obtained for the republic. He represented to them, that his son's disgrace had not been owing to a want of bravery, but to youthful imprudence, which time and experience might correct. And, lastly, he offered to go and serve under his son, and promised soon to repair the loss which the state had suffered by his son's mismanagement. The people accepted this offer, and were appeased.

Eutrop.
b. 2.
Zonaras,
b. 8.
Liv. Epit.
11.
Dio Coc-
ceianus in
excerptis à
Valesio.

Fabius Maximus accompanied his son into the field against the Samnites, in quality of his lieutenant, and not only assisted him by his advice, but when in a battle, which was soon after fought, the consul, following the impulse of his courage, and eager to recover his honour, had indiscreetly penetrated too far among the enemies, and was surrounded by them, rescued him out

Oros. b. 3.
c. 22.

Year of
R O M E
461.
B. C. 291.

160th con-
sulship.

of their hands by his personal bravery. So gallant an action, in a man of his years, animated the Roman legions to exert themselves with more than ordinary vigour, and they soon put the Samnites to the rout: 20,000 of the enemy were slain, and 4,000 taken prisoners; among the latter was their famous general, Pontius Herennius, who had commanded them in this and the former battle.

Livy, b. 10.
c. 47.

§. II. THE joy at Rome for so complete a victory would have been much greater, if it had not been damped by the plague, which still continued to make dreadful devastation. In this distress the Romans had recourse to the usual remedy, superstition. The Sibylline books were consulted, and it was there read, that, to put a stop to the pestilence, the god Æsculapius, adored under the form of a serpent, must be brought to Rome from Epidaurus, a city of Peloponnesus. An embassy was accordingly appointed for that purpose.

* A third
time.

Year of
R O M E
462.
B. C. 290.

161st con-
sulship.
Suidas in
Posthum.
D. Hal. in
excerptis à
Valesio.

§. III. THE time for the new election drawing on, and the consuls being both in the field, a dictator was named to hold the *comitia*; but his nomination being found defective, the government fell into an interregnum; and then Posthumius (the very same man who had so lately escaped condemnation), holding the assembly, contrived to get himself elected* one of the new consuls. With Posthumius was joined Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Posthumius, now the third time consul, and as proud in office as he had been ambitious in procuring to himself the consular dignity, disdained to draw lots with his plebeian colleague for their provinces. He insisted upon having the command of the army in Samnium; and Brutus, finding that his colleague had a powerful party in the senate, consented to command in Hetruria, without waiting for a decree.

About this time the god Æsculapius,¹ that is to say, a

¹ Æsculapius (the particulars concerning whom are taken from D. Hal. in excerpt. à Valesio. Lactant. ex Tarquitio, Cicero de Nat. Deor. b. 3. Plut. in Quæst. Rom.

tame snake, which the Roman ambassadors had bought of the priests belonging to the temple at Epidaurus,

Year of
R O M E
462.
B. C. 290.

Pausanias, *Auth. de Vir. Illust.* c. 21. Ovid. *Met.* b. 15. Val. Max. b. 1. c. 8. Pliny, b. 29. c. 1.) was a native of Messene, a city of Peloponnesus. As soon as he was born, his parents exposed him in the midst of a forest, where he was found by some hunters. These had compassion on him, and caused him to be suckled by a bitch. When he was old enough to be capable of instruction, he was committed to the care of the famous Chiron, who taught him physic, or, if you will, surgery; for the two arts were then confounded. The disciple soon excelled his master, and being grown an able physician, settled at Epidaurus, a city of Argia, and practised his art there. It must be granted, that *Æsculapius* made some discoveries in the cure of diseases and wounds. He is said to have invented the probe; to have first made use of bandages; and to have been the first who invented purges, and the art of drawing teeth. And as he lived in an age wherein it was usual to deify those who distinguished themselves by any useful discoveries, the people were pleased to call him the son of *Apollo*, and to rank him among the gods. After which, he soon had a temple erected to him in Epidaurus; which was built upon an eminence without the city, because the most airy and wholesome situations are most suitable to the gods of Health. There the priests, who presided over the worship of this new god, bred one of those snakes, which are easily tamed, and taught to follow any persons where they please, without any danger of being bit by them: and the silly vulgar honoured this snake as the god himself. His usual hole was under the feet of the fine stone statue of *Æsculapius*, which the famous sculptor *Thrasymedes* of *Paros* had made; and whenever he came out of it, his appearance was understood to prognosticate the cure of the sick. The envoys of Rome were brought into this temple, to which the love of life drew all Greece, and which gratitude for cures imagined to be there obtained had exceedingly enriched. *Ogulnius* was at the head of the embassy: and it is probable the Epidaurians made the Romans pay very dear for the relief they sought; their reputation and interest being then very small in Greece. Be that as it will, the Epidaurians granted their request, and suffered them to carry away with them the important snake. It is reported as a prodigy, that the snake came out in sight of the ambassadors, while they were attentively viewing the statue of *Æsculapius*: and that he left the temple of Epidaurus of his own accord, and winding his great body along, passed all through the city, and went directly to the port where the Roman ship was at anchor. To which it is added, that he entered the vessel of his own accord, went directly to *Ogulnius's* cabin, and curling himself into several circles continued quietly there. An account which is neither incredible nor miraculous, if we suppose (which might have been the case) that the master of the snake, who had tamed him, went before him to the ship. Besides, this was not the first time that one of these snakes had been taken out of the temple of Epidaurus. The *Sicyonians* had already carried one from thence to their city in a chariot; and an unknown woman, named *Nicagore*, had conducted him thither. Thus the impostures of the Greeks furnished the nations, who were willing to be cheated, with *Æsculapiuses*; and thus the Romans, among others, were bubbled by them.

The other adventures of the pretended *Æsculapius*, in his passage from Epidaurus to Rome, have been celebrated both by the historians and poets. They relate, that the ambassadors experienced the good effects of the god's presence in their voyage, it being exceeding prosperous and happy. Nevertheless, the sea became boisterous towards the coast of Italy, and the violence of the winds forced the seamen to put in at the port of *Antium*, where there was a temple dedicated to *Æsculapius*. The snake had hitherto confined himself to *Ogulnius's* cabin; but here he escaped, and gliding along came to the court of the sanctuary where he was worshipped. This place was planted with myrtles and palm-trees, and the pretended *Æsculapius* got upon the largest of those trees, and twisted his long body round it. For three days it was much feared that the divine animal would continue there; all endeavours to bring him back to the ship proved vain. It availed nothing to offer him his usual food; he continued three days twisted round the palm-tree. But at length he returned to the galley of his own accord. *Antium* was at no very great distance from the mouth of the *Tiber*; and up that river the snake was carried to Rome. The joy the Romans shewed at the arrival of this salutary god is not to be expressed. Altars were erected all along the shore; and incense and sacrifices offered even to profuseness. While the citizens expected soon to receive the god within their walls, and

161st consulship.

Year of
R O M E
462.
B. C. 290.

161st con-
sulship.

Dio Coc-
ceianus in
excerptis à
Valesio.
Livy,
Epit. 11.
D. Hal. in
excerptis à
Valesio.

arrived at Rome, to the great joy of the people; and the plague is said to have soon after ceased.

History says nothing of any exploits of Brutus in He-
truria. But young Fabius, who had been continued in
the command of the army in Samnium in quality of pro-
consul, being assisted by his father (who governed and
directed all his motions, without letting him perceive it),
had already reduced the canton of the Pentrini, and was
besieging Cominium (an important town, formerly taken
and burnt by Carvilius, but since rebuilt by the Sam-
nites) when Posthumius prepared to enter Samnium with
a new consular army. Before he left Rome, he em-
ployed a detachment of his troops in the servile work of
grubbing up a forest in his own estate; and he proceeded
in the same spirit of tyranny when he came into the
field. He sent orders to the proconsul to desist from
the siege of Cominium, and to leave that enterprise to
his conduct. Young Fabius had received his commis-
sion from the senate; and the fathers supported his
pretensions, and commanded the consul to bend his
forces another way; but Posthumius bade the mes-
senger tell the senate, “that it was their duty to obey
their consul, and not his to submit to their commands.”
He then marched straight towards Cominium, resolving
to give the Fabii battle, if they did not yield to his will.
Fabius Maximus prevailed with his son, for the sake of
the public good, to give way to the imperious consul.

were thinking to build him a temple there, he is said to have chosen his own abode. In the midst of the Tiber, over against the walls of Rome, was an island, formed in the infancy of the republic, by straw, trunks of trees, sand, and the rubbish of the city; and thither the serpent retired, swimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the island of Æsculapius; and a temple was soon erected to him there, and enriched with numberless presents. The temple was built in the shape of a ship; the higher part of it resembled the stern, and the lower part the prow. But whatever the historians say of it, it is very uncertain whether the plague was not stopped before the serpent arrived; and if we believe Pliny, who gave no credit to vulgar traditions, the Romans themselves would not suffer this Æsculapius, who had been brought from beyond sea, to be placed within their walls. He says, they had an aversion to physicians and their art, and despised even Æsculapius himself, the prince and head of physicians. Nevertheless, the temple of this god of health was very much frequented by the commonalty of Rome; the sick came and passed the night in it; and imagination, or the strength of nature, sometimes wrought cures there, which were ascribed to the power of the god. C. & R.

And then Posthumius having a clear stage, and being a man of courage and expedition, soon made himself master of Cominium. Thence he turned his arms against Venusia, which he likewise took in a short time. In the letter which he wrote to the senate to inform them of his success, he proposed that a colony might be sent to the last-mentioned place, and his proposal was approved; but the fathers, who preferred obedience to valour, took occasion from it to humble him. Instead of appointing him, agreeably to custom, to be one of the founders of the new colony in the city he had conquered, they named three others, and allowed him no share in that honour; nay, to mortify him yet more, they decreed young Fabius a triumph. Pontius Herennius, that famous Samnite general who surprised the Roman legions in the Caudine Forks, and made them pass under the yoke, now followed the chariot of the triumphant conqueror. (He was afterward, by an inhumanity unworthy of Romans, condemned to lose his head.) But the most surprising sight of all was old Fabius on horseback in his son's train. He had formerly in his own triumphs carried his son in the chariot with him; and he was now overjoyed to mingle in the crowd, and make one of his attendants.

As for Posthumius, when he found himself treated with so much contempt, and his rival so much honoured, he not only declaimed with passion against both senate and people, but did all that was in his power to revenge himself. He would not give the least part of the booty brought from the two conquered cities into the public treasury, but distributed it all among his soldiers, and then disbanded them before his successor could arrive. Some historians say, that notwithstanding these extravagant proceedings, and the opposition of the senate, he obtained a triumph by a decree of the people; but this is highly improbable, since it appears, by what followed soon after, that the people were no less exasperated

Year of
R O M E
462.
B. C. 290.

161st con-
sulship.

Plut. in
Fab. Cunct.
Val. Max.
b. 5. c. 7.

D. Hal. in
excerptis à
Valesio.

Year of
R O M E
463.

B. C. 289.

162d con-
sulship.

Liv. Epit.
11.

Eutrop.
b. 2.

against him than the fathers. For the succeeding consuls, P. Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus, were no sooner entered upon office, than he was brought to a trial before the *comitia* by tribes. His chief accusation turned upon his having employed his soldiers in a slavish work for his own private profit; a crime which touched the people much more than his disobedience to the senate. They condemned him to pay a considerable fine; and his reputation continued for some time blasted.

§. IV. THE Samnites having lost their brave general and able governor, Pontius, were no longer in a condition to oppose the progress of the Roman arms. Curius Dentatus laid waste their country, took their towns, and, in short, obliged them to sue for peace. The republic consented to a treaty of alliance with them for the fourth time, and left the conditions of it to Curius.^m

Plutarch. in
Apoph.
Val. Max.
b. 4. c. 3.
Plin. b. 19.
c. 6.

This consul was remarkable for living, without ostentation, in that voluntary poverty which some philosophers have with great vanity cried up and recommended. The Samnite deputies found him sitting on a sorry wooden seat near a fire, dressing his own dinner, which consisted only of some roots; and they offered him a present of a considerable sum of money. Curius expressed his indignation by a disdainful smile. "Without doubt," said he, "my indigence makes you hope that you may corrupt me: but you are mistaken. I had rather be the commander of rich men, than be rich myself. Take away that metal, which men make use of only to their destruction, and go tell your nation, that they will find it as difficult to bribe me, as to conquer me." A treaty being concluded upon such conditions

Nico. Damas. in excerptis à Valesio.

^m It is uncertain what sort of government was in use among the Samnites; but it is most probable that they were divided into cantons, and annually assembled a diet, where resolutions were taken for the public good. In time of war they chose a head, who was invested with sovereign authority. It is said, that the Samnites had one very singular custom in relation to marriages. Every year, all the marriageable young men and women were assembled before certain judges, who matched them according to their merit. C. & R.

as Curius thought fit to prescribe, he returned to Rome to triumph. And never did the people express more joy than upon this occasion, being at length freed from the care and burden of a dangerous war, which had lasted forty-nine years. The conqueror, in the distribution of the conquered lands among those Romans who had none of their own, prevailed to have no more than seven acres allotted to each man, and accepted no more himself, though a much larger portion was offered him. He said, that, to preserve the Roman frugality, it were to be wished that no man had more land than was necessary for his subsistence.

Year of
R O M E
463.
B. C. 289.

162d con-
sulship.

§. V. THE conquest of Samnium was followed by the reduction of the Sabines to a state of subjection, who had been almost ever since the foundation of Rome upon the foot of allies, and had been governed by their own laws. They had feared that the ruin of the Samnites would affect their own liberty, and had therefore not only lent them assistance, but had ravaged a part of the Roman territory. Curius entirely subdued them; but the Romans, in regard to old friendship, treated them gently, and admitted them to Roman citizenship, yet without the right of suffrage. For the conquest of Sabina, Curius had a second triumph decreed him the same year; an honour which had never been granted to any of his predecessors in the consulate.

Author de
Viris Illust.
c. 33.
Plutarch. in
Apoph.
Florus,
b. 1. c. 15.
Liv. Epit.
11.

The eminent virtues of this philosophical hero did not secure him from envy: there were not wanting those to whom his reputation of disinterestedness gave offence, and they endeavoured to cast a stain upon it. They accused him of having applied a part of the booty taken from the enemy to his private use. The accusation being general, he was put to his oath; and then he confessed, that he had reserved a little wooden oil-vessel for making libations to the gods, but protested that he had kept nothing more: he was believed; and the malice of his accusers served only to heighten the lustre of his

Author de
Viris Illust.
c. 33.

Year of
R O M E
463.
B. C. 289.

162d con-
sulship.
Plin. b. 34.
c. 6.

virtue. Before the expiration of his consulship, he led an army against the Lucanians, and obliged them to raise the siege of Thurium, the inhabitants of which had implored the protection of the Romans, and had gained Ælius (one of the tribunes) to be their friend. This town was situated near the gulf of Tarentum.

Year of
R O M E
464.
B. C. 288.

163d con-
sulship.

§. VI. THE same *comitia* which chose M. Valerius Corvinus and Q. Cædicius Noctua to be consuls for the new year, appointed Curius Dentatus to carry on the war in Lucania in quality of proconsul. His expedition proved successful: and he thereby established the Roman domination through almost the whole extent of the country that reaches from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian seas. The new consuls employed their year altogether in works of peace, and in sending out colonies; particularly to Adria, a maritime town, which some say gave name to the Adriatic sea; Castrum in Picenum, and Sena, another city on the Adriatic, at the mouth of the Seno, in the country of the Senones.

Liv. Epit.
11.

Festus &
Pomponius
de Origine
Juris.

At this time the Romans, finding that the prætor alone was not sufficient to preserve good order in the city in a time of peace, when malefactors always multiply, the people appointed three new judges to try delinquents, and pronounce sentence without appeal; but their power of punishing extended only to pecuniary fines: the people would not divest themselves of the sole power of life and death. These new magistrates were chosen annually in the *comitia* by tribes.—The number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms appeared, by a census taken this year, to be 273,000.

Liv. Epit.
11.
Zonar.
Annal. b. 8.

And now, when all was quiet abroad, new disturbances were raised at home, and the poor debtors began again to murmur against the rich usurers. This spark of dissension was blown up into a flame in the consulship of Q. Marcius Tremulus* and P. Cornelius Arvina,† on the following occasion. T. Veturius, one of those unfortunate consuls who in the year of Rome 432 had been

* A second
time.

† A second
time.

surprised in the Caudine Forks, died insolvent. His son, a youth of great beauty, and virtuously educated, borrowed a considerable sum of C. Plotius, his father's chief creditor, to defray the expenses of his father's funeral. Being afterward pressed to pay, and having neither money nor credit, he was forced to submit to slavery, and to work for his creditor in order to discharge the debt. Plotius conceived a detestable passion for the young man, and treated him unmercifully for his virtuous resistance. Veturius one day, when his body was all bloody with stripes, made his escape out of the house, got upon an eminence, shewed himself to the people, and published the infamy of his tyrant. The people laid hold on the occasion to decry the usurers, and to demand the abolition of the law which subjected those to slavery who could not pay. This law had been repealed before upon a like occasion in the year 427, but the patricians had got it renewed. As for Plotius, he was cited by the tribunes of the people before the centuries, and condemned to death.

Year of
R O M E
465.
B. C. 287.

164th con-
sulship.

D. Hal. in
excerptis à
Valesio.
Val. Max.
b. 6. c. 1.

In the following consulship of M. Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Nautius Rutilus, the people kept no longer any measures with the patricians. They insisted upon the abolition of the law beforementioned, and finding the rich obstinate in opposing it, they made a secession upon the hill Janiculus, on the other side of the Tiber. The city being thus left destitute of artificers and labourers, and no provisions being brought thither from the provinces (for the country people had likewise their complaints), the patricians and rich citizens found themselves under the necessity of making concessions, and they named Q. Hortensius dictator, to negotiate with the separatists. The terms of reconciliation were the repeal (doubtless) of the law in question, and the strict observation of two laws, made in the year 414, but to which the nobility had paid no regard: 1. That the *plebiscita* [the decrees made by the commons at the request

Year of
R O M E
466.
B. C. 286.

165th con-
sulship.

Liv. Epit.
11.

S. Aug. de
Civitate
Dei, b. 3.

Cic. in
Orat. pro
Planc.
Livy, b. 8.
c. 12.

Varro apud
Nonium.
Macrob.
Sat. 1. c. 16.

Year of
R O M E
466.
B. C. 286.

165th con-
sulship.

Fragmen-
tum Fast.
Capit.

Auth. de
Viris Illust.
c. 32.

Year of
R O M E
467.
B. C. 285.

166th con-
sulship.

of their tribunes] should be observed by the patricians as well as plebeians. 2. That laws should first pass the senate, and be brought afterward to the *comitia* to be there approved or rejected, and not *vice versa*. The complaint of the country people was, “that they could not get their causes heard by the judges on market-days when they came to Rome, but were obliged to leave their work, and return thither again.” This was rectified. But when these several articles of reconciliation were drawn up, and the storm began to be appeased, Hortensius died of a sudden before the expiration of his dictatorship. It being necessary therefore to create another dictator, to complete what he had begun, the consuls nominated the illustrious Fabius, who now, in an extreme old age, was president or prince of the senate. He happily finished the accommodation; and this was the last public scene in which he appeared. He died soon after. The republic had considered him in his lifetime as a prodigy of Roman valour, prudence, and virtue; and now upon his death the people contributed to the expense of his obsequies with so much emulation, that his son, with the victims offered at his funeral, gave a public entertainment to the whole city.

Fabius, while dictator, had (probably) presided in the *comitia*, when M. Valerius Potitus and C. Ælius Poëtus were chosen consuls. Their year proved barren of remarkable events; but the republic was never more happy than under their administration. The people having gained the highest pitch of their desires, thought only of enjoying the sweets of tranquillity. The balance of power leaned now rather to their side; and the patricians had no advantage over them, but in the great riches they had acquired, while they kept the ascendant, and in that respect which naturally is paid to persons of high birth.

CHAP. XXV.

SECT. I. Nothing memorable happens the next year, when C. Claudius Canina and 468.
 M. Æmilius Lepidus are consuls. But in the following consulate of C. Servilius 469.
 Tucca and L. Cæcilius Metellus, the Tarentines endeavour privately to stir up
 both old and new enemies against Rome. The Gauls, called Senones, murder some
 Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to persuade them to desist from the siege
 of Aretium in Hetruria; and they soon after give the Roman army, under the
 conduct of Cæcilius, a terrible overthrow. Curius Dentatus revenges this defeat
 by leading an army into the country of the Gauls, and laying it waste. II. The 470.
 next year the Romans, under the consuls P. Cornelius and Cn. Domitius, vanquish
 in battle the Senones, the Boii, and the Hetrurians. The Samnites revolt. In the 471.
 succeeding consulate of C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus, almost all Italy rises
 in arms against the republic. Fabricius defeats the confederate forces of the Lu-
 canians, Bruttians, and Samnites. The Romans imagine that the god Mars had
 fought in person for them. III. The Tarentines, who had not yet openly appeared The Taren-
 against Rome, fall in a hostile manner upon a Roman fleet, which chances to come tines.
 into their port. The Romans send to demand satisfaction. The Tarentines insult
 the ambassadors in the most outrageous manner, and then turn their thoughts to
 seek an alliance with Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and to invite him into Italy. [A
 short account of this prince, and the state of his affairs at this time.] IV. The
 senate of Rome having long debated, whether to begin a war immediately with the
 Tarentines, or to defer it, determine for the first, and the people confirm their de-
 cree. L. Æmilius (who, with Q. Marcius, is now in the consulate), marches an army 472.
 directly for Tarentum. The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the citizens on his
 approach. They resolve to invite Pyrrhus to their assistance. Æmilius endeavours
 to make them lay aside this design, by generously releasing some Tarentine pri-
 soners he had taken. V. Pyrrhus accepts the invitation, and sends before him to
 Tarentum the famous Cyneas with 3,000 men, who take possession of the citadel.

§. I. ROME was now not only in perfect tranquillity at home, but in a flourishing condition with respect to her affairs abroad. The Latins, Sabines, Hernici, Æqui, Marsi, and Campanians were all brought into subjection to her. The Volsci were no more a people. The terror of the Roman arms reached to Apulia, and kept it in awe. A part of Lucania on one hand, and on the other Umbria and Picenum, quite up to the frontiers of the Senones, were all either obedient to the Romans, or awed by Roman colonies near them. On the other side of the Tiber one part of Hetruria was subdued, and that which was more distant observed the truce which had been granted it. Samnium, in all appearance, was quieted; and the Gauls, both Senones and Boii, lived in peace with the republic, always ready however to fight for those who would employ them. Such was the state of Rome, when C. Claudius Canina and M. Æmilius Lepidus entered upon the consulship. Nothing memorable happened during their administration; and the

Year of
R O M E
467.
B. C. 285.

166th con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
468.
B. C. 284.

167th con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
469.
B. C. 283.

168th con-
sulship.

Zonaras,
b. 8.

fascēs were transmitted to C. Servilius Tucca and L. Cæcilius Metellus. In their year the Tarentines (formerly a colony of austere Spartans, but now sunk into idleness and vice) growing jealous of the prosperity of the Romans, and fearing an interruption in their pleasures, as much as the loss of their liberty, employed all their Grecian subtilty to stir up both old and new enemies against the republic; and this without appearing to be concerned.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 19.

Appian.
apud Fulv.
Ursinum.
Liv. Epit.
12.

Oros. b. 3.
c. 22.

Polyb. b.
2. c. 19.

Dion. apud
Fulv. Ursi-
num.

At the same time the Senones prepared to besiege Aretium, a city of Hetruria, about forty leagues from Rome, not far from the river Arno, and which was in truce with the republic. The Romans, at the request of the Aretini, raised an army to defend them; but before any act of hostility, they sent a deputation to the Senones, to persuade them to desist from their design. These proud Gauls, instead of listening to the mediation of the Romans, killed the ambassadors, and then immediately brought their troops before Aretium. The consul Cæcilius hastened to the relief of the place, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himself was killed, with seven legionary tribunes, many of the nobles, and 13,000 private men. Upon the news of this terrible defeat, Curius Dentatus (probably prætor at this time) was dispatched from Rome, at the head of some new levies, to supply the consul's place. But this able and experienced commander, instead of attacking the army of the Gauls, flushed with success, or of attempting to succour Aretium, marched along the confines of Hetruria, and entered the enemies' country, where he took ample vengeance for the murder of the Roman ambassadors. With fire and sword he laid waste and destroyed all before him, so that in a little time he reduced it to a vast desert, in which there scarce remained any appearances of its having been cultivated or inhabited; all the men that were found were put to the sword, and the women and children carried into slavery.

§. II. IN the meantime, and in the beginning of the administration of P. Cornelius Dolabella and Cn. Domitius, the republic began to feel the effects of the secret negotiations of the Tarentines. The Boii, Hetrurians, and Samnites, all declared against her at once, and she had already the army of the Senones before Aretium to deal with. These Gauls, to revenge the devastation made in their country, left the siege of that town, and were advancing straight to Rome, when Domitius met them in Hetruria, and gave them a total overthrow with great slaughter. After this Cornelius came to a pitched battle with the united Hetrurians and Boii; the troops of the former were almost all slain, and those of the latter, who escaped, being vanquished a second time, sued for peace. As for the Senones, they were so utterly destroyed, that there scarce remained any footsteps of them in Italy.

Year of
R O M E
470.
B. C. 282.

169th consulship.

Appian.
apud Fulv.
Ursinum.
Polyb. b.
2. c. 20.

In the following consulship of C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus, almost all Italy, through the secret intrigues of the Tarentines, rose up in arms against the Robbers, as the Romans were then called. On one side the remains of the Hetrurians and Boii, on the other the Lucanians and Bruttians, in conjunction with the Samnites, all conspired together for the destruction of the imperious republic. It fell to Æmilius to carry on the war in Hetruria, and to Fabricius to command in Lucania. The latter marched to the relief of Thurium, a city on the gulf of Tarentum, and besieged by the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites. He defeated this confederate army, but found it a difficult enterprise to force their camp. The means by which he succeeded in it, and which had something of the air of a miracle, was probably a stratagem of his own contriving. Whilst he seemed to be in suspense what measures to take, a young man, full of strength and vigour, wearing feathers in his helmet, appeared on a sudden in the midst of the legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the

Year of
R O M E
471.
B. C. 281.

170th consulship.

Pliny, b.
34. c. 6.
Ammian.
Mar. b. 24.
c. 15.
Val. Max.
b. 1. c. 8.

Year of
R O M E
471.
B. C. 281.

170th con-
sulship.

honour of their country, and then, seizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a shower of darts, planted his ladder against it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inspired the Romans with such intrepidity, that they soon made themselves masters of the camp: 25,000 of the enemy, with their general Statilius, were slain. After the victory, the consul ordered the young man who had first mounted the rampart to be sought for, in order to reward him; and because he was not to be found, the Romans presently imagined, that it was the god Mars himself, and returned him solemn thanks for his assistance by public supplications.

Flor. b. 1.
c. 18.
Oros. b. 4.
c. 1.

D. Hal. in
Legat.

§. III. As for the Tarentines, the real authors of this war, they had not yet openly declared against Rome. An accident at length made them throw off the mask. Valerius, one of the maritime duumvirs, or admirals of the Roman fleet, happened to come with ten ships to the mouth of their port, while they were celebrating their games in the theatre, which looked towards the harbour. The sudden appearance of the Roman ships interrupted their diversions; the Tarentines imagining that the Romans were come with hostile intentions, they all with one consent ran down to the port, fell upon the fleet with the fury of madmen, sunk one ship, and took four, the other five escaping. All the prisoners fit to bear arms were put to the sword, and the rest sold to the best bidder. Upon the news of this unexpected insult, the republic sent a deputation to Tarentum to demand satisfaction. Posthumius Megellus, who had been thrice consul, was at the head of the embassy. He was admitted to an audience in the theatre, where he harangued the assembly in Greek. The Tarentines, heated with wine, instead of listening to his discourse with that seriousness which the importance of the matter required, burst into loud laughter, or hissed him, whenever he hesitated, was incorrect in his expression, or even pro-

nounced a word with a foreign accent; but when he began to speak of reparation of wrongs, they flew into rage, called him barbarian, and, in a manner, drove him out of the assembly. Nor was this all: as he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, a buffoon named Philonides coming up to him, urined upon his robe; a new source of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude; some of them even clapped their hands for extreme joy at the outrageous insolence. Posthumius turning about to the assembly, only shewed them the skirt of his garment so defiled: but when he found that this had no effect but to increase the loudness of their contumelious mirth, “Laugh on, TARENTINES, laugh on now while you may. The time is coming, when you will weep: yes, TARENTINES, you will long weep. It is not a little blood that must wash and purify this garment.” Having thus spoken, he straight withdrew, left the city and embarked for Rome.

Year of
R O M E
471.
B. C. 281.

170th con-
sulship.

When the Tarentines came to themselves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, never to be forgiven, and at the same time on the inability of their neighbours in Italy to defend them, they concluded it absolutely necessary to look for succours from beyond sea; and they cast their eyes on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who, for personal bravery and martial skill, was renowned above all the Grecian commanders of that time.

This prince was descended from Achilles, by his son Neoptolemus (or Pyrrhus) who conquered Epirus, reigned there himself, and left the throne to his posterity. Being yet an infant at the breast, when his father Æacides was dethroned by his subjects, he was conveyed through variety of dangers into Illyricum, where Glaucias, the king of that country, took care of him, and educated him with his own children. When Pyrrhus had attained to twelve years of age, Glaucias, at the head of a great army, entered Epirus, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors; but when he was seven-

Plut. Life
of Pyrrhus,
p. 383, et
seq.

Year of
R O M E
471.
B. C. 281.

170th con-
sulship.

teen years old, the Epirots rebelling again, drove him from his kingdom, and forced him to seek refuge in the dominions of Demetrius, the husband of his sister Deidamia. Demetrius was then master of Greece and a great part of Asia. Pyrrhus served under him in his wars against Ptolemy king of Egypt, and gained great applause by his courage and conduct at the famous battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, where so many kings were present; and when a peace was made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, Pyrrhus was sent to Egypt, as one of the hostages to secure the performance of the treaty. Here he behaved himself with so much prudence and address, as to gain universal esteem and admiration; and he made his court so successfully to Berenice, the favourite queen, that she gave him in marriage Antigone, her daughter by a former husband. Having by this alliance engaged Ptolemy to assist him with money and troops, he recovered his own kingdom, after which he made himself master of Macedon; but being dispossessed of it again by Lysimachus, retired into Epirus, and was at this time in peace with all the neighbouring states. However, as he naturally loved action, and the bustle and hurry of war, the ambassadors whom the Tarentines sent to him (perhaps only to try his pulse, and observe the state of his affairs) found him in a disposition to hearken to any proposals, which would furnish him with employment worthy of his ambition.

Year of
R O M E
472.
B. C. 280.

171st con-
sulship.
D. Hal. in
Legation.

§. IV. THE Tarentines, to amuse the Romans till it could be known what might be expected from Pyrrhus, besieged Thurium, defended by a Roman garrison, and took it. This news came to Rome soon after the return of Posthumius and the other ambassadors who had been so ill treated at Tarentum. The republic had just raised L. Æmilius Barbula and Q. Marcius Philippus to the consulate. These magistrates having assembled the conscript fathers, represented to them on one hand the shameful indignity offered to their ambassadors, which

required vengeance, and, on the other, the danger of engaging in a new war, when the republic had already so many enemies to contend with: for the Hetrurians and Samnites were still in arms, and the Lucanians and Bruttians grown more confident, since the taking of Thurium. To the necessity of chastising the Tarentines, the hostilities they had committed against the republic, and the insult they had offered to Posthumius, whose robe was produced in the assembly, left no room for deliberation upon that point: the only question was concerning the proper time; and this the fathers debated from sunrising to sunset for several days together, being divided in opinion. Some were for deferring the war with the Tarentines, till the intermediate provinces should be subdued; others for beginning it immediately. The question being put to the vote, the latter opinion prevailed by a majority of voices; and the senate's decree was confirmed by the people. Hereupon, Æmilius, who had intended to make the campaign in Samnium, received orders to lay aside that expedition, and march directly to Tarentum.

The approach of the Romans made the Tarentines carry on their deliberations with a little more seriousness than formerly; and when the consul sent once again to demand satisfaction, before he began hostilities, the oldest and richest declared for peace; but the populace, who had little to lose, insisted upon a war: and what put an end to the debate was a speech of one of the common citizens, who renewed the proposal of bringing Pyrrhus into Italy, a motion highly applauded by the multitude. The wiser part of the citizens finding themselves overborne by numbers, came no more to the assemblies. Only, the day that a public decree was to pass for inviting Pyrrhus to Tarentum, and when the people were all placed in the theatre, one Meton, a sober worthy citizen, with a withered garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand (as was the manner of

Year of
R O M E
472.
B. C. 280.

171st con-
sulship.

Zon. B. 8.

Diod. in
Eclog.
Plut. Life
of Pyrrhus,
p. 390.

Year of
R O M E
472.
B. C. 280.

171st con-
sulship.

drunken debauchees), and accompanied by a woman playing on a flute, came dancing into the midst of the assembly. This silly sight was sufficient to divert the Tarentines from their most important deliberations. They made a ring, and called out to Meton to sing, and to the woman to play; but when, expecting to be entertained with a song, they were all silent, Meton assuming an air of great seriousness, "You do well, Tarentines, not to hinder those from diverting themselves who are disposed to mirth; and if you are wise, you will yourselves make advantage of the present liberty you enjoy to do the same. When Pyrrhus comes you must change your way of life; your mirth and joy will be at an end." These words made an impression upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had spoken well; but those who had some reason to fear that they should be delivered up to the Romans in case of an accommodation, being enraged at what he had said, reviled the assembly for suffering themselves to be so mocked and affronted, and crowding together, they thrust Meton out of the theatre. After this the decree was passed, and ambassadors were sent into Epirus, not only from the Tarentines, but from all the Italic Greeks, with magnificent presents for the king, and with instructions to say, that they only wanted a general of fame and experience; that as for troops, they could themselves furnish a numerous army, 20,000 horse, and 350,000 foot, Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines.

Oros. b. 4.
c. 1.
Zon. b. 8.

As soon as the news came to the Roman camp, that a deputation to Pyrrhus was decreed, Æmilius straight began hostilities, burnt and destroyed all before him, and forced the Tarentines in the field to take refuge within their walls. However, not to drive them to despair, and to induce them to lay aside the design of receiving Pyrrhus, he used some moderation, and sent back the prisoners he had taken. These highly ex-

tolled the generosity of the consul; insomuch, that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the Roman party; and they all in general began to repent of their rejecting a peace, and sending for Pyrrhus. This was evident by their choosing Agis, a friend of the Romans, to be their general, and the governor of the city.

Year of
R O M E
472.
B. C. 280.

171st con-
sulship.

§. V. IN the meanwhile the Tarentine ambassadors, pursuant to the powers they had received, made an absolute treaty with the king of Epirus. He was very ready to accept the invitation into Italy, his head being turned with the exploits of Alexander the Great in the east, which he thought to imitate by mighty conquests in the west.

Plut. Life
of Pyrrhus,
p. 391.

There was then at the court of Epirus a Thessalian, named Cyneas, a man of sound understanding, and who had been a disciple of Demosthenes. He was thought to approach nearer than any other orator of this time to the vehement and forcible eloquence of that great master. Pyrrhus usually employed him, as his ambassador to those cities with whom he had any affair to transact, and the able minister succeeded so well in these negotiations, that the king was wont to say, "He had made more conquests by the tongue of Cyneas, than by his own sword." And for this reason he not only held him in the highest esteem, but loaded him with honours, making him his chief minister and favourite.

Cyneas perceiving that Pyrrhus was eagerly bent to pass into Italy, and finding him one day at leisure, and in a humour for free conversation, thus began: "The Romans, sir, are reported to be great warriors, and to rule over many brave and warlike nations. Should God grant us, nevertheless, to vanquish them, what use shall we make of our victory?"—"The thing speaks of itself (answered Pyrrhus): the Romans once conquered, there is no city, Barbarian or Greek, in Italy, that will dare to resist us. We shall be immediately masters of

Year of
R O M E
472.
B. C. 280.

171st con-
sulship.

that whole country ; whose extent, wealth, and power, nobody is better apprised of than yourself.”—Cyneas (after a short silence), “And when we have conquered Italy, what are we to do next?”—Pyrrhus (not yet perceiving his drift), “Next ! why, there is Sicily just by. She opens her arms to receive us, a rich and populous island, and easily subdued ; for, since the death of Agathocles, the cities are all in confusion and anarchy.”—“What you say (replied Cyneas) seems very probable indeed. But is the conquest of Sicily to put an end to our expeditions?”—“No, certainly (cried the king); these successes will be only preludes to greater enterprises. Who, in such a case, could forbear passing into Afric, and to Carthage ? It is but a step thither. And when we have subdued these, what think you ? Will any of those enemies, who now give us uneasiness, have once the boldness to withstand our arms ? We shall then easily recover Macedon, and not only so, but in a little time be masters of all Greece.”—“Very true (said Cyneas), nothing can be clearer : but when we have completed all these conquests, what shall we do then ?”—Pyrrhus, smiling, “Do then ? why, then we will live at our ease, my good friend, and drink, and feast, and spend our days in agreeable conversation.”—“Ah, sir (replied the philosopher), what hinders you from immediately possessing that happiness which you propose to purchase at the expense of so much danger ?”ⁿ

ⁿ Monsieur Paschal, in his discourses of the Misery of Man, has a much admired reflection on this advice of Cyneas to Pyrrhus :—

“There is nothing more capable of letting us into the knowledge of human misery, than an inquiry after the real cause of that perpetual hurry and confusion in which we pass our lives.

“The soul is sent into the body to be the sojourner of a few days. She knows that this is but a stop till she may embark for eternity ; and that a small space is allowed her to prepare for the voyage. The main part of this space is ravished from her by the necessities of nature ; and but a slender pittance left to her own disposal : and yet this moment which remains does so strangely oppress and perplex her, that she only studies how to lose it : she feels an intolerable burden, in being obliged to live with herself, and think of herself ; and, therefore, her principal care is, to forget herself ; and to let this short and precious moment pass away without reflection, by amusing herself with things which prevent her notice of its speed.

“This is the ground of all the tumultuary business, of all the trifling diversions, amongst men ; in which our general aim is to make the time pass off our hands without

These words rather vexed the king, than diverted him from his design; for he could not part with the pleasing hopes he had entertained.

Year of
R O M E
472.
B. C. 280.

feeling it, or rather without feeling ourselves: and, by getting rid of this small portion of life, to avoid that inward disgust and bitterness, which we should not fail to meet with, if we found leisure to descend into our own breasts. For it is undeniably certain, that the soul of man is here incapable of rest and satisfaction. And this obliges her to expand herself every way, and to seek how she may lose the thoughts of her own proper being in a settled application to the things about her. Her very happiness consists in this forgetfulness; and to make her exquisitely miserable, nothing more is required but the engaging her to look into herself, and to dwell at home.

171st consulship.

“ We charge persons from their very infancy with the care of their own fortunes and honours, and no less of the estates and dignities belonging to their kindred and friends. We burden them with the study of languages, of exercise, and of arts. We enter them in business, and persuade them that they can never be truly blessed, unless by their industry and caution they in some measure secure the interest and glory of themselves, their families, and their dependents; and that unavoidable unhappiness is entailed upon the failure of any one particular in this kind. Thus we teach them to wear out their strength, and to rob themselves of their rest. A strange method (you will say) of making them happy! What could be done with more effect towards the insuring them in misery? Would you know what? Why only to release them from these cares, and to take off these burdens. For then their eyes and their thoughts must be turned inward, and that is the only hardship which they esteem insupportable. Hence, if they gain any relaxation from their labours, we find them eager to throw it away upon some sport or diversion, which takes up their whole activity, and pleasantly robs them of themselves.

“ It is for this reason, that when I have set myself to consider the various agitations of human life, the toil and danger to which we expose ourselves in the court, in the camp, in the pursuits of ambition, which give birth to so much passion and contention, to so many fatal and desperate adventures, I have often said that the universal cause of men’s misfortunes was their not being able to live quietly in a chamber. A person who has enough for the uses of this world, did he know the art of dwelling with himself, would never quit that repose and security for a voyage or a siege; nor would take so much pains to hazard his life, had he no other aim than barely to live.

“ But upon stricter examination I found, that this aversion to home, this roving and restless disposition, proceeded from a cause, no less powerful than universal; from the native unhappiness of our frail and mortal state, which is incapable of all comfort, if we have nothing to divert our thoughts and to call us out of ourselves.

“ I speak of those alone who survey their own nature, without the views of faith and religion. It is indeed one of the miracles of Christianity, that by reconciling man to God, it restores him to his own good opinion; that it makes him able to bear the sight of himself; and, in some cases, renders solitude and silence more agreeable than all the intercourse and action of mankind. Nor is it by fixing man in his own person, that it produceth these wonderful effects; it is by carrying him to God, and by supporting him under the sense of his miseries, with the hopes of an assured and complete deliverance in a better life.

“ But for those who do not act above the principles of mere nature, it is impossible they should, without falling into an incurable chagrin and discontent, undergo the lingering torment of leisure. Man, who loves nothing but his own person, hates nothing so much as to be confined to his own conversation. He seeks nothing but himself, and yet flies and avoids nothing more than himself; because when he is obliged to look within, he does not see himself as he could wish: discovering only a hidden store of inevitable miseries, and a mighty void of all real and solid good, which it is beyond his ability to replenish.

“ Let a man choose his own condition, let him embellish it with all the goods and all the satisfactions he can possess or desire; yet, if in the midst of this glory and pride he is without business, and without diversion, and has time to contemplate on his fortunes, his spirits must unavoidably sink beneath the languishing felicity. He will of necessity torment himself with the prospect of what is to come; and he that

Year of
R O M E
472.
B. C. 280.

171st con-
sulship.

To conceal his design of making himself master of Tarentum, as well as of the rest of Italy, he artfully in-

boasted to have brought home all the ingredients of happiness, must again be sent abroad, or condemned to domestic misery.

“Is majesty itself so truly great and sufficient, as to support those whom it adorns and encircles, under the bare thought of their own grandeur? Is it necessary that this thought should be here likewise diverted, as in the common herd of men? A vulgar person will be abundantly happy, if he may ease himself of his secret troubles, by applying all his care to excel in the perfection of dancing. But dare we say this of a king? Or, will he be more charmed with so vain and petty amusements, than with the contemplation of his royal dignity and estate? What nobler, what more sublime object than himself, to engage and to satisfy his spirit? Might it not seem an envious lessening of his content, to interrupt his princely thought, with the care of measuring his steps by an air of music, or of exactly ordering a ball, instead of leaving him to survey the glories of his throne, and to rejoice in the excellence of his power? Let us presume to make the experiment: let us suppose a prince in solitude, without any entertainment of sense, any engagement of mind, any relief of conversation; and we shall find that a prince with his eyes upon himself, is a man full of miseries, and who feels them with as quick and piercing a resentment as the lowest among his slaves. And, therefore, it has been a standing maxim, to banish these intruding and importunate reflections from court, and to keep about the royal person those who shall constantly purvey for the amusement of their master, by laying a train of divertisements to succeed after business, and by watching his hours of leisure, to pour in immediately a fresh supply of mirth and sport; that no vacancy may be left, in life, that is, the court abounds with men, who have a wonderful activity in taking care that his majesty should not be alone, well knowing that solitude is but another name for misery, and that the supreme pitch of worldly greatness is too nice and weak to bear the examination of a thought.

“Whence comes it to pass, that men are transported to such a degree with gaming, hunting, or other diversions, which seem to have taken an absolute possession of their souls? not because there is any real and intrinsic good to be obtained by these pursuits; not because they imagine that true happiness is to be found in the money which they win at play, or in the beast which they run down in the chase: for should you present them beforehand with both these, to save their trouble, they would be unanimous in rejecting the proposal. It is not the gentle and easy part which they are fond of, such as may give them leisure and space for thought; but it is the heat and the hurry, which divert them from the mortification of thinking.

“A man, that by gaming every day for some little stake, passeth away his life without uneasiness or melancholy, would yet be rendered unhappy, should you give him every morning the sum which he could possibly win all day, upon condition to forbear. It will be said, perhaps, that it is the amusement of the play which he seeks, and not the gain. Yet if he plays for nothing, his gaiety is over, and the spleen recovers full possession. Bare amusement, therefore, is not what he proposeth; a languishing amusement, without heat or passion, would but dispirit and fatigue him; he must be allowed to raise and chafe himself, by proposing a happiness in the gaining of that which he would despise, if given him not to venture, and by creating a fictitious object, which shall excite and employ his desire, his anger, his hope, and his fear.

“We have seen the utmost that human invention can do, in projecting for human happiness. Those who content themselves barely with demonstrating the vanity and littleness of common diversions, are indeed acquainted with one part of our miseries; for a considerable part it is to be thus capable of taking pleasure in things so base and insignificant. But they apprehend not the cause and principle which renders these miseries even necessary to us, so long as we remain uncured of that inward and natural infirmity, of not being able to bear the sight of our own condition. The hare which men buy in the market cannot screen them from this view; but the field and the chase afford an approved relief. And therefore when we reproach them with their low and ignoble aim, and observe to them how little satisfaction there is in that which they follow with so much contention and ardour, did they answer upon mature judgment they would acknowledge the equity of our censure, and would ingenuously declare, that they proposed nothing in these pursuits but the bare violence of the motion, such as might keep them strangers to the secrets of their soul; and that therefore

serted a clause in the treaty with his allies, "That when he had delivered them from their dangers, he should not be hindered from returning to Epirus." And to secure their fidelity, he detained some of their ambassadors, under pretence of wanting their assistance. After these precautions, he sent away Cyneas with 3,000 men to Tarentum. This eloquent minister soon found means to depose Agis from the government, and to get possession of the citadel.

Year of
R O M E
472.
B. C. 280.

171st con-
sulship.

Zonaras,
b. 8.
Plut. Life
of Pyrrhus.

In the meantime Æmilius, the Roman consul, finding that there was no possibility of attempting any thing

they made choice of objects, which, how worthless soever in reality, were yet of an engaging and attractive nature, and able to engross the activity of all their powers. And the reason why they do not answer in this manner, is the want of this acquaintance with their own bosom. A gentleman believes with all sincerity that there is somewhat great and noble in hunting, and will be sure to tell you that it is a royal sport. You may hear the like defence and encomium of any other exercise or employment, which men affect or pursue. They imagine that there must needs be somewhat real and solid in the objects themselves. They are persuaded, that could they but gain such a point, they should then repose themselves with content and pleasure; and are under an insensibility of the insatiable nature of this desire. They believe themselves to be heartily engaged in the attainment of rest, while they are indeed employed in nothing else but the search of continual and successive drudgery.

"Men have a secret instinct, prompting them to seek employment or recreation; which proceeds from no other cause but the sense of their inward pain, and never-ceasing torment. They have another secret instinct, a relic of their primitive nature, which assures them, that the sum of their happiness consists in ease and repose. And upon these two opposite instincts they form one confused design, lurking in the recesses of their soul, which engages them to prosecute the latter by the intervention of the former, and constantly to persuade themselves, that the satisfaction they have hitherto wanted will infallibly attend them, if by surmounting certain difficulties, which they now look in the face, they may open a safe passage to peace and tranquillity.

"Thus our life runs out. We seek rest, by encountering such particular impediments, which, if we are able to remove, the consequence is, that the rest which we have obtained becomes itself a grievance. For we are ruminating every moment either on the miseries we feel, or on those we fear. And even when we seem on all sides to be placed under shelter, the affections, which are so naturally rooted in us, fail not to regret their lost dominion, and to diffuse their melancholy poison through the soul.

"And therefore when Cyneas so gravely admonished Pyrrhus, who proposed to enjoy himself with his friends, after he should have conquered a good part of the world, that he would do much better to anticipate his own happiness, by taking immediate possession of this ease and quiet, without pursuing it through so much fatigue: the counsel he gave was indeed full of difficulty, and scarce more rational than the project of that young ambitious prince. Both the one and the other opinion supposed that which is false, that a man can rest satisfied with himself and his present possessions, without filling up the void space in his heart with imaginary expectations. Pyrrhus must inevitably have been unhappy, either without or with the conquest of the world; and perhaps that soft and peaceful life which his minister advised him to embrace was less capable of giving him satisfaction, than the heat and tumult of so many expeditions, and so many battles, which he was then forming and fighting in his mind." See *Pensees de Paschal*, c. 26. as translated by Mr. Basil Kennet.

Year of
R O M E
472.
B. C. 280.
171st con-
sulship.

with success against Tarentum in this campaign, resolved to march his army into winter-quarters in Apulia. Being obliged to pass through certain defiles, straitened by the sea on one side, and high hills on the other, he was there attacked by the Epirots and Tarentines from great numbers of barks fraught with *balistæ* (engines for throwing stones of a vast weight), and from the hills, which they had covered with archers and slingers; nevertheless, by placing between him and the enemy his Tarentine prisoners, whom they were unwilling to hurt, he preserved his legions from suffering any considerable loss. Having quartered his troops, he himself repaired to Rome, where his colleague Marcius had a triumph for some conquests he had made in Hetruria.

Fast. Capit.

CHAP. XXVI.

473.
King Pyrrhus arrives in Italy.

Garrison of Rhegium.

Fabricius.

Appius Claudius, the blind.

SECT. I. P. Valerius Lævinus and Tib. Coruncanius are chosen consuls at Rome. Pyrrhus (whose character is given) being arrived at Tarentum (after escaping shipwreck by a storm which dispersed his fleet) takes measures to turn the Tarentines from the pursuit of pleasures, to which they are entirely addicted; and he makes himself absolute master in the place. In the meantime the Romans send Fabricius to visit their colonies and allies, with whom they are fallen into some discredit, through the villanous behaviour of a legion of Campanian soldiers, which had been sent by the republic to garrison Rhegium at the request of the inhabitants, and which had massacred the citizens, and seized the city for themselves. II. Pyrrhus hearing at Tarentum that the consul Lævinus has marched an army into Lucania, takes the field. He sends a letter to the consul, encamped near Heraclea, requiring him to submit the quarrel between Rome and Tarentum to his arbitration. Lævinus, in answer, returns a defiance. Pyrrhus takes a view of the Roman camp, and admires the order of it; and his confidence of success in the war being thereby abated, he resolves to wait for the junction of his allies before he hazards a battle; but the Romans force him to fight. He gains the victory by means of his elephants. III. After this success Pyrrhus forms designs upon Capua and Naples. Disappointed in these designs, he marches towards Rome with an intention to besiege it. But hearing that the consul Coruncanius, who had subdued all Hetruria, is coming with his victorious army against him, he marches back into Campania, where Lævinus, having recruited his forces, offers him battle once more. The king declines it, and returns to Tarentum. IV. Hither Fabricius and two other senators from Rome come to treat with him concerning the ransom of prisoners. He has some private conversation with Fabricius. The king resolves to send Cyneas to Rome with proposals of peace, one of the conditions of which is to be a release of the Roman prisoners without ransom. Cyneas comes to Rome, and employs all his arts to effect his desires; but the senate, moved chiefly by a spirited speech of Appius Claudius the civilian (now blind), unanimously refuse to enter into any treaty of peace with the king, while he continues in Italy. Cyneas returns to Tarentum, full of admiration of the Romans.

§. I. THE consuls for the new year were P. Valerius Lævinus and Tib. Coruncanius, the latter not a Roman by

birth, but raised to the consulate purely for his merit. He was of Cumerium, one of the Roman municipia in Latium. It fell to him by lot to carry on the war in Hetruria, and to his colleague to conduct that against the Tarentines. Æmilius was continued in the command of his own troops in quality of proconsul, and was ordered to march against the Salentines (in Iapygia), who had declared for the Tarentines. The present exigence of affairs obliged the Romans to enlist the Proletarii. These (as has been formerly observed) were the meanest of the people, and esteemed not capable of doing the state any service, except that of peopling the city; hitherto they had never been suffered to bear arms: a wise part of Roman policy, to make it an ignominy to be excluded from serving their country in war.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

Tab. Claud.
Cæsar. apud
Lugdunen
ses.
Oros. b. 4.
c. 1.

Pyrrhus was now arrived at Tarentum, having narrowly escaped shipwreck. The Tarentines, soon after the arrival of Cyneas, had sent to the king a great number of galleys, flat-bottom vessels, and other transports, whereon to embark his forces; and he had sailed from Epirus with twenty elephants, 3,000 horse, 20,000 heavy-armed foot, 200 archers, and 500 slingers. When he was got out to sea, the wind rising suddenly at north, and blowing hard, he was driven out of his course. Nevertheless, by the great skill and diligence of the pilots and seamen, the king's ship bore with the land, and kept the Italian coast; but the rest of the fleet could not get up; some of the ships were driven into the Libyan and Sicilian seas; others, not being able to double the Cape of Iapygia, and a very boisterous sea throwing them in the night upon a rocky shore, they all suffered great damage. The Admiral, by her strength and bulk, resisted the violence of the weather; but the wind coming about, and blowing directly in her teeth from the shore, and the vessel keeping up her head against it, she was in danger of opening at every shock she sustained from the huge billows that broke over her.

Justin b.
18. c. 1.
Zon. b. 8.
Plut. Life
of Pyrrhus,
392.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

On the other hand, to be driven off again to sea in a raging tempest, and when the wind was continually shifting about, seemed the greatest of all evils. In this extremity, the vessel not being far from land, Pyrrhus without hesitation threw himself into the sea. His friends and guards instantly followed him, striving with emulation to assist and save him, which the darkness of the night, and the impetuosity of the waves, that were repelled with a roaring noise from the shore, made extremely difficult. However, by day-break, the wind being then quite laid, he got ashore, much fatigued and weakened in body, but with undaunted courage, and a strength of mind superior to the most adverse fortune. The Messapians, upon whose coast the king was cast, hastened to give him all the assistance in their power, and they also went out to meet and succour some of his vessels which were not far off, and in which were found a few horse, two elephants, and about 2,000 foot. Pyrrhus having drawn these together, marched with them directly towards Tarentum. Cyneas, upon the news of the king's approach, led out his troops to meet him, and conducted him into the city, where he was received with the acclamations of the people.

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
387.

Pyrrhus (as we learn from Plutarch) had in his countenance a majesty that was rather terrible than august. In a day of battle he was thought to resemble Alexander in look, agility, impetuosity, and strength of arm. His consummate knowledge in the art of war appeared even from the books he wrote upon that subject. Antigonus being asked, "Who was the greatest captain of that time?" answered, "Pyrrhus, if he lives to be old:" but Hannibal afterward, speaking of great commanders in general, gave Pyrrhus the first place^o in the whole list. War was indeed his only study, and the only science he thought worthy of a prince. Nevertheless, he had a

^o Plutarch in his *Life of Flaminius*, makes Hannibal give Alexander the first place, and Pyrrhus the second.

great share of humanity in his natural temper, was affable and familiar to his friends, not easily provoked to anger, and the most ardent of all men living to requite obligations. For which reason, when *Æropus* died, who had done him important services, he could not bear it with any moderation: “Not because his friend had paid the indispensable tribute to nature (to die, he said, was common to all), but because he himself, by delays, had lost the opportunity of requiting the kindnesses he had received from him:” for, as *Plutarch* adds, though money-debts may be discharged by payment to the heirs of the creditor when he is dead, a debt of kindness can never be satisfied but by a return of kindness to the friend himself: and, if he dies unrequited, it will always be a pungent grief to the person obliged, if he have a good and honest heart.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

His chief faults were boundless ambition, and a strange inconstancy in the pursuit of its objects. Fond of a new enterprise, he was always ready to quit it, how successfully soever begun, the moment that a newer presented itself to his imagination. Whatever, says *Plutarch*, he acquired by his exploits, he lost by his vain hopes; his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained would not let him secure what he had already won; which made *Antigonus* compare him to a man at dice, who has admirable fortune, but plays ill.

In *Pyrrh.*
p. 400.

While *Pyrrhus* was waiting for the arrival of his scattered forces, he observed the dispositions of the *Tarentines*, and was surprised to see how their minds were entirely bent to pleasures, in which they thought to indulge themselves, as usual, while he and his *Epirots* were to fight in their defence. To remedy this mischief, which must otherwise naturally end in the ruin of themselves and their defenders, he, as soon as his troops had joined him, shut up the public gardens and walks, where the inhabitants used to meet to talk of news and politics; he forbade public feasting, plays, and masque-

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
392.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

Val. Max.
b. 5. c. 1.

Zonaras, b.
8.

Dion. apud
Fulv. Ursi-
num.

rades, and incorporated the best-bodied men of the people in his phalanxes. The effeminate Tarentines groaned under these wholesome regulations, in the execution of which the king was very rigorous. They found they had got a master instead of an ally; many of them, rather than endure such strict discipline, withdrew from the city, while others expressed their discontent by secret murmurs and loud complaints. Pyrrhus had his spies in the city, who insinuated themselves into all companies, and brought him an account of the discourses of the malecontents. One day some young debauchees, heated with wine, gave their tongues an unbounded liberty in talking against the king's measures. Pyrrhus being informed of it, ordered them to be brought before him: "Is it true," said he, "that you have uttered against me those outrageous things you are accused of?"—"It is very true," answered one of them; "and we should have said more, if our wine had not failed us." Pyrrhus smiled, and dismissed them.

But (if we may believe Zonaras) he was not so moderate with regard to some of the citizens, whose intrigues he suspected and feared; he caused the most factious of them to be dispatched by private assassinations. To get rid of one Aristarchus, a great orator, and much in credit with the people, he commissioned him to go to his son in Epirus, on some business which he pretended to be of great importance. Aristarchus saw through the artifice; and, the master of the vessel in which he was to sail being at his devotion, instead of going to Greece, he steered to a port of Italy, and went thence to Rome.

What advice he gave the Romans is uncertain: but Fabricius was dispatched away to visit the colonies and allies of the republic. Nor was the precaution unnecessary at a time when a prince, so illustrious for his exploits in the east, undertook to deliver the Italians from the domination of the republic.

An extraordinary event, which had happened a little

before, had also given the Romans much uneasiness, and brought a great discredit on them in their colonies and among their allies. While Pyrrhus was coming to Tarentum, and the Carthaginians infested all the coasts of the Ionian sea, the inhabitants of Rhegium, situated in the southern extremity of Italy, near Sicily, applied to the republic for a Roman garrison to defend them from an invasion. A legion was raised in Campania for that purpose, and sent to them under the command of one Decius Jubellus. These soldiers, who had been used to a laborious life, began soon to envy the inhabitants the pleasures and ease in which they lived, and it was not long before they formed and executed a scheme to make those advantages their own. They forged letters from the Rhegians to Pyrrhus, importing an offer to put the place into his hands; and under this pretext, they massacred all the chief men of the place at a banquet, and then fell upon the rest, whom they either put to the sword or drove out of the city. As for the women, they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and husbands. This news was brought to Rome at the time when the circumstances of the republic would not allow the Romans to take vengeance on the perfidious legion.

§. II. PYRRHUS hearing at Tarentum, that the consul Lævinus was come with an army into Lucania, a province in alliance with the Tarentines, and was committing hostilities there, thought it shameful to continue longer shut up within walls; and though he had not received any reinforcements from the Samnites and Messapians, or other allies of the Tarentines, he took the field. But first he wrote the following letter to Lævinus: “Pyrrhus to Lævinus, health. I am in-

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b.
1. c. 7.
Liv. Epit.
11.

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
392.

Zon. b. 8.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

Plut. Life
of Pyrrhus,
p. 393.

and I know how to make my sentence be obeyed." To this Lævinus answered: "Know, Pyrrhus, that we neither admit you for a judge, nor fear you as an enemy. Does it become you to assume the character of a judge over us, you who have yourself injured us by landing in Italy without our consent? We will have no arbitrator but Mars, the author of our race, and the protector of our arms." The king, who expected no other kind of answer, marched his army, without delay, into the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and understanding that the Romans were encamped not far from him, on the other side the Siris (a river which waters the country then called Lucania, and which empties itself into the gulf of Tarentum), he rode up to the banks of it to take a view of their camp. When he had considered it well, its form and situation, with the manner in which the Romans posted their advanced guards; and had observed some other parts of their discipline, he was much surprised, and turning to one of his friends who stood near him, "Megacles," said he, "this order of the Barbarians is not barbarian. What they are able to do in fight we shall see hereafter." And being now a little more anxious about the success of the war than before, he resolved to wait within his camp for the arrival of his confederates; and he posted some troops on the banks of the river to hinder the Romans from passing it. Lævinus nevertheless, knowing of what consequence it was to come to an engagement with the Epirot before he could receive the reinforcements he expected, and having exhorted his troops not to be intimidated by the reputation of Pyrrhus, or by his elephants (animals which they had never yet seen), made his infantry ford the stream in the very face of the enemy's advanced guard, while his cavalry passed the river in different places, and wherever they could; so that the Epirots, fearing to be surrounded, retired in all haste to their main body. Pyrrhus, upon the first no-

tice of this motion, which much surprised him, directing the officers of his infantry to range their troops in battalia, and keep them ready to march upon the first signal, he himself, with the horse, amounting to about 3,000, advanced with all diligence to charge the Romans, before their whole army could recover firm footing, and get into order. But the Roman cavalry being already formed, received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious attacks. The beauty and lustre of the king's arms made him very conspicuous, and his actions presently convinced all who observed him, that his reputation did not exceed his merit; for in this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duties of a careful general, nor his attention to direct others hinder him from displaying his personal valour.

During the heat of the combat, Leonatus, a Macedonian, observing that an Italian horseman had singled out the king, whose every motion he watched and followed, gave Pyrrhus notice of it, advising him to beware of that Barbarian, who, he said, seemed to have formed some great design. Pyrrhus answered: "No man, Leonatus, can avoid his destiny; be assured, however, that neither that Italian, nor any other, shall have much satisfaction from an encounter with me this day." He had scarce ended these words, when the Italian, quickening his horse, and making directly at the king, aimed a furious stroke at him with his lance, but wounded only his horse; Leonatus, at the same time, wounded that of the Italian, and both horses fell to the ground with their riders. Pyrrhus was instantly surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, having slain the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus to be more cautious. Seeing his cavalry shrink, he ordered his infantry to advance; but before he put himself at their head to renew the charge, he gave his mantle and arms to Megacles, in exchange for his. The battle was obstinately fought

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.
172d consulship.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

on both sides, and the victory continued a long time doubtful. The king's changing his arms (though prudently done for the safety of his person), had like to have lost him the day: for Megacles, being mistaken for the king, was attacked by great numbers of the enemy, and at last wounded and unhorsed by a Roman knight, who pulling away his helmet and mantle, rode full speed with them to Lævinus, crying out, that he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being carried as in triumph through all the ranks, filled the Roman army with inexpressible joy, so that the air rung with shouts of victory; while the Grecian troops were struck with consternation and dismay.

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
394.

The king no sooner perceived the ill effect of this mistake, but with all diligence he flew along the lines bareheaded, stretching out his hands to his soldiers, and by his voice confirming the evidence of their eyes. The combat was then renewed, and Pyrrhus, bringing his elephants into the wings, quickly obtained the victory. For the Roman battalions seeing their cavalry put to rout by those huge animals, whose unusual form, noises, and smell, terrified the horses, and finding themselves both charged in flank, and overborne by the force and bulk of those strange beasts, gave way to necessity, and saved themselves as well as they could by hasty flight: nor did they stop to defend their camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both that and the honour of the day entirely to Pyrrhus.

Dion. apud
Plutarch.

Dionysius writes, that near 15,000 Romans were slain in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost 13,000 of his men. But other authors lessen the loss on both sides. The king treated the prisoners, amounting to about 1,800, with all possible humanity, and esteemed them the more for refusing to enlist themselves in his service.

The fame of this victory was soon spread over all Italy, much to the reputation of Pyrrhus; for it was a rare thing, that a Roman consul, with a select army,

should lose in a pitched battle not only the field, but the camp itself. And this honour was the more bravely won by the Epirot, as he had none of his Italian allies to assist him, except the unwarlike Tarentines. Neither could he well dissemble his content in having the glory of this action so peculiarly his own. His satisfaction was visible in his face, even while he was severely reprimanding the Lucanians and Samnites (who joined him soon after the battle) for their tardiness. To attach them the more firmly to him, he gave them a share of the booty.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

Plut. in
Pyrrh.
p. 394.
Zon. b. 8.

§. III. BUT now the king of Epirus, with his victorious army, broke like a torrent into the countries in alliance with the republic, and many cities surrendering to him, he advanced within thirty miles of Rome.^p Zonaras relates, that the king, being disappointed in his designs upon Capua and Naples, thought to march into Hetruria, join the enemies of the Roman republic in that country, and thence go and besiege Rome; but that hearing there was an alliance just concluded between the Hetrurians and Romans, and that the consul Coruncanius, who by a successful campaign had effected that alliance, was advancing against him, he proceeded no farther in his march. It appears, indeed, by the Capitoline marbles, that Tib. Coruncanius had a triumph for his victories this year over the Volsinienses and Volcientes in Hetruria. And it is not improbable that these victories completed the reduction of that country. Be that as it will, it is certain that Pyrrhus returned to Tarentum.

The Romans, notwithstanding the great loss they had sustained, were not so dejected as to have any thought of asking peace from the victor; nor, though Fabricius said publicly, “that the Epirots had not vanquished the Romans, but that Pyrrhus had vanquished Lævinus,”

^p Florus (b. 1. c. 18.) in his poetic strain tells us, that Pyrrhus from a hill near Præneste took a view of Rome, and filled the eyes of the trembling inhabitants with smoke and dust at twenty miles distance, “a vicesimo lapide oculos trepidæ civitatis fumo ac pulvere implevit.”

Year of
R O M E
473.

B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

Zonaras,
b. 8.

Florus, b. 1.

Zonaras,
b. 8.

did they recall the unfortunate consul: their whole attention was to recruit his army, and enable him to try a second engagement. Pyrrhus, in his return to Tarentum, found him in Campania, with a more numerous army than that which he had vanquished on the banks of the Siris; and hereupon he is said to have cried out, "I see plainly I was born under the star of Hercules; I have to do with an Hydra, whose heads are no sooner lopped off, but new ones spring up from its blood." The consul offered him battle; Pyrrhus, unwilling to refuse it, drew up his army, and commanded the conductors of his elephants to force them to make their strange and dreadful noises, in order to frighten the Roman legions; but these noises were answered by so universal and terrible a shout from the Romans, that the king, who found his soldiers dismayed, thought fit to decline the engagement, pretending that the omens were not favourable; and the consul not forcing him to fight, he pursued his march to Tarentum.

§. IV. WHILE Pyrrhus continued quiet in this city, he had time to reflect on the bravery, conduct, and strength of the Romans. He considered that they were better able to endure many such losses as they had suffered, than he many such victories as he had won. And he concluded therefore, that the only means to save his reputation was an honourable peace. He was full of these reflections when, to his inexpressible joy, he heard that an embassy was coming^a to him from the senate;

^a Authors are not agreed concerning the time of this embassy, whether it was after Cyneas had been to Rome or before. Plutarch (whom Mr. Rollin follows) makes it posterior to Cyneas's journey thither; and Dionysius seems to do the same. But, if we consider the haughty manner in which Cyneas was dismissed by the senate with an absolute refusal of entering into any treaty with the king while he continued in Italy, at least it is very unlikely that Fabricius, after such a refusal, should apply himself to Pyrrhus in the manner Dionysius represents, preaching about the inconstancy of fortune, and as if he was asking a favour. He is made to speak more like an ambassador from a people who sued for peace, than from the proud Roman senate, who rejected it even upon reasonable terms. Hannibal, indeed, before the battle of Zama, talks much to Scipio of the mutability of fortune, and the vicissitudes of war; but this was in order to dispose him to grant peace to the Carthaginians, whom he reduced to extremity.

Flor. Epit.
and Zon.]
b. 8.

Neither can I see what there was unbecoming in Fabricius's proposal, even upon the supposition that the Romans had rejected a peace offered. A release of prisoners

he pleased himself with the imagination, that it was to ask that peace, which he himself so much desired. But when the three Roman ambassadors, Cornelius Dolabella, Fabricius, and Æmilius Papus, after a splendid reception, were admitted to an audience, they proposed nothing more than a release of the Roman prisoners, either by way of exchange, or for such a ransom per head, as should be agreed upon. Pyrrhus, after a moment's silence, answered, "that he would consider of the matter, and let them know his resolution." Accordingly he assembled his council; and there Cyneas, who knew his master's inclination, proposed that an embassy should be immediately sent to Rome to negotiate a peace, of which one of the conditions should be the release of the Roman prisoners without ransom. The rest of the council declared themselves of the same opinion, and the king gave the Romans an answer conformable to it.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

Dion. Hal.
in Legat.
Zon. b. 8.

Pyrrhus after this desired a private conference with Fabricius, who, he had heard, was the man most esteemed, for his virtue, of any in the republic, a brave and able warrior, and very poor. The king taking him apart, told him, "he had been informed of his distinguished merit, and of his poverty, so unsuitable to it; that he thought a prince could never employ his wealth and power to a nobler purpose, than that of raising the fortune of an indigent great man; and that for this reason he had resolved to bestow such riches upon him, as should put him, at least, upon an equality with the most opulent nobles of Rome." The king added; "Nor yet imagine, Fabricius, that my intention is to ask any thing, in return, that can be inconsistent with the regard you owe your country. I demand nothing but your aid in negotiating the peace which I am desirous to conclude with the Roman senate. You know very well that I

Dion. Hal.
in Legat.

by way of ransom or exchange, is what surely without any indecency may be proposed to an enemy, notwithstanding that a peace has been refused to that enemy upon his terms. Yet Dionysius makes Pyrrhus reprove the ambassadors as guilty herein of an unworthy proceeding.—*Σχέτλιόν τι πρᾶγμα ποιεῖτε, &c.*—D. Hal. in Legat. p. 711. Dr. Huds. edit. See D. Hal. in Legat.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

cannot with honour abandon the Tarentines, and the other Greeks who are settled in this part of Italy, before I have secured to them a peace with Rome upon equitable terms. Some pressing affairs call me back into my own country, and this makes me the more solicitous to finish our war by an amicable treaty. If my being a KING^r renders me suspected by the senate, because other princes have made no scruple to violate the faith of treaties, be you yourself my security. When the peace is made, come and assist me with your counsels; I will undertake nothing without your advice; you shall be my chief minister, my lieutenant in the field, nay, a sharer with me in all that I possess. I have need of an honest man, and a faithful friend, and you have need of a generous prince, a prince, whose munificence may enable you to make your virtues and your talents for great affairs more conspicuous, and more useful; let us therefore mutually contribute to each other's happiness."

Plut. in
Pyrrh.

^r The Greek historians seldom lose any occasion of letting us know their unfavourable opinion of kings. Plutarch, speaking of this very Pyrrhus, says, "Kings have no reason to complain when inferior men change sides, and violate faith for private advantage, seeing, in this, they do but imitate them who are the great masters in perfidy and treachery; and whose maxim is, That no man pursues his own interest with so much prudence, as he who has no regard to justice."

And Polybius (l. 2. p. 202.) reproves the folly of Phylarchus, an historian, who, in giving an account of the miserable end of Aristomachus, king of Argos, whom (as he pretends) the Achaians had put to death by torture, endeavours to heighten the glory of the sufferer, and excite the greater indignation against his persecutors, by saying, "that Aristomachus was not only an absolute prince, but descended from ancestors, who had been absolute princes." "What more bitter accusation (says Polybius) could any one easily have brought against him? What charge heavier with crimes could he have loaded him with? For surely this name of *absolute prince* expresses the very height of impiety; it imports all the kinds of injustice and wickedness that can be committed by man." Καίπερ ὁ συγγραφεὺς βουλόμενος αὐξεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν καὶ παραστήσασθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συναγανακτεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαθεν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν φησι γεγονέναι τύραννον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τυράννων πεφυκέναι. ταύτης δὲ μείζων κατηγορίαν τὴν πικροτέραν οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ῥαδίως δύναιτ' οὐδεὶς. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦνομα περιέχει τὴν ἀσεβεστάτην ἔμφασιν, καὶ πάσας περιείληφε τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας.

The reader observes, that the word which, in this passage of Polybius, has been translated *absolute prince*, is τύραννος [*tyrant*], an appellation frequently used by the ancients to signify only a prince with absolute and perpetual power; in which sense it is used by Phylarchus on the present occasion. We cannot possibly suppose him so very unskilled in the pathetic, as to endeavour at exciting either indignation or pity for the sufferings of Aristomachus, by telling us, that he not only was a tyrant himself, but descended from ancestors who had been as great tyrants as he.

Cornelius Nepos, speaking of Miltiades, has these words;—"Chersonesi omnes illos quos habitarat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed justus. Non erat enim vi consequutus, sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinuerat. Omnes autem et habentur, et dicuntur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate usa est."

Fabricius answered in words to this effect:—"You have, indeed, been rightly informed concerning my poverty. My whole estate consists in a house but of mean appearance, and a little spot of ground, from which, by my own labour, I draw my support. But if, by any means, you have been persuaded to think, that this poverty makes me less considered in my country, or in any degree unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no reason to complain of fortune. She supplies me with all that nature requires, and if I am without superfluities, I am also free from the desire of them. With these, I confess, I should be more able to succour the necessitous, the only advantage for which the wealthy are to be envied; but as small as my possessions are, I can still contribute something to the support of the state, and the assistance of my friends. With regard to honours, my country places me, poor as I am, upon a level with the richest: for Rome knows no qualifications for great employments, but virtue and ability. She appoints me to officiate in the most august ceremonies of religion: she entrusts me with the command of her armies: she confides to my care the most important negotiations: my poverty does not lessen the weight and influence of my counsels in the senate: the Roman people honour me for that very poverty which you consider as a disgrace: they know the many opportunities I have had, in war, to enrich myself without incurring censure: they are convinced of my disinterested zeal for their prosperity; and, if I have any thing to complain of in the return they make me, it is only the excess of their applause. What value then can I set upon your gold and silver? What king can add any thing to my fortune? Always attentive to discharge the duties incumbent on me, I have A MIND FREE FROM SELF-REPROACH, and I have an HONEST FAME."

The king, perceiving by this answer that Fabricius absolutely refused his offers, pressed him no farther.

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
395.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

The next day, knowing that he had never seen an elephant, and being desirous to try whether he could surprise and discompose him, he commanded the largest he had of those animals to be armed, and led to the place where he intended to converse with the ambassador. The beast was to stand concealed behind some hangings till a sign should be made for his appearance. The king's order being punctually executed, the signal was given, the hangings were suddenly drawn aside, and the enormous animal, stretching out his trunk over the head of the Roman, made a most terrifying noise. Fabricius betrayed not the least emotion, but, turning towards Pyrrhus, said with a smile, "Neither your gold yesterday, nor your great beast to-day, has made any impression upon me."

While they were sitting at table in the evening, discoursing of various subjects, but especially of Greece, and the philosophers of that country, Cyneas happened to mention Epicurus; and he began to relate the principles of the Epicurean doctrine; "That the divinity, far removed from love and hatred, compassion and anger, and wholly regardless of humankind, lived through all ages, without action, and without providence, totally absorpt in an uninterrupted flow of delights. That pleasure was also the sovereign good of man; and that, for this reason, all public employments, all solicitude for the public weal, should be carefully shunned by the wise, as inconsistent with a life of happiness." Cyneas was going on, when, with a loud voice, "O Hercules (cried Fabricius), may Pyrrhus and the Tarentines be heartily of this sect, while they are at war with us!" The king, greatly admiring the wisdom and virtue of the Roman, became more desirous than ever to conclude an alliance with his republic. He therefore, once more, took him apart, and warmly pressed him to employ his endeavours for a speedy accommodation, earnestly requesting of him, at the same time, that, as soon as the peace should

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
396.

be made, he would come and live at his court, where he promised him the first place among all his friends and captains. Fabricius answered in a kind of whisper, “You do not consider, Sir, your own interest in what you propose; for if those who now honour and admire you, come once to have experience of me, they will choose rather to have me for their king than you.” Pyrrhus was not in the least offended with this answer, but to his friends highly commended the exalted soul of the Roman; upon whose single parole he also suffered the prisoners to go to Rome to celebrate the festival of the Saturnalia.^s

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

And now Pyrrhus, having resolved to send Cyneas to negotiate a peace with the Roman senate, instructed him, if we may believe Plutarch, to ask nothing of the Romans but their friendship,^t and a sufficient security for the Tarentines. Upon which conditions he offered to cease all hostilities, release the captives, and assist the republic in the conquest of Italy.

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
394.

Together with these instructions, Pyrrhus furnished his ambassador with magnificent presents for those persons whose assistance would be necessary to compass what he desired; nor did he forget rare and precious toys for the Roman ladies, by whose means he hoped to smooth the rugged spirit of their husbands in his favour. Some authors report, that Cyneas found both men and women so steady and uncorrupt, that not one of either

Just. Plat.
et Flor.

^s The senate (according to Plutarch), careful of Fabricius's honour and their own, commanded every prisoner upon pain of death to return to Pyrrhus, as soon as the festival should be over.

With respect to this affair there is a great diversity in the accounts of Plutarch, Justin, Florus, and Zonaras. Some say the prisoners were absolutely released, and that the senate, to punish them as cowards, would not suffer them to serve again in the field, but sent them to garrison towns.

^t Other writers make his demands to be more extensive, and say, that he required in favour of all the Greek cities in Italy, the enjoyment of their laws and liberty; (Appian. apud Fulv. Ursin.)—and farther, that the republic should restore to the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, whatever she had conquered from them. These demands, if they were made, may well account for the warm indignation which Appian Claudius the blind expressed, as we shall presently find, at the senate's listening to Pyrrhus's minister. But then it will be difficult to reconcile them with the offer which Pyrrhus at the same time made the Romans, to assist them in the conquest of Italy. The Jesuits, aware of this inconvenience, have made Cyneas speak only of the west of Italy.

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
394.

sex would receive any of his presents : but Zonaras affirms, that many even of the senators were gained by the liberality of Pyrrhus. Be that as it will, it is certain, that after Cyneas had had his audience in the senate, several of the conscript fathers discovered a strong inclination to accept the peace proposed, assigning for reasons the battle they had already lost, the hazard they were in of losing another (Pyrrhus's strength being now greatly augmented by the junction of his Italian allies), and the fatal consequences that might attend a second overthrow. A rumour of this disposition in the senate being spread through the city, came to the ears of Appius Claudius. He had for some time, on account of his great age and the loss of his sight, retired from all public business,^u and confined himself wholly to his family. Upon hearing the report of what passed in the senate, he caused himself to be carried in the arms of his domestics to the door of the senate-house. There his sons and his sons-in-law met him, and led him into the assembly, which was hushed into a profound silence the moment he appeared. The venerable old man was hardly entered when he thus began :

“Hitherto, Romans, I have borne the loss of my sight with weariness and impatience ; but my great affliction now is, that I am only blind, and that I am not deaf too ; that I am able to hear of those shameful resolutions you are taking, and of that infamous treaty, which is to extinguish the glory of the Roman name. What then is become of all those brave discourses, those lofty, sounding words, with which you are wont to make all places ring, ‘ That if Alexander had come into Italy when we were young, and our fathers in the vigour of their age ; that if the great Alexander had dared to contend in arms with us, he would not now be styled THE INVINCIBLE,

^u This Appius Claudius had been quæstor in the year of Rome 435 ; curule ædile in 438 ; and, a second time, in 440 ; censor in 441 ; consul in 446 ; prætor in 448 ; consul, a second time, in 457 ; prætor, a second time, in 458 ; dictator in 461 (according to Pighius).

but by his death or flight have added new lustre to the Roman glory ?' An idle tale ! vain and empty boasting ! Heroes indeed ! you, that are afraid of the Chaonians* and Molossians, ever the prey of the Macedonians ! you, that are trembling at the name of Pyrrhus, an assiduous humble courtier of one of Alexander's life-guards ! a vagabond in Italy, come hither not so much to succour the Italic Greeks, as to seek a shelter from his enemies at home ! And yet this mighty man, this Pyrrhus, it seems, is to conquer Italy ; he is to subdue all Italy to us with those very forces that were not able to preserve to him a small portion of Macedonia ! No, Romans, suffer not his arrogance to escape unpunished ; if you condescend to treat with him, your glory is at an end ; Pyrrhus will himself despise you ; his allies will insult you as a nation easy to be terrified ; and one dishonourable peace will involve you in a hundred wars."

Year of
R O M E
473.
B. C. 279.

172d con-
sulship.

* People of
Epirus.

Appius, by these and some other words to the like effect, so awakened the Roman spirit in the senators, that without farther debate they unanimously passed a decree, instantly to dismiss the ambassador with this answer, " That the Romans would enter into no treaty with king Pyrrhus so long as he continued in Italy ; but with all their strength would pursue the war against him, though he should vanquish a thousand Lævinuses."

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
395.

Cyneas left Rome the same day, and returned to Tarentum. It is said, that when Pyrrhus asked him his opinion of the Roman city and senate, he answered, that " Rome was a temple, and the senate an assembly of kings." His account of what he had observed greatly increased the king's admiration of the Romans ; but finding that there was no hope of peace, he made all possible preparations for the next campaign.

Flor. b. 1.
c. 18.

CHAP. XXVII.

474.

SECT. I. The next year the Romans, under the conduct of their new consuls, P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus, come to a second battle with king Pyrrhus, near Asculum in Apulia. The circumstances and event of this action are not well known. Pyrrhus retires to Tarentum, and the consuls into winter-quarters. II.

475.

The year following, when C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus (both a second time) are consuls, the Carthaginians send a fleet to the assistance of the Romans against Pyrrhus, who, they fear, will invade their dominions in Sicily, if he should conclude a peace with the Romans. (He had been invited thither by the Sicilians.) The senate refuse the assistance offered, yet enter into a treaty with Carthage. III. The Romans and Epirots having again taken the field, and the two armies lying in sight of each other in the territory of Tarentum, the consuls send a letter to the king, giving him notice of the treachery of his physician, who had offered to poison him for a reward. Pyrrhus in return for their generosity, releases the Roman prisoners, and once more sends Cyneas to Rome with proposals of peace, but to no effect. IV. Pyrrhus, leaving a garrison in Tarentum, passes with his army into Sicily.

Pyrrhus
goes into
Sicily.

Year of
R O M E
474.

B. C. 278.

173d con-
sulship.

Zon. b. 8.

§. I. IN the meantime the republic chose new consuls, P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus (whose father and grandfather were both famous for their devotements). The two generals joined their armies, and marched together into Apulia, where they found Pyrrhus encamped near a little town called Asculum, and where they intrenched themselves in a plain at the foot of the Apennines. This plain was divided by a large deep stream, which likewise separated the two camps. For some time the Romans and Epirots seemed to stand in awe of each other. The latter had entertained the foolish belief, that the Decii transmitted from father to son some unaccountable art of necromancy, by which they secured the victory to their side, whenever they lost their lives in battle. Pyrrhus endeavoured to destroy this dangerous prepossession among his soldiers; and not only so, but he sent a message to Decius, “That if he attempted to devote himself, he would find the Epirots upon their guard, who would take him alive, and make him suffer the most cruel kind of death after the battle.” To this message the consuls returned the following answer: “Pyrrhus is not formidable enough to reduce us to devotements. To shew how little we fear him, we offer him his choice: let him pass the river unmolested, or suffer us to do so, and we shall then see

which of us has the more need of extraordinary methods to gain the victory." Pyrrhus chose to let the Romans pass the river. The historians are not agreed concerning the circumstances of the battle of Asculum, nor the success of it, and some make two battles of it. The Romans had prepared against the elephants armed chariots filled with soldiers, who were to throw firebrands and other combustible matter against those huge beasts and the towers on their backs. It is certain, that Pyrrhus was dangerously wounded in the action, and that the consul Decius lost his life; but whether in fighting, or by a voluntary devotement, in imitation of his father and grandfather, as Cicero thinks, is not known. Fifteen thousand men, including the loss on both sides, were left dead upon the field. Pyrrhus, after the battle, making a march unperceived by the Romans, retired to Tarentum; whereupon the consul Sulpicius led his troops into winter-quarters in Apulia.

Year of
R O M E
474.
B. C. 278.

173d con-
sulship.

Cicero, in
Tusc. b. 1.
c. 37.
Zon. b. 8.

§. II. AND now the republic placed at the helm of her government two men of the most distinguished merit, C. Fabricius* and Q. Æmilius Papus.† The Carthaginians at this time sent Mago with a fleet of 120 sail to assist the Romans against Pyrrhus, who, they heard, would make a descent upon Sicily, after he had forced the Roman republic into a peace; for the Syracusians had invited him thither to protect them against the tyranny of the Carthaginians, who not long before had invaded their country. Mago coming to Rome, told the senate, "That the Carthaginians, full of concern to see the Romans attacked by king Pyrrhus, had sent a fleet to their assistance, that in a war with a foreign power they might have foreign aid." The fathers returned a compliment of thanks for the kind offer, but would by no means accept it. However, they entered into a new treaty with the Carthaginians, in which it was stipulated, that the Romans should furnish troops to assist the Carthaginian republic, in case Pyrrhus attacked it; and that

Year of
R O M E
475.
B. C. 277.

174th con-
sulship.

Justin, b.
8. c. 2.

* A second
time.

† A second
time.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 25.
Liv. Epit.
13.

Year of
R O M E
475.

B.C. 277.

174th con-
sulship.

Justin, b.
18. c. 2.

Diod. in
Eellog. b.
22.

Plut. Life
of Pyrrh.
p. 396.

Eutropius,
b. 2. c. 14.

the Carthaginians should assist the Romans, when desired, with their fleet. After this Mago sailed to Tarentum, where he had a conference with the king of Epirus. Finding that his intention was to pass very soon into Sicily, he, in order to prevent it, sailed with his fleet into the straits between that island and Italy, under pretence of besieging Rhegium. This obliged Pyrrhus to continue at Tarentum, and carry on the war for some time longer against the Romans.

§. III. WHEN the spring was sufficiently advanced, the consuls marched their troops into the territory of Tarentum, and Pyrrhus came and encamped within sight of them; but the high opinion he had of Fabricius made him avoid a battle. While the two armies were watching each other, Fabricius^x received a letter from Nicias, the king's principal physician, offering to take off his master by poison, and so end the war without farther hazard to the Romans, provided he might have a reward proportionable to the greatness of his service. Fabricius detesting the villany of the physician, and finding his colleague of the same sentiment, they immediately dispatched the following letter to the king: "C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius, consuls, to king Pyrrhus, health. You have made an unhappy choice both of your friends and of your enemies. When you have read the letter sent us by one of your own people, you will see that you make war with good and honest men, while you trust and promote villains. We give you this notice of your danger, not for your sake, nor to make our court to you, but to avoid the calumny which might be brought upon us by your death, as if, for want of strength or courage to overcome you, we had recourse to treachery." Pyrrhus, upon receipt of this letter, is said to have cried out, "This is that Fabricius, whom it is harder to turn aside from the ways of justice and honour, than to divert

^x This story is differently related by the historians, as to the circumstances, but they all agree in the substance.

the sun from its course ;” and in acknowledgment of the benefit, he immediately set all the Roman prisoners free without ransom. Rome was, however, too generous to accept a present from an enemy, much less a reward for not consenting to an execrable deed. In return, therefore, she released an equal number of Samnite and Tarentine prisoners. But though Pyrrhus, more ardent than ever for a peace, dispatched Cyneas once more to Rome, to try the force of his eloquence and presents, this able minister had no better success than before ; the senators were steady in their resolution to enter into no treaty with the king, till he had withdrawn his troops out of Italy.

Year of
R O M E
475.
B. C. 277.

174th con-
sulship.

Plut. in
Pyrrhus,
p. 396.

§. IV. It has been already said, that the Syracusians had invited Pyrrhus into their island to assist them against the Carthaginians. The king laid hold of this pretext to quit the war against the Romans, in which he had now but little hope of success, having in the last action lost his best troops and his bravest commanders. Besides, the Sicilian expedition was a new enterprise, and therefore very agreeable to the natural inconstancy of his spirit. But just at this time he received intelligence, that Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Macedon, was dead, and that the Macedonians wanted a king to guard them against an inundation of barbarians. This news kept him some time in suspense, and he pleasantly complained of fortune for loading him with too many favours at once. Macedon had formerly been in his possession, and he wished to be master of it again ; but as Sicily would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory, he determined at length for that expedition. In consequence of this resolution, he sent his faithful Cyneas before him to treat with the cities there, and give them assurances of his speedy arrival. Not long after, leaving in Tarentum, under the command of Milo, a strong garrison, sufficient to keep the much-discontented inhabitants in subjection,

Plut. p.
397.

Zon. b. 8.

Year of
R O M E
475.
B. C. 277.
174th con-
sulship.

he set sail from thence with 30,000 foot and 2,500 horse, on board a fleet of 200 ships. His departure proved fatal to the enemies of Rome. Fabricius fell upon the united Bruttians, Lucanians, Tarentines, and Samnites, defeated them, drove them out of the field, and laid waste their countries.

CHAP. XXVIII.

476. SECT. I. The state of Sicily at the time of Pyrrhus's arrival there. He makes rapid and extensive conquests in the island. II. In the mean time the Romans choose Cornelius Rufinus and C. Junius Brutus to the consulate. These generals lead their forces against the Samnites, advantageously posted in their mountains, and suffer a shameful defeat. After this, Rufinus by a stratagem takes Croton from the Bruttians. Locris submits to the Romans, the inhabitants having just massacred the garrison which Pyrrhus had left there. III. The Romans (under their new consuls, Q. Fabius Gurges and C. Genucius) continuing the war with success against the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, these nations send to entreat Pyrrhus to return to their assistance. The king's affairs in Sicily being now in a bad way, he is glad of so honourable a pretext to leave the island. His fleet, in its return to Italy, is dispersed, and partly destroyed, by the Carthaginian fleet. After his landing near Rhegium, he is attacked in his march to Tarentum, by a body of Mamertines (who had passed the straits expressly), and suffers a considerable loss. He lays waste the territory of the Locrenses, and plunders the temple of Proserpine. IV. Curius Dentatus (a second time) and L. Cornelius Lentulus are raised to the consulate at Rome. The people, from some unaccountable caprice, being unwilling to enlist themselves for the war, Curius confiscates the goods of the first man who refuses, and sells the man himself for a slave, and by this example of severity gets the better of the people's obstinacy. Two armies are raised. While Lentulus leads one into Lucania, Curius leads the other into Samnium, where he comes to a battle with the Epirots in the Taurasian fields, and gives them a total overthrow. He takes their camp; and the Romans admiring the form of it, resolve to make it the future model of their own. V. Pyrrhus, leaving a strong garrison in Tarentum, embarks for Epirus under pretence of going to fetch recruits.

477. Pyrrhus returns to Italy.

478. Embarks for Epirus.

Diod. Sic. in Ecl. 21. §. I. WHEN Pyrrhus arrived in Sicily, this island was almost wholly possessed by foreigners of three different nations, Italians, Carthaginians, and Greeks, who had settled there at different times. Messina, Lilybæum, and Syracuse, were the capitals of the three dominions there established. The Mamertines, from Mamertum, in Campania, had possessed themselves of the first (much in the same manner as the perfidious legion, who followed their example, got possession of Rhegium); the Carthaginians were masters of the second; and the third was governed by two tyrants, whom common interest had united after a civil war, to call in the king of Epirus

Polyb. b. 1. c. 7.

to assist them against the growing power of the formidable African republic.

Pyrrhus, soon after his arrival, deprived the Carthaginians of all their conquests in Sicily, except Lilybæum. He also attacked the Mamertines, and, having defeated them in a pitched battle, reduced them to their city of Messina only; after which he counted so much on the reduction of the whole island, that he caused one of his younger sons (whom he had by a daughter of king Agathocles) to be styled King of Sicily, purposing to make the other king of Italy, which he now also looked upon as a certain conquest.

§. II. IN the meantime the centuries at Rome proceeded to the choice of new consuls. Fabricius presided in the *comitia*, and the respect he had acquired by his virtue was such, that it made him master of the elections. Every body therefore was astonished to see him vote and influence the assembly in favour of Cornelius Ruffinus, a man extremely covetous and self-interested. Fabricius hated him thoroughly, yet promoted his election, because of the dangerous situation of affairs, and because he knew him to be a much abler soldier than any of his competitors. And these reasons were implied in the short answer he made to Ruffinus's compliment of thanks; "I deserve no thanks," said he, "for choosing rather to be plundered than sold." The colleague given to Ruffinus* was C. Junius Brutus,† and they both turned their forces against Samnium. The Samnites being too weak to sustain the attacks of the two consular armies, fled to their mountains, and there intrenched themselves so strongly, that it was no easy matter to force them. The Romans nevertheless attempted it, and were punished for their rashness; many of them were killed, and a great number taken prisoners, and loaded with irons. The consuls at length, ashamed of their enterprise, threw the blame on each other, and separated; Brutus continued in Samnium, while Ruffi-

Year of
R O M E
476.

B. C. 276.

175th con-
sulship.

Justin, b.
23. c. 3.

Cicero, de
Orat. b. 2.
c. 66.

* A second
time.

† A second
time.

Zonaras,
b. 8.

Year of
R O M E
476.
B. C. 276.

175th con-
sulship.

Frontini
Strat. b. 3.
c. 6.
Zonaras,
b. 8.

Appian.
apud Vales.

Year of
R O M E
477.
B. C. 275.

176th con-
sulship.

Oros. b. 4.
Euseb. and
Pausan.
b. 4.

* A second
time.

nus entered the territory of the Lucanians and Bruttians. These nations continued steady in their adherence to Pyrrhus and the Tarentines. Ruffinus therefore not only laid their country waste with fire and sword, but formed a design upon Croton, a considerable city belonging to the Bruttians, and situated on the borders of the Ionian sea, at a little distance from Cape Lacinium. He found this place too well defended to be carried by force ; for Milo, having notice of his design, had sent a reinforcement of Epirots to the garrison, under the command of one Nicomachus. However, the consul took it by stratagem. Having been repulsed by the besieged, who made a sally, he exaggerated the loss he had sustained in the action, and employed two pretended deserters to publish, one, that he was going to retire into the country of the Locrenses ; the other, that he was actually gone, and had marched off in a precipitate manner. Nicomachus, deceived by these reports, and by the consul's decamping, hastened with his troops to relieve Locris, which he imagined the Romans intended to besiege. Ruffinus took the advantage of his absence, returned with all expedition, and, by the help of a fog, got into the place almost before the inhabitants, who were in perfect security, discovered him ; and not only so, but he defeated Nicomachus also in the field, who, when he found himself cheated, would have led back his detachment to Tarentum. Locris likewise soon after surrendered to the Romans, the inhabitants having first massacred the governor and garrison that Pyrrhus had left in it. [The Capitoline marbles ascribe all these exploits to the consul Brutus.]

§. III. In the following consulship of Q. Fabius Gurgēs* and C. Genucius, Rome was afflicted with a strange sort of plague, which chiefly affected women with child, and breeding cattle. To put an end to this calamity, an unfortunate vestal was buried alive ; and Ruffinus was created dictator, to drive a nail into the

wall of Jupiter's temple. In the meantime the sickness did not hinder the Romans from continuing the war. Fabius by repeated victories reduced the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians so low, that they could no longer keep the field without Pyrrhus; and they therefore sent ambassadors to him to entreat him to return, and put himself again at their head.

Year of
R O M E
477.
B. C. 275.

176th con-
sulship.

The face of Pyrrhus's affairs in Sicily was now much changed. At his first arrival he gained the hearts of the Sicilians, by his insinuating, affable behaviour; but being afterward elated with success, his mild government changed into an absolute tyranny. He treated cruelly those very men who had been chiefly instrumental to his good fortune. He excluded the natives from the magistracies, bestowing them on his guards and courtiers, whose extortions and injustices were so grievous, that at length the cities entered into leagues, some with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, to expel him the island. The African republic had also sent a powerful army into Sicily to recover her former conquests. This being the situation of the king's affairs when the ambassadors arrived, he was not a little pleased to have so honourable a pretence to leave a country, where he was no longer safe. At his departure, he is reported to have turned his eyes back upon the island, and to have said to those who were near him, "What a noble field are we leaving for the Carthaginians and Romans to fight in!" In his passage the Carthaginian fleet attacked him, sunk seventy of his vessels, and dispersed all the rest of his 200 sail, except twelve ships, with which he escaped to Italy. He landed near Rhegium: and when he had there collected the scattered remains of his forces, which had been driven on different parts of the coast, he marched towards Tarentum.

Justin. b.
23. c. 3.
Plut. Life
of Pyrrh.
p. 398.
D. Hal. in
excerptis à
Valesio.
Justin, b.
23. c. 3.

Plut. Life
of Pyrrh.
p. 398.
Appian. in
excerptis à
Valesio.

Plut. Life
of Pyrrh.
p. 399.

The Mamertines, upon the first report of his intended departure from Sicily, had detached 10,000 men to Rhe-

Year of
R O M E
477.
B. C. 275.

176th con-
sulship.

Zonaras,
b. 8.

Dio. apud
Valesium.

Val. Max.
b. 1. c. 1.

Year of
R O M E
478.
B. C. 274.

177th con-
sulship.

Appian.
apud Vale-
sium.

gium, to molest him after his landing; and these lying in ambush in woods and behind rocks, attacked the rearguard of his army unexpectedly, and made great slaughter. Pyrrhus, on this occasion, signally displayed his heroic bravery and surprising strength. In the beginning of the action he received a wound in the head, which obliged him to retire out of the battle; but returning to it again, he is said with one stroke of his sabre to have cleft a Mamertine to the waist, who defied him to single combat. This action so astonished the enemy, that they ceased the fight, and the king continued his march towards Tarentum. It was necessary for him to pass through the territory of the Locrenses, who had a little before massacred the garrison he had left in Locris. He not only exercised all sorts of cruelties on this people, but plundered the temple of Proserpine, to supply the wants of his army. The great treasure which he found there he put on board his fleet to be carried to Tarentum by sea, but the ships were all dashed against rocks by a tempest, and the mariners lost. The historians relate, that Pyrrhus now repented of his sacrilege; and as the sea had thrown the greatest part of the treasure upon the shore, he caused it to be gathered up and replaced in the temple with great reverence; and not only so, but he put to death all those who had counselled him to rob the temple.

His army, when he arrived at Tarentum, consisted only of about 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse.

§. IV. BEFORE Pyrrhus was in a condition to renew the war, Rome changed her consuls; and the famous Curius Dentatus was now raised (a second time) to that dignity, with L. Cornelius Lentulus. Their first business was to raise two armies, which might be sufficient to make head against the king of Epirus, with his numerous allies. But when Curius would have begun to form the legions, he found that the Roman youth, from some unaccountable caprice, or perhaps be-

cause their spirits were depressed by the late contagious distemper, refused to enlist themselves. Upon this he assembled the tribes, and put all their names into an urn. The first drawn was the Pollian tribe; and the man of this tribe, whose name came first up, being an audacious young fellow, and refusing to list, Curius ordered his effects to be sold, and, upon his appealing to the tribunes, he sold the man too, saying, "The commonwealth stood in no need of such members as refused obedience." The fellow's cause being too bad, the tribunes did not think fit for their honour to assist him; and from this time, if any Roman refused to list himself in a regular muster, when commanded, it became a custom to make a slave of him.

Year of
R O M E
478.
B. C. 274.

177th con-
sulship.

Val. Max.
b. 6. c. 3.
Florus,
Epit. 14.

So wholesome an instance of severity had its due effect; and two considerable armies were raised without farther opposition. Lentulus led one into Lucania, while Curius entered Samnium with the other. Pyrrhus, to make head against both, was obliged to divide his forces, which were now become very considerable; and esteeming Curius the more formidable of the two Roman generals, he marched himself against him with the choice of his Epirots and of his elephants. And though the consul had posted himself very advantageously near Beneventum, in a place full of hollow ways, rocks, and woods, where the Grecian phalanx could not act with all its strength; yet Pyrrhus, who found it necessary by some new exploit to confirm his allies, who were much discontented with him, made all possible haste to attack the Romans in their camp. He marched by night in hopes to surprise them; but passing through certain woods his lights failed him, and he lost his way; and at the break of day his approach was discovered by the Romans as he came down the hills that bordered the Taurasian fields. Curius sallied out of his camp with a detachment of his legionaries, and fell upon the king's vanguard with such fury, that he put them to flight, killed

Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
399.

Frontin.
b. 2. c. 1.
Plut. in
Pyrrh. p.
399.

Year of
R O M E
478.
B. C. 274.

177th con-
sulship.

Oros. b. 4.
c. 2.

a great number of them, and took some elephants. This success encouraged Curius to descend into the plain, and try a pitched battle with the enemy. One of his wings had the advantage in the beginning of the battle, but the other was overborne by the elephants, and driven back to the intrenchments; but then the consul sending for a body of troops which he had left to guard his camp, these so plied the huge beasts with lighted torches, that they ran back upon the Epirots, bearing down and breaking all their ranks, so that the Romans obtained a complete victory. The king is said to have lost in this action 23,000 men. His army, according to Orosius, had consisted of 80,000 foot and 6,000 horse.

Eutrop. b.
2. p. 14.
Frontin.
b. 4. c. 1.

Pyrrhus's camp being also taken, proved afterward of great service to the Romans; for they not only admired the form of it, but made it their model for the future. Hitherto a large enclosure within a rampart and a ditch had served them for a camp, in which their tents were pitched in a disorderly manner; but now they got great light into the art of encamping, which by gradual improvements they at length carried to the highest perfection.

Justin, b.
25. c. 3.
Polyænus
Stratag.
b. 8.

§. V. THE king of Epirus, who after his defeat had retired to Tarentum with a small body of horse, resolved to leave Italy as soon as possible; but he concealed his design, and endeavoured to keep up the spirits of his allies, by giving them hopes of succour from Greece. In reality, he sent letters thither to several courts, demanding men and money; but, for want of favourable answers, forged such as might please those he would deceive. When he could no longer conceal his resolution of going, the method he took to save his honour, at least for some time, was to pretend to be on a sudden transported with anger against his friends for their dilatoriness in sending him the succours he required. "Then (said he), I must go myself and fetch them." He left a strong garrison in Tarentum under the command of

Milo; and, to engage him to be faithful, one author tells us, that he made him at his departure a very extraordinary present, a seat covered with the skin of the wretch Nicias, that physician who had offered Fabricius to poison the king his master. After these disguises and precautions, he returned into Epirus with only 8,000 foot and 500 horse.

Year of
R O M E
478.
B. C. 274.
177th con-
sulship.
Zon. b. 8.
Plut. in
Pyrrh.
p. 400.

CHAP. XXIX.

SECT. I. The consul Curius has a pompous triumph for his victory over king Pyrrhus, but he refuses what other rewards the senate offer him. Ruffinus (who has been consul and dictator) is by the censors struck out of the list of senators for having too much silver plate. II. Curius is continued for another year in the consulate, 479. and has for his colleague Cornelius Merenda. The Tarentines, beginning to despise Pyrrhus, force the garrison he had left there to confine themselves in the citadel. Curius forces the Samnites and Lucanians to retire for refuge to their mountains. But they appear again in the field the next year, when C. Fabius 480. Dorso and C. Claudius Canina are the Roman consuls. Claudius defeats them in a pitched battle. III. Ptolemy Philadelphus sends an embassy to Rome, to ask an alliance with the republic. The Romans send ambassadors into Egypt. IV. The new year's consuls, L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius (both promoted a 481. second time), have scarce entered Samnium with two armies, when a certain account comes that Pyrrhus is dead. [The manner of his death is related.] This Death of news throws the Samnites into despair; they put all to the hazard of a battle, are Pyrrhus. defeated, and thereby totally subdued by Papirius, after a war which had lasted seventy-two years. The Bruttians and Lucanians submit soon after; and Papirius by Samnites, negotiation prevails with Milo and the Tarentines to put their city and citadel into Bruttians, the hands of the Romans; after which the Carthaginians, whose fleet lay before Ta- &c. sub- rentum, and who seem to have had a design upon it, sail away from the coast. jected to V. The consular fasces are transferred to Quinctius Claudius and L. Genucius; Rome. and the Romans being now in a condition to punish the perfidious Campanian le- 482. gion, which had formerly seized Rhegium, besiege it, carry the place, restore it Rhegium to those of the old inhabitants who had escaped the massacre, and put all who re- taken. main of the legion to death. VI. The following consulate of C. Genucius and Cn. 483. Cornelius produces nothing of moment; and the most memorable thing that happens under the administration of their successors, Q. Ogulnius and C. Fabius 484. Pictor, is the coining of silver money at Rome for the first time. VII. The next Silver mo- year, when Appius Claudius (son of Appius the blind) and P. Sempronius Sophus are ney coined. consuls, Picenum is totally subdued, and the Sabines are made entirely Roman, 485. by being admitted to the right of suffrage in the Roman *comitia*. VIII. The con- 486. suls of the following year, L. Julius and M. Atilius Regulus, commence a war with the Salentines; and this nation, together with the Sarcinates in Umbria, being entirely subdued by the succeeding consuls, Numerius Fabius and D. Junius 487. Pera, Rome becomes thereby mistress of all the countries in Italy from the remotest part of Hetruria to the Ionian sea, and from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Adriatic. IX. The republic is now courted by foreign states. The ambassadors from Apollonia in Macedon being insulted by some of the citizens of Rome, the offenders are delivered up to the Apolloniates, and a law is passed to make the like practice general in like cases. In the consulate of Q. Fabius Gurges and L. 488. Mamilius Vitulus, the Romans regulate their finances, and appoint four provincial Provincial quæstors for the four provinces into which they divide Italy. quæstors.

§. I. AND now the triumphal procession of Curius, for his victory over Pyrrhus, drew all the attention of the

Year of
R O M E
478.
B. C. 274.

177th con-
sulship.

Flor. b. 1.
c. 18.

Pliny, b.
18. c. 3.

Val. Max.
b. 4. c. 3.

people at Rome. The Romans had never before seen so much magnificence, such quantities of rich spoil; vessels of gold, purple carpets, statues, pictures, and, in short, all the fineries of the Greek cities. Rome, says Florus, could hardly contain her victory. And what raised the admiration of the people more than all, were the elephants, those huge animals, with towers on their backs. The senate, to reward the victor, empowered him to appropriate to himself fifty acres of the conquered lands; but he declined this favour, having firmly resolved never to possess above seven acres, an estate which he thought sufficient for the support of any honest man.

The triumph of Curius was followed by that of his colleague Lentulus, who had made a successful campaign in Lucania, and taken Caudium from the Samnites.

Plut. Life
of Sylla.
Val. Max.
b. 2. c. 9.

This happy consulship ended with a census and lustrum. The austere Fabricius, and his old colleague in the consulship, Æmilius Papus, being censors this year, they made a new list of senators, and excluded all those of the former list who led dissolute lives; nay, Cornelius Ruffinus, who had been consul and dictator, was struck out of the roll, only for having ten pounds weight of silver plate for his table. The number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be 271,224.

Year of
R O M E
479.
B. C. 273.

178th con-
sulship.

Zonaras,
b. 8.

§. II. THE Romans, being under the apprehension that Pyrrhus might soon appear again in Italy, continued Curius in the consulate for the next year, giving him for a colleague Cornelius Merenda. In the meantime the Tarentines, who had hated Pyrrhus ever since his first coming among them, began now to despise him. Placing one Nikon at their head, they forced Milo and his troops to retire into the citadel, and confine themselves there. The belief that by these divisions Tarentum would ruin herself, and be forced in the end to surrender to the Romans, was what probably made Curius neglect to besiege it. He turned his forces against the Samnites and

Lucanians, who, not being able to keep the field, retired to their mountains. But in the following consulship of C. Fabius Dorso and C. Claudius Canina,* being encouraged, doubtless, by the emissaries from Epirus, who promised them that Pyrrhus (after the conquest of Macedon, which he had undertaken since his return home) would hasten to their assistance, they came down again into the plains to defend their towns, and preserve their harvests. Claudius defeated them in a pitched battle, and preserved the same ascendant over them, which his predecessors had gained.

Year of
R O M E
480.
B. C. 272.

179th consulship.

* A second time.

Fast. Capit.

§. III. THE reputation of the Romans being now spread into foreign countries by the successful war they had sustained for six years against Pyrrhus, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent an embassy to Rome to ask the friendship of the republic, an honour which gave the Romans no small pleasure. Not to be outdone in civility, they sent away to Egypt four ambassadors, chosen with the utmost circumspection by a senate studious to preserve their reputation abroad entire. Fabius Gurges was at the head of the embassy, and with him were joined three curule ædiles, two of them brothers of the Fabian family, and the third Q. Ogulnius. Their reception was magnificent, and Ptolemy at a splendid entertainment presented each of them with a crown of gold, which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by a refusal: but they went the next morning and placed them on the heads of the king's statues, that were erected in the public parts of the city. The rich presents which the king offered them at their audience of leave they also accepted; but at their return to Rome, and before they went to the senate, they deposited all these presents in the public treasury, desiring no reward but glory for the services they did their country: however, the senate and people ordered the quæstors to restore to the ambassadors what had been given them for their own use.

Eutrop. b.
2. p. 15.
Zon. b. 8.
Liv. Epit.
14.
Dion. in
excerpt.
Val. Max.
b. 4. c. 3.

Year of
R O M E
481.
B. C. 271.

180th con-
sulship.

Plut. Life
of Pyrrhus,
p. 404, 405.
Justin, b.
25. c. 4.

§. IV. WHETHER the Romans believed or not, that Pyrrhus, when he had conquered Macedon, would once more return into Italy, they took care to choose such consuls for the next year as should be able to cope with him, if he came. Their choice fell upon L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius, who both of them had been raised to that eminent station before, and had signalized themselves in it. These generals, with two consular armies, were already entered into the territory of the Samnites, when an account came that Pyrrhus was dead. This inconstant prince, when he had almost totally subdued Macedon, left that enterprise to undertake the protection and restoration of Cleonymus, king of Sparta, who had been driven from his capital by the intrigues of his wife, and the ambition of his nephew. Such was the Epirot's pretence; but his real design was to make himself master of all Peloponnesus, by taking advantage of the divisions which had sprung up there. He marched into Laconia, and invested Lacedemon, but soon after quitted that undertaking likewise, to get possession of Argos, whither he was invited by one of the two factions into which that city was split. There he fell by the hand of a woman. The faction that favoured him having in the night admitted him into the town by one of the gates, and the other faction having opened another gate to a body of Macedonians and Spartans, a bloody battle was fought, in which Pyrrhus receiving a slight wound from a young Argian, would have revenged it by his death; but the mother of the young man, affrighted at her son's danger, which she beheld from the top of a house, took up a great tile, and with both her hands threw it at the king; who, receiving the blow in the nape of his neck, of which it bruised the vertebræ, fell senseless to the ground; and then Zopyrus, a Macedonian, who was the only person in the throng that knew him, severed his head from his body.

The news of Pyrrhus's death threw the Samnites into

despair; they now looked upon their liberty as gone, and, like men in such a situation, put all to the hazard of a single battle. Florus says, that the Samnites were so totally conquered, and the ruins of their cities so ruined, that Samnium might in vain be sought for in Samnium. And thus ended this bloody war, which had lasted seventy-two years, and had procured the Roman generals thirty-one triumphs. The Bruttians and Lucanians soon after submitted to the same yoke. Tarentum remained unpunished, and thither therefore the consuls marched and invested it. Milo still possessed the citadel. The Tarentines (as it is reasonably thought) had implored the assistance of the Carthaginians; for these lay with a fleet before the town, and pretended to have no design but against Milo and his Epirots. Papirius, being desirous to prevent the Carthaginians from getting any footing in Italy, signified privately to Milo, that if he would surrender up the citadel to him, he and his garrison should not only have their lives spared, but be transported safe with their effects to Epirus. Milo readily listened to this offer, and even did more than he was asked. He undertook to put the city likewise into the consul's hands. Having assembled the Tarentines, he persuaded them to depute him to the consul, promising to negotiate matters so well for them, that they should lose neither their lives nor their estates; and he made good his word. The Romans being soon after admitted into the town, did no violence to the inhabitants. As for the Carthaginians, when they found themselves disappointed, they retired with their fleet, leaving the Romans in a well-grounded suspicion, that they had intended to seize a place, which by right of conquest belonged to Rome; and though their manner of proceeding did not cause an open rupture, it produced a coldness at least between the two republics.

§. V. ALL the old enemies of Rome, the Sabines, Volsci, Campanians, and Hetrurians, being subdued, and

Year of
R O M E
481.
B. C. 271.

180th con-
sulship.

Flor. b. 1.
c. 16.

Oros. b. 4.
c. 3.

Liv. Epit.
14.
Zonaras,
b. 8.
Frontin.
Stratag. b.
3, c. 3.

Fast. Capit.

Year of
R O M E
482.
B. C. 270.

181st con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 7.

Zon. b. 8.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 7.
Val. Max.
b. 2. c. 7.
§. 15.

these, with the other nations newly conquered, being now become parts of one and the same state, of which Rome was the capital, the republic was at leisure to wipe off the dishonour thrown upon her by the perfidious Campanian legion, formerly sent to Rhegium. As soon, therefore, as Quinctius Claudius and L. Genucius Clepsina were entered upon the consulship, the latter was ordered to lead an army to that city, and besiege it. The usurpers, to make a better defence, not only called to their assistance the Mamertines (who were themselves originally Campanians, and had acted the same part at Messana after the death of king Agathocles, which the other had done at Rhegium), but opened an asylum for all the banditti of the country. Their obstinacy being increased by this additional strength, the siege proved a long one, and provisions failing in the camp of the Romans, Genucius was obliged to have recourse to Hiero, king of Syracuse, a generous prince, whose name will be often mentioned in the course of this history. Hiero furnished the consul not only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of some Sicilian troops; and by the help of these succours the Romans took the town. Of about 4,000 men, of which the guilty legion had at first consisted, there remained now but 300 alive. These, though Campanians by birth, having the privileges of Roman citizenship, were sent prisoners to Rome, to be there tried. The senate condemned them all to be first beaten with rods, and then beheaded; and, notwithstanding that one of the tribunes made an opposition to this sentence, pretending that it belonged to the people alone to pronounce upon Roman citizens in capital cases, the decree was executed, and they were put to death by fifty at a time in the Forum Romanum. By this execution the republic cleared herself from the suspicion of having had any part in the treachery of the Campanian legion. Those of the old inhabitants, who had escaped the cruelty of the usurpers, were

reinstated in the possession of their lands, liberties, and laws.

Year of
R O M E
483.

§. VI. DURING the following administration of the consuls C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius, the former obtained a victory over the Sarcinates, a people of Umbria, who were for the most part Gauls. This year was remarkable for nothing more, except the severity of the winter. The snow lay forty days upon the ground in the Forum of Rome, and was of a prodigious depth. The succeeding consuls, Q. Ogulnius Gallus and C. Fabius Pictor, were ordered to undertake the reduction of the Picentes and Salentines (the only nation in the east of Italy not yet subject to the republic), but they were of a sudden called elsewhere, to extinguish a flame, which a very small spark had kindled. One Lollius, by birth a Samnite, had been delivered to the Romans by his countrymen, as a hostage for their fidelity. This man had escaped from Rome, joined a company of rebels, seized a strong place in Samnium, and was committing robberies in all the country; he had drawn also the Caricini, who were either a people of Samnium, or in alliance with them, into his measures, making their city the magazine of his booty. The consuls were therefore dispatched to lay siege to that place; and by the help of some deserters, who introduced the Roman troops secretly into it, they made an easy conquest. The consuls had no triumph for their success in this war, because it was deemed a civil war; nevertheless, they signalized their victory by more lasting monuments.

B. C. 269.

182d consulship.

Fast. Capit.
Zon. et D.
Aug. b. 3.
de Civ. Dei.

Year of
R O M E
484.

B. C. 268.

183d consulship.

Eutrop. b.
2. c. 16.
Zonar. b. 8.

To this time the Romans had never used any money in commerce, except pieces of brass, stamped with the figure of a bull, a ram, and a boar; they had been too poor to coin silver money. But now, after the conquest of Samnium, and the surrendry of Tarentum, the riches of the state being increased, and a great quantity of bars of silver (of no use to the republic in that form) having been found among the treasures taken from Lollius, the

Plin. b. 3.
c. 33.

Year of
R O M E
484.
B. C. 268.

183d con-
sulship.

Suidas,
under the
word *Μο-
νῆτα*.

Varr. de
ling.
Lat. b. 4.

* Duo et
Semis ter-
tius.

Year of
R O M E
485.
B. C. 267.

184th con-
sulship.

Eutrop. b.
2. c. 16.
Val. Max.
b. 6. c. 5.

Frontin.
Strat. b. 1.
c. 12.
Flor. b. 1.
c. 19.
Oros. b. 4.
c. 4.
Plin. b. 3.
c. 13.

consuls thought it advisable to coin the silver, and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the mint was the temple of Juno Moneta, from whence comes the word money. The new species, instead of being stamped with the figures of animals, was made to represent the exploits of the Roman heroes, by ingenious hieroglyphics; but so enigmatically, that the invention of our antiquaries is often put to the rack to explain them. Some of these pieces of silver money, being worth ten asses of brass, were called *denarii*, and marked with the numeral letter X; others, worth but five asses, were called *quinarii*, and were marked with the letter V. The *sestertii*, which were worth but two asses and a half, were distinguished by the letters HS or LLS.*

§. VII. THE next year the new consuls, P. Sempronius Sophus and Appius Claudius Crassus (son of the famous blind Appius, and the heir of his artfulness), entered Picenum jointly; but new commotions in Umbria obliged the latter soon after to march thither. He laid siege to Camerinum, a town situated near the Apennines, that separated Umbria from Picenum; and when he had taken it, treated the inhabitants barbarously; he sold them for slaves, contrary to his agreement with them, put the purchase-money into the public treasury, and seized their lands. The republic, however, would not authorize so wicked a fraud. The senate ordered the unhappy wretches to be sought out, granted them the privilege of Roman citizens, assigned them a quarter upon Mount Aventine for a habitation, and allotted each of them as much land as he had lost in Umbria.

In the meantime, Sempronius Sophus pursued the war against the Picentes. Just as he was going to engage with the enemy in a pitched battle, a sudden earthquake greatly terrified his soldiers, and damped their ardour for fighting; but he telling them, "That the earth shook only for fear of changing its masters;"



and then vowing a temple to the goddess Tellus, they quickly recovered their courage, and fell upon the Picentes with their usual intrepidity. The battle must have been exceedingly bloody; for though the consul gained the victory, he lost the greater part of his troops in the action. Asculum, the capital of Picenum, soon after surrendered, and the whole nation gave themselves to the Romans; an important increase of the dominion of the republic, because this country alone was able to supply her armies with 360,000 soldiers.

Year of
R O M E
485.
B. C. 267.
184th con-
sulship.

To keep the newly-conquered nations in awe, the Romans at this time settled colonies at Ariminum, in the country of the Picentes, and at Beneventum in that of the Samnites; and at this time also the Sabines, whose right of citizenship at Rome had hitherto extended only to the privilege of being incorporated in the legions, instead of barely serving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of suffrage in the city, and thereby became entirely Roman.

Vel. Pat.
b. 1. c. 14.

§. VIII. THE Salentines, whose chief cities were Hydruntum, Aletium, and Brundusium, were now almost the only people in the eastern extremity of Italy that remained unsubdued to the Romans. It was easy for the ambitious republic to invent pretences to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The next year's consuls, L. Julius Libo and M. Atilius Regulus, took Brundusium; but as the brave Salentines disputed their country inch by inch, the two generals were obliged to leave their conquest to be finished by their successors. These were Numerius Fabius and D. Junius Pera, who, having first subdued the Sarcinates in Umbria, totally reduced the Salentines (though they had brought the Messapians, or Iapygians, into their quarrel). The reduction of two nations in one campaign procured each consul two triumphs, a thing unheard of before in the republic.

Year of
R O M E
486.
B. C. 266.
185th con-
sulship.
Flor. b. 1.
c. 20.

Year of
R O M E
487.
B. C. 265.

186th con-
sulship.
Fast. Capit.

Rome was now become mistress of all the different nations of Italy, from the farthest part of Hetruria to

Year of
R O M E
487.
B.C. 265.

186th con-
sulship.

the Ionian sea, and from the Tuscan sea cross the Apennines to the Adriatic. But these nations had not all the same privileges, nor were upon the same footing in point of subjection. Some were so entirely subject to Rome, as to have no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old customs and forms of government. Some were tributary, others barely allies, who were bound to furnish the Roman army with troops, and maintain them at their own expense. Some had the privileges of Roman citizenship, and their soldiers were incorporated in the legions; others had likewise a right of suffrage in the elections made by the centuries in the Campus Martius. These different degrees of honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded in the different terms granted by the conquerors in their treaties with the vanquished; and these honours and privileges were afterward increased, according to the fidelity of the several cities and nations, and the services they did the republic.

Liv. Epit.
15.
Val. Max.
b. 6. c. 6.

§. IX. AFTER the great increase of power and dominion which the Romans acquired by their victories over Pyrrhus and his Italian allies, free cities and whole nations beyond the seas began to follow the example of the king of Egypt, and court the friendship of the republic. Apollonia, situated over against Brundusium, was the first city of Macedon that sent ambassadors to desire her protection. These ambassadors were received with honour by the senate; but afterward, upon some occasion not known, were insulted by Fabricius and Apronius, young Romans of great distinction, and at this time ædiles. So grievous a breach of the law of nations required satisfaction; nor did the republic refuse it. The young men were condemned to be delivered up into the hands of the ambassadors, in order to be transported to Apollonia, and there punished at the pleasure of the people. This was shewing the Apolloniates all the regard possible; and they, in their turn, shewed a

prudent respect for the Roman senate. Fabricius and Apronius were hospitably received, and then sent back to Rome. And this memorable event gave rise to a law (which subsisted ever after), "That if any citizen, of what quality soever, insulted an ambassador, he should be delivered up to the injured nation."

Year of
R O M E
487.
B. C. 265.

186th con-
sulship.
Dig. Parag.
de Legat.

And now the great affair of the republic under the administration of the consuls Q. Fabius Gurgēs* and L. Mamilius Vitulus, was to regulate her revenues.

Year of
R O M E
488.
B. C. 264.

These revenues arose from the tributes each province was to pay; from the rents of certain arable and pasture-lands which the republic reserved as her demesnes, whenever she divided any conquered lands among the citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands dependent on her; and, lastly, from the imposts upon all merchandise imported into her dominions. It has been already observed, that four officers, with the title of quæstors, had the charge of receiving and disbursing the public moneys. Valerius Poplicola, soon after the birth of the republic, desiring to ease himself of the care of the finances, had appointed two: to these Sempronius Atratinus, in the year 333, being then military tribune, with consular authority, had added two more, whose peculiar business was to attend the consuls in their expeditions, keep the military chest, pay the troops, and sell the spoils and prisoners taken from the enemy. The quæstors neither of the one nor of the other institution had any of the great badges of distinction annexed to their offices. They had neither curule chairs, nor licitors, nor apparitors; nor could they refuse to appear before the prætor, upon a summons from even the meanest of the citizens. The only privileges they had were those of assembling the *comitia* at Rome, and speaking to them from the rostra, and haranguing the soldiers in the field.

187th con-
sulship.

Cic. de
Orat. pro
Sext. et
contra Rul-
lum.

Sueton.
* A third
time.

The four quæstors had been found to be hardly sufficient to go through the business belonging to them,

Year of
R O M E
488.
B. C. 264.

187th con-
sulship.

Liv. Epit.
b. 15.

Orosius,
b. 4. c. 5.

even before the late conquests; but now it was absolutely necessary to augment the number of these officers; and four new ones were therefore created with the title of Provincial Quæstors, to take charge of the four provinces^{*} into which the republic had divided her conquests.

The usual fortune of Rome, during any interval of tranquillity, did not fail to attend her at this time. A most dreadful plague raged both in the city and in the country. The Sibylline books, according to custom, were hereupon consulted; and it was there found, that some secret crimes had drawn down the wrath of heaven upon the republic. A vestal, named Caparonia, proved the unhappy victim sacrificed to the prepossessions of the people. Being convicted of incontinency before the tribunal of the pontifices, they condemned her to be buried

^{*} The seat or chief office of the first province was at Ostia, a maritime city near Rome. This quæstorship reached, in all probability, from the head of the Tiber and the river Arnus, to the mouth of the Liris; and comprehended Hetruria, Latium, Sabinia, Umbria, and, in short, all the coasts of the Tuscan sea, and all the lands between that sea and the Apennines. The seat of the second province was at Cale, in the delightful country of Campania; and it reached from the Liris to the gulf of Tarentum. This province contained Campania, Samnium, Lucania, the country of the Bruttii and Cœnotria; and within it were many rich maritime cities. The third province reached from the Apennines to the shore of the Adriatic sea, and was called the Gallic quæstorship. It contained the countries formerly conquered by the Gauls, especially the Senones, from the river Rubicon to the Æsis. But notwithstanding its name, it contained also Picenum, the country of the Frentani, and all the other countries as far as Apulia. And, lastly, the fourth quæstorship, of which we have not so distinct an account as of the other three, could only comprehend Apulia, Calabria, and the territories of the Salentines, Messapians, and Tarentines. A fine province, if we consider the great number of its sea-ports, into which merchandises were imported from Greece, Asia, and Africa. For these four provinces, Rome created four new quæstors; and it was then settled, that all the eight quæstors should for the future be chosen in *comitia* by tribes. After the elections, which were renewed every year, the eight quæstors drew lots, in the presence of the people, to decide which should have the Roman, which the military, and which the provincial quæstorships. The four provincial ones were mostly desired by the ambitious before Rome had extended her conquests beyond Italy; but when she had brought the east and west into subjection to her, and great kingdoms were become so many provinces under her domination, the four Italian provinces were but little coveted by the quæstors, who were multiplied in proportion as the republic enlarged her conquests. The proconsuls and proprætors, that is to say, the governors of those remote provinces, had each his quæstor, or superintendent of the finances, for his government: and these governments being large and rich, and far out of the senate's sight, the quæstors were fond of going thither, where they could raise more money, and were more honoured and respected; for here they wore the prætexta, and were attended by lictors, as appears from Cic. 3d Orat. contra Verr. For all these reasons, when the quæstors drew lots for their provinces, the man to whom any of the Italian ones fell became the jest of the people. "He goes to the waters," said they; meaning, that he was going to enjoy his repose near Rome, much as those Romans did, who went to Baiæ or Puteoli for the waters. C. & R.

alive; and though to avoid so cruel a death she strangled herself, the same ceremonies of interment were performed upon the dead body as if she had been living.

Year of
R O M E
488.
B. C. 264.

Notwithstanding the havoc made by the plague, the number of citizens fit to bear arms appeared, by a census taken this year, to be 292,224. Doubtless the Sabines, to whom the right of suffrage had been lately granted, must have been reckoned in this enumeration. C. Marcius Rutilus, one of the censors, had, on account of his extraordinary merit, been elected, contrary to custom and his own earnest remonstrances, a second time to this office; and hence probably he acquired the surname of Censorinus, which was perpetuated in his family. Plutarch tells us, that, to put a stop to so dangerous a practice, Marcius got a law passed, forbidding any person to hold the censorship a second time.

187th con-
sulship.

Liv. Epit.
16.
Eutrop. b.
2. c. 18.

Val. Max.
b. 4. c. 1.
Plut. Life of
Coriolanus.

The present consuls were still at Rome, wholly employed in civil affairs, when on a sudden a war sprung up in the very bowels of the republic. Volsinii, a considerable city of Hetruria, had been by treaty allowed to enjoy her own laws and form of government; but the Volsinienses had since fallen into sloth and luxury, neglected their laws, despised the public offices, and suffered their freedmen to usurp them. These freedmen by degrees had made themselves tyrants in the little republic; and it was their whole business to mortify their old masters. They not only with all licentiousness invaded their wives, but passed a law, that no virgin-daughter of a man free-born should be married to a husband of the like condition, till she had submitted to the passion of a freedman. And to all these insolences, they added banishments and proscriptions of the most worthy citizens. The Volsinienses, not being able to help themselves, sent deputies privately to implore the protection of the senate of Rome. But though the negotiation was thought to be carried on with perfect secrecy, the freedmen got notice of it, and put the depu-

Zonaras,
b. 8.
Flor. b. 1.
c. 21.
Author. de
Viris
Illust. c. 36.
Val. Max.
b. 9. c. 1.

Year of
R O M E
488.
B. C. 264.

187th con-
sulship.

ties to death at their return ; and when Fabius Gurges, who undertook with a small army of volunteers to chastise them, came near their city, he found them upon their guard ; nay, the freedmen ventured to face him in the field, and gave him battle. The consul put them to the rout ; but as he was entering the town with the runaways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand, and then the Romans were repulsed. After this Decius Mus, who had been lieutenant to Fabius, besieged the place in form ; and in the year following it surrendered to the consul Fulvius Flaccus. The freedmen, who had usurped the magistracies, and acted the whole scene of villany, were all put to death ; the city was rased, and the inhabitants transplanted to another.

These last particulars are here mentioned a little before their time, that they may not hereafter interrupt the relation of more important matters ; the causes and commencement of the **FIRST PUNIC** or **CARTHAGINIAN WAR.**

DEDICATION.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HUGH, EARL OF MARCHMONT.

MY LORD,

PERMIT me to lay hold of this fair occasion, publicly to congratulate your Lordship upon that true glory, the consenting praise of the honest and the wise, which you have so early acquired. “When men have performed any virtuous actions, or such as sit easy upon their memories, it is a reasonable pleasure” (says a philosophical writer,* who speaks contemptuously enough of renown after death), “to have the testimony of the world added to that of their own consciences, that they have done well.” My Lord, you have not only this pleasure, but another, no less reasonable, and more exquisite, attending a character like yours, the being able to do much good to others. To those whom you distinguish by particular marks of your good opinion you give reputation; and I have happily experienced, that reputation, so derived, is not mere air and fruitless. Through that warmth of good-will which your Lordship, on all occasions, expresses for me, I have profited, greatly profited, by your glory. You, my Lord, can be no stranger to this truth; yet I trust you will forgive me, if, to draw

* Mr. Wollaston.

still more advantage from your fame, I here take the liberty to tell your Lordship in print, for the information of others, what you knew before : as a player, when alone on the stage, speaks aloud to himself, that he may be heard by those who fill the theatre, I would, by this dedication of my book to your Lordship, publish, as far as by such means I can, that you, my Lord, are my patron and my friend ; and that I am, with the greatest respect, esteem, and gratitude,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful, and

Most humble Servant,

N. HOOKE.

A DISSERTATION

ON THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE FIRST 500 YEARS OF ROME.

THE famous Turenne (as we learn from the history of his life), Ramsay's Life of the Viscount de Turenne. when he was about twelve years old, sent a challenge to an officer, who had affronted him by saying, that Quintus Curtius's history of Alexander the Great was a mere romance. I do not wish that our young gentlemen, who have begun to delight themselves in the Roman history, should carry their resentments so far against M. de Beaufort, author of a work, entitled "*Dissertation sur l'Incertitude des cinq premiers Siècles de l'Histoire Romaine*:"^a yet I think they may reasonably look upon him as an enemy, who seeks to deprive them of a considerable part of their pleasures; and that they ought to be upon their guard against him. And, for my own part, I cannot readily consent to have my grave remarks upon certain passages of the history reduced to the importance of those, by which some industrious chronologer should fix the precise year when Noah's grand-daughter Cesara fled into Ireland to escape the deluge. For the sake therefore of us Romanists, I once purposed to have gone through the whole of M. de B.'s Dissertation, and to have attempted to shew the insufficiency of his citations and his reasonings, for discrediting the Roman history of the first 500 years, as to the main and fundamentals of it: for much of the embroidery and flourishing may be given up without parting with the groundwork.^b But the exe-

Topog. Hi-
bern. p.
135, 136.
apud M. de
Pouilli.

^a A Dissertation on the Uncertainty of the History of the first five Ages of Rome.

^b That the Romans had, with the neighbouring states, the successive wars which Livy has recorded; that these wars followed one another in the order given them by Livy, and had the final events which he has mentioned, may surely be admitted by a reader not over credulous, and who at the same time will, in his own mind, naturally abate somewhat of the complete victories and numerous triumphs, with which Livy has adorned his history, in compliance with the vanity of his countrymen. For, that the Roman vanity has now and then prevailed to the misrepresentation of facts, is too manifest, from several passages in the Latin historian, some regarding the earlier, some the later, ages of Rome. The fortunate effect of the unsuccessful enterprise of Mucius against Porsenna's life, and the marvellous exploit of Camillus against the Gauls, when, at the foot of the Capitol, they were selling a peace to the Romans, are remarkable instances of the power of this vanity. And that it had its influence in Livy's relations of the war of Hannibal, and the Spanish war, is shewn in book iv. chap. xvi. to book v. chap. xvii.

cution of that design would stretch this discourse to too great a length; and I conceive, that to those who have perused M. l'Abbé Sallier's^c defence of the history against the attacks of M. de Pouilli, any farther defence is unnecessary. However, as the discourses of that able champion of our cause have, I think, neither been printed apart from the other pieces in the "Memoires de Litterature," nor translated into English, and therefore may not have fallen into the hands of many persons, who may have met with M. de B.'s Dissertation, which is translated, I shall just mention some particulars, in which I apprehend the chief strength of M. l'Abbé Sallier's arguments to be couched; and then make some brief remarks on M. de B.'s principal positions in his attempt to refute those arguments.

M. l'Abbé
Sallier 1st
and 3d
Disc.

1. It is beyond all belief, that Varro,^d the most learned Roman of the most learned age of Rome, should employ his studies and his labours upon the antiquities of his country, in order to dispel the obscurity cast upon the history of the earliest ages, unless there were means of attaining to certainty, or a high degree of probability, with regard to many things that passed in those ages.

2. It is no less incredible, that Cicero should design,^e and

See Me-
moires de
Litterature,
&c. tom. 8.
edit. Am-
sterdam.
Pref. p. vii.

^c It was the controversy [in 1722, 23, 24, 25] between these two very learned and very eloquent gentlemen, members of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, which gave occasion to M. de Beaufort's "Dissertation sur l'Incertitude des cinq premiers Siècles de l'Histoire Romaine." Not content with the efforts made by M. de Pouilli, who, he thinks, has treated a little too superficially a matter which deserved to be examined to the bottom, he, without neglecting M. de Pouilli's arguments, endeavours to supply his deficiencies, and to prove, even to demonstration, the uncertainty, &c. [*Je crois avoir démontré, d'une manière très claire, l'incertitude qui regne sur le tems, lequel a précédé la prise de Rome par les Gaulois, et la destruction de ses monumens, qui en fut une suite naturelle. Il est vrai, que cela ne prouve rien à l'égard du siècle suivant, sur lequel j'ai cru pouvoir étendre cette incertitude, à cause de la confusion, qui regne encore par rapport à divers évènements.*] In 1738, M. de Beaufort gave the first edition of his Dissertation; an English translation of which was published in 1740. His second edition of it, revised, corrected, and considerably augmented, bears date 1750. It is to the pages of the latter the references are made.

N. B. M. de Beaufort gives up one argument, in which M. de Pouilli expatiates, drawn from the work called, "The Parallels of Plutarch," a work of which M. l'Abbé Sallier has totally destroyed the credit.

^d Of Varro, Cicero thus writes:—

"Nos in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tanquam hospites, tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando, qui, et ubi essemus, agnoscere; tu ætatem patriæ, tu descriptiones temporum, sedem locorum, tu sacrorum jura, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti." Acad. 1. c. 3.

^e "Cicero," says Dr. Middleton, "was meditating a general history of Rome, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the only man capable of adding that glory to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the Romans. But he never found leisure to execute so great a task: yet has sketched out a plan of it, which, short as it is, seems to be the best that can be formed for the design of a perfect history."

Livy undertake,^f a history of the earliest ages of Rome, if they had no authentic records, no solid materials, for their ground-work; and this in an age, of which Cicero says,^g that it was too knowing, too much enlightened, to be imposed upon by fictions, and persuaded to believe absurdities.

3. Cicero, in six books which he wrote concerning the commonwealth, gave a particular and circumstantial account^h of the customs and maxims of ancient Rome, *à primo urbis ortu*, its domestic and military discipline.

4. We have the express testimony of Cicero for the existence, in his time, of the pontifical annals,ⁱ which were begun almost as early as the birth of the state, and continued to the time of P.

“He declares it to be the first and fundamental law of history, that it should neither dare to say any thing that was false, nor fear to say any thing that was true, nor give any just suspicion either of favour or disaffection: that in the relation of things, the writer should observe the order of time, and add also the description of places: that in all great and memorable transactions, he should first explain the councils, then the acts, lastly the events: that in the councils, he should interpose his own judgment on the merit of them: in the acts, should relate not only what was done, but how it was done: in the events, should shew, what share chance, or rashness, or prudence, had in them: that in regard to persons, he should describe, not only their particular actions, but the lives and characters of all those who bear an eminent part in the story. That he should illustrate the whole in a clear, easy, natural style; flowing with a perpetual smoothness and equability; free from the affectation of points and sentences, or the roughness of judicial pleadings.” *De Orator.* 2. 15. Middleton’s *Life of Cicero*, vol. 2. p. 528.

^f “*Res immensi operis, ut quæ supra septingentesimum annum repetatur,*” &c. *Liv. Pref.*

^g “*Ut jam doctis hominibus, ac temporibus ipsis eruditis fingendum vix quicquam esset loci. Antiquitas enim recipit fabulas, fictas etiam nonnunquam incondite: hæc ætas autem, jam exulta præsertim et erudita, omne quod fieri non potest, respuit.*” *Frag. lib. 3. de Repub.*

^h “*Nec vero hic locus est, ut de moribus institutisque majorum, et disciplina ac temperatione civitatis loquamur: aliis hæc locis accuratè satis dicta sunt, maximèque in iis sex libris, quos de republica scripsimus.*” *Lib. 4. Tusc. c. 1.*

ⁱ “*Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio: cujus rei, memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causa, ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad Publium Mucium, pontificem maximum, res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris p. maximus, efferebatque in album, et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi; ii, qui etiam nunc annales maximi nominantur. Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellenicus, Acusilas fuit, aliique permulti; talis noster Cato, et Pictor, et Piso, qui neque tenent, quibus rebus ornatur oratio, modo enim huc ista sunt importata, et, dum intelligatur, quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem.*” *Lib. 2. de Orat. 12.*

“*Abest enim historia litteris nostris, ut et ipse intelligo, et ex te persæpe audio. Potes autem tu profectò satisfacere in ea, quippè cum sit opus, ut tibi quidem videri solet, unum hoc oratorium maximè. Quamobrem aggredere, quæsumus, et sume ad hanc rem tempus, quæ est a nostris hominibus adhuc aut ignorata, aut relictæ. Nam post annales pontificum maximorum, quibus nihil potest esse* jucundius: si aut ad Fabium, aut ad eum, qui tibi semper in ore est, Catonem, aut ad Pisonem, aut ad Fan- * Doubtless jejunius. See Tay- nium, aut ad Vennonium venias: quamquam ex his alius alio plus habet virium, ta- lor’s Elem- men quid tam exile, quam isti omnes?*” *De Leg. lib. 1. c. 2.*

“*Unde autem facilius quam ex annalium monumentis, aut res bellica, aut omnis rei publicæ disciplina cognoscitur? Unde ad agendum, aut dicendum copia depromi major gravissimorum exemplorum, quasi incorruptorum testimoniorum potest?*” *Frag. Cic. in Hortens. p. 79.*

Mucius, the high-priest, who lived in the seventh century of Rome. Varro, in his books concerning the Latin tongue, gives us many fragments of these annals.

L. 12. Ep.
25. ad Cor.
nif. l. 11.
Ep. 25. ad
Brut.

5. Since it was the custom in the latter times of the republic to record the acts of the senate and of the magistrates, it is probable that the same custom was observed in the former. And it seems unquestionable from a passage^k in Suetonius [Vit. Vesp. 8.] not only that the acts of the senate, and of the people, in the earliest ages, used to be recorded; but that many of those records were preserved from the flames, when the Gauls burnt the city.

6. Dionysius speaks of the memorials,^l commentaries, or tables of the censors, preserved in families which had been honoured with the censorship, pieces which he consulted, and in which he found that a poll of the people had been taken two years before the burning of Rome, in the consulship of Valerius and Manlius.

C. 17.

7. Censorinus, in his book *De Die Natali*, insinuates, that the memorials of the duumvirs and decemvirs were ancient monuments that used to be consulted, long after the first ages of Rome.

Libri Lin-
tei.

8. Livy frequently cites the linen books; which seem to have been of great use for discovering the succession of the consuls and other magistrates.

9. It appears from the historians, that many treaties with foreign states were preserved from the flames which consumed the city.

10. The laws of the twelve tables were unquestionably preserved, and these would give a thorough insight into the constitution of the state.

Liv. lib. 1.
Macr. lib. 3.
c. 9.
Aul. Gell.
l. 16. c. 4.

11. In Livy, Macrobius, and A. Gellius, we have the ancient invariable forms that were used by the Roman heralds, when employed to demand satisfaction for an injury done to the state; declare war; invite the gods to forsake a city besieged; and, before a battle, load with curses the army of the enemy.

12. The rituals and calendars were of use to history. The very name of a festival is often a brief relation of the fact which gave occasion to its institution.

^k Speaking of Vespasian's restoring the Capitol, which had been demolished in the Vitellian sedition: "Ipse [Vespasianus] ærearum tabularum tria millia, quæ simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit, undique investigatis exemplaribus, instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum confecit; quo continebantur penè ab exordio urbis senatusconsulta, plebiscita de societate, et fœdere, ac privilegio cui-cunque concessis."

^l Δηλοῦται δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ τῶν καλουμένων τιμητικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, &c. D. Hal. p. 59. edit. Oxon.

13. Ancient pillars, statues, and inscriptions,^m immortalized the memory of several great men of the early times, and bore testimony to their exploits.

Therefore, though Livy complains of the scarcity of men of letters in the early times [*raræ per ea tempora litteræ*], and of the loss of a great part, or the greater part,ⁿ of the pontifical annals, and other historical monuments, both public and private, in the burning of Rome by the Gauls, yet there remained good memorials and original pieces sufficient for composing a credible history of the earliest ages of Rome.^o

14. Tradition alone was sufficient whereon to found a reasonable and full belief of many facts in the Roman story; such, for example, as the shameful defeat of the Romans near the Caudine Forks; and the seditions and secessions of the plebeians on occasion of the cruelties exercised by the rich towards the poor. [This is a concession made by M. de Pouilli.]

15. The fables which are found interspersed in the writings of the Roman historians ought not to ruin the credit of the history of the first ages of Rome, as to the essentials of it; though the historians should seem to have adopted those fables for facts. Livy^p warns us not to be over credulous with regard to several old stories of the marvellous kind, and Cicero ridicules them.

16. And Atticus^q had successfully laboured to rectify the mistakes in some family memoirs, concerning the succession of the magistrates, and the origins of families, mistakes occasioned by ignorance or vanity; and he could have had no success in such an attempt, had he been destitute of all sure guides to the truth.

If any reader desires to see these, and several other particulars, relating to the same subject, learnedly and ingeniously discussed,

^m "Suorum vero clypeos in sacro vel publico, privatim dicare primus instituit (ut reperio) Appius Claudius, qui consul cum Servilio fuit anno urbis 259; posuit enim in Bellonæ æde majores suos; placuitque in excelso spectari et titulos honorum legi. —Quales clypeos nemo non gaudens, favensque aspicit." Pliny, l. 35. c. 3.

ⁿ "Quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensâ urbe, pleræque interiit." L. 6. c. 1.

^o "Quæ ab conditâ urbe ad captam eandem urbem Romani sub regibus primùm, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus, decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui." L. 6. c. 1.

^p "—Omnis expers curæ, quæ scribentis animum, etsi non *flectere à vero*, sollicitum tamen efficere possit. Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem, poeticis magis *decora fabulis*, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec *affirmare nec refellere* in animo est." Liv. in Præf.

Speaking of the Curtian Lake, and how it came to be so called: "Cura non desset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret; nunc fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem." Liv. lib. 7. c. 6.

^q "Laborem nobis Attici nostri levavit labor; sic familiarum originem subtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere." Cic. in Orat. et Corn. Nep. in Attic.

L. 2. de
Divin. et
l. 1. de Leg.

I shall refer him to the discourses at large of M. l'Abbé Sallier in the "Memoires de Litterature."

Before I take notice of M. de Beaufort's positions, I must frankly confess, that I am not well qualified to dispute against his opinion, concerning the Roman history; because I cannot, by his Dissertation, discover with certainty what his opinion is.

I know not whether, in his judgment, we may reasonably reject the whole^r history of the first 500 years of Rome as groundless and fabulous.

Or should reject only almost all.

Or may stop when we have rejected the greater part.

Or, rejecting some passages of the history as utterly false, should call in question, doubt of, suspect, all the rest [le revoquer en question, en doubter, le tenir pour suspect].

This last, from a great number of passages^s in his Dissertation, one would imagine to be his real opinion. And yet now and then he seems to slide into belief, and even into certainty, without being aware of it. He has great faith in what Polybius relates of the Romans in the early times of the republic; and admits, as indubitable, several facts, for which the other historians are his only vouchers. Thus, for example,—

^r "Attendu le peu de soin qu'on a eu de transmettre à la posterité la mémoire des évènements, dans le tems, qu'ils arrivoient, nous sommes fondés en voyant une histoire suivie de quatre siècles, de rejeter LE TOUT, ou du moins la plus grande partie comme forgée à plaisir.

"Ce n'est pas que je veuille *revoquer en doute* généralement tous les évènements de ce siècle [le cinquième] pour quelques traits fabuleux dont ils se trouvent accompagnés, ou parce qu'il y en a plusieurs qui sont manifestement faux. Mon intention est seulement de faire voir, que *divers faits* des plus marqués, et des plus importants, se trouvant faux, et le fruit de la vaine gloire des Romains, les autres doivent nous être suspects. J'en tire encore de nouveaux motifs de douter de l'Histoire des siècles précédens, laquelle, à plus forte raison, doit paroître fabuleuse et forgée après coup." P. 359.

"Ces caracteres de fausseté suffiroient à bien des gens pour leur faire rejeter cette Histoire, sans plus d'examen; mais je ne veux pas me prevaloir de cet avantage. Ce n'est que sur l'autorité des écrivains les plus célèbres, et les plus accrédités que je veux m'appuyer pour en douter. Et, afin qu'on ne m'accuse pas d'en douter trop légèrement, je me retranche à ne trouver cette histoire obscure et incertaine, que parce qu'ils la trouvent telle eux-mêmes." P. 10.

^s "De-là je conclus—que nous sommes fondés à tenir pour fort suspect TOUT ce qu'on nous raconte des quatre ou cinq premiers siècles de Rome.

"La seconde partie sera destinée à l'examen de certain faits des plus marqués, et qui figurent le plus dans l'Histoire Romaine: l'incertitude ou la fausseté desquels, étant bien prouvée, donnera une nouvelle force aux raisons que l'on a de *revoquer en doute* TOUTE cette Histoire—je me flatte, que ceux qui se dépouilleront de leurs préjugés conviendront qu'il n'y a rien de plus incertain que TOUT ce corps d'Histoire des premiers siècles de Rome." P. 11, 12.

"Il faut absolument, qu'on en vienne à dire, que ces traités sont supposés, ce qu'on ne peut faire sans de fortes raisons (et je ne vois pas qu'on ait aucune pour douter de leur authenticité) ou que l'on convienne de bonne foi, que TOUT ce qu'on nous debite dans l'Histoire Romaine n'est qu'incertitude, et qu'on n'y peut compter sur rien." P. 43.

"It is certain^t that Servius [Tullius] augmented the number of the tribes." Dissert. p. 299.

"Certain it is, that from this time Porsenna did not treat the Romans as enemies, but as old allies, or as good subjects." P. 329.

And M. de B.'s arguments for disbelieving some facts in the Roman story, or doubting of them, are frequently drawn from the certainty of others, particularly of the treaties. See p. 33.

I cannot but take notice, that with regard to the story of king Brennus the Gaul, M. de B. seems not to doubt of these facts. Dissert. part 2. ch. 10.

1. That the Gauls totally routed the Roman army in the field.
 2. That they presently after possessed themselves of Rome.
 3. That they burnt the city.
 4. That the old historical records and monuments were most of them consumed in the flames.
 5. That the Capitol was saved.
 6. That several ancient monuments being there deposited, were preserved with it.
 7. That the Gauls sold a peace to the Romans, and departed without loss.
- Here are, then, in the history of this one affair, seven important facts which M. de B. seems fully to believe. And what is it he objects to? Why, to Livy's relation of Camillus's wonderful arrival, in the critical moment, to save the Romans from the disgrace of living on the foot of a ransomed people; and his destroying the whole army of the Gauls. But this relation, romantic in the air of it, and discovered by Polybius's account to be a mere fiction of Roman vanity, can never be thought a good reason for questioning the truth of every thing that Livy has related of the earliest ages of Rome; and much less for regarding the whole Roman history of the first 500 years, as fabulous or uncertain. For when M. de B. speaks of the uncertainty of the Roman history, I suppose he means, or ought to mean, the uncertainty of the best and least exceptionable accounts of the Roman affairs, that can be collected from the several ancient writers who have treated the subject.

We shall presently see, that one of M. de B.'s reasons for his incredulity is, that the Roman historians (the earliest of whom lived in the sixth century from the building of Rome) wanted means to know the truth. Yet he gives credit to Polybius's relation of the wars between the Romans and Gauls, from the time of Brennus to that of Pyrrhus: and if he thinks it reasonable to believe Polybius on this part of the Roman history, he must allow

^t "Il est *sur* que Servius en augmenta le nombre [des tribus]."

"Ce qu'il y a de *sur*, c'est que, dès lors, Porsenna n'en usa plus avec les Romains, comme avec des ennemis, et qu'au contraire il les traita en anciens alliés, ou en bons sujets."

that there were means of coming at the truth of it, whether Livy, and the prior historians whom he followed, made use of them or not.

But whatever be the real opinion of M. de B. concerning the Roman history of the first 500 years, he has advanced (if I mistake him not) the following propositions :

Disser. p. 6. I. "The Romans were an obscure people, confined, during four centuries, to a little corner of Italy; and the continual exercise of arms and husbandry (the only sciences they professed), hindered them from having the thought^u of transmitting the memory of events to posterity."

P. 15. II. "And, if they had thought of perpetuating the memory of what passed among them, they were universally so illiterate, that nobody was capable of writing history, or transmitting the events to posterity by sure and exact memorials."^x Personne n'étoit capable, &c.

^u "—*L'empêcha de songer à transmettre à la postérité des evenemens, qui dans le fond, ne sont devenus interessans, que par le haut degré de gloire, auquel ses descendans se sont élevés par leurs conquêtes.*"

P. 16. ^x M. de B. cites a passage from Livy, (b. 7. c. 3.) to prove that even in the end of the fourth century writing was very little in use. "*Raræ per ea tempora litteræ, on faisoit peu d'usage de l'écriture, dit Tite Live en parlant de la fin du quatrième siècle.*" M. de B. adds: "Indeed they must have been very little solicitous in those times to preserve the memory of events, since, instead of all other annals, they were content with driving a nail every year into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; and this was the sole expedient they could have for fixing the chronology [*c'étoit là toute la ressource qu'on pouvoit avoir pour fixer la chronologie*], as the same historian informs us in the same place."

He proceeds: "Had this been practised from the foundation of Rome, it might have been of great use for settling the true era of the city. But the practice could not commence before the temple was dedicated, which was not till after the expulsion of Tarquin; and it had suffered a long interruption. It was renewed in the end of the fourth century of Rome, not because they found it mentioned in any record or ritual (for they made so little use of letters, that they had neither books nor records), but on account of a tradition almost forgotten, *ex seniorum memoriâ repetitum.*" [It was recalled to mind by some old men, &c.]

As great use is made of the passage in Livy, referred to by M. de B. for proving the extremely illiterate state of the Romans, during many years after the commencement of the republic, I shall here transcribe the passage at length. The historian is speaking of the year 392 (or, according to the Capitoline marbles, 390), when Rome was grievously afflicted with the plague.

* Crevier. "Cn. Genucio, L. Æmilio Mamercino, secundum consulibus, quum piaculorum magis conquisitio animos quam corpora morbi afficerent, repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur, pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo sedatam. Ea religione adductus senatus, dictatorem clavi figendi causa dici jussit. Dictus L. Manlius Imperiosus, L. Pinarium magistratum equitum dixit. Lex vetusta est, priscis litteris verbisque scripta, ut, qui prætor maximus sit, idibus Septembribus clavum pangat. Fixus [most of the manuscripts have *fixa* *] fuit dextro lateri ædis Jovis optimi maximi, ea ex parte, qua Minervæ templum est. Eum clavum, quia raræ per ea tempora litteræ erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse *ferunt*: eoque Minervæ templo dicatam legem, quia numerus Minervæ inventum sit. Volsiniis quoque clavos, indices numeri annorum, fixos in templo Nortiæ Etruscæ Deæ, comparere, diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius affirmat. "M. Horatius CONSUL, EX LEGE templum Jovis optimi maximi dedicavit, anno post reges exactos: à CONSULIBUS postea ad DICTATORES, quia majus imperium erat, solenne clavi figendi trans-

III. "The Pontifical Annals, or historical part of the pontifical books, and the other monuments, public and private, which could have given some certainty to history, were *all* destroyed" by

latum est." *Intermisso deinde more, digna etiam per se visa est res, propter quam dictator crearetur.*" Liv. b. 7. c. 3.

Now I conceive that M. de B. has, through inattention, made no less than four mistakes in his comment upon this passage.

For, I. First of all, Livy does not speak of *the end of the fourth century*, when he says, some report, that the nail was to mark the number of years, because letters were rare in *those days, per ea tempora*; but of the time, when the practice of driving a nail in the wall of the temple of Jupiter *commenced*, in pursuance of a law directing that it should be done annually on the *ides of September*, by the chief prætor [i. e. by the chief magistrate: the *consuls* were, at first, styled *prætors*]. That this practice commenced long before the end of the fourth century is evident, from the instance then called to mind by the old men, of a dictator's doing it, and from the words *intermisso deinde more*. And it seems highly probable from Livy's words, that the law was made, and the practice commenced, in the first year of the republic, and that Horatius, when he dedicated the temple, struck the first nail into the wall; and that it was a part of the ceremony, at the dedication, and performed in conformity to the law abovementioned. "There is an old law (says Livy), written in antique characters, and antique words, importing, that the chief prætor should, on the *ides of September*, drive the nail, *clavum pangat*. The nail [or the law] was fixed on the right side of the temple of Jupiter, in that part where the fane of Minerva is." What follows is all parenthesis, till he thus goes on: "The consul Marcus Horatius, according to the law, dedicated the temple of Jupiter, the year after the expulsion of the kings: afterward, the fixing the nail was transferred from the consuls to the dictators, because these were magistrates of greater power and dignity" [agreeably to the spirit of the law, expressed in these words, *Qui prætor maximus sit*]. Whoever attends to Livy's words must surely see, that, when he says, the consul Horatius dedicated the temple *ex lege*, he refers to the law, where it was enjoined, that the chief magistrate should drive a nail annually on the *ides of September*; and means to tell us, that this consul drove the first nail pursuant to that law, when he dedicated the temple (which dedication was on the *ides of September*, as Plutarch informs us). If Livy did not mean to say that Horatius drove the nail, when he dedicated the temple, what connexion between the former and latter part of this period? "The consul Horatius dedicated the temple the year after the regifuge; afterward, the fixing the nail was transferred from the consuls to the dictators."

II. There is not one word in the passage referred to importing that the Romans had no annals except nails. And the written law itself is a proof that the nails were not used because nobody could write, or because these nails were the only expedient they could have to fix the chronology. And, for the same reason, they, of whom Livy says *ferunt*, cannot be supposed to have meant, that the nails were used, because nobody could mark the years by words or figures, but because the generality of people could not read what some could write; as was the case in these countries not many hundred years ago. And the interruption of the practice of driving nails [*intermisso deinde more*] if it proves any thing, proves only, that the common people were become less illiterate, and that the nails were not wanted to instruct them in chronology.

III. It appears from the passage referred to, that, in the end of the fourth century, the Romans had a monument or record mentioning the custom of driving a nail, &c. They had a written law enjoining it; *lex vetusta est priscis litteris verbisque scripta, ut qui prætor maximus sit, idibus Septembribus clavum pangat*: in conformity to which law the act of fixing the nail had been transferred from the consuls to the dictators. And this shews, that both the law and the practice were anterior to the institution of dictators.

IV. The thing said to be remembered by the old men was not the custom of driving a nail into the wall of the temple, but a particular instance of the plague's being stopped by a dictator's driving a nail, &c. *repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo sedatam*.

"C'est de ces écrivains, que j'apprens, que tous les monumens publics, qui auroient pu donner quelque certitude à l'histoire, périrent par le feu, lorsque les Gaulois eurent pris Rome." P. 10.

the flames which consumed the city, after the Gauls had taken it" [in 363].

How to reconcile this third assertion with the second, or with the latter part of the first, seems somewhat difficult ; nor seems it very easy to reconcile it with the following enumeration of the ancient monuments which M. de B. supposes to have escaped the flames :

P. 13. " Some laws of the kings.

P. 32. " All the laws of the twelve tables, by which might be known the constitution of the ancient government.

P. 46, 47. " Some of the pontiffs' books, which discovered the origin of several religious customs, or ceremonies. (Under the name of the pontiffs' books, M. de B. comprehends all the books in general, which treated of the religious ceremonies and traditions of the Romans ; as, the books of the augurs and haruspices, the verses or hymns of the Salii, the Saturnian verses, and a great number of books of that kind.)

P. 103. " Some of the books^z which contained the musters and polls taken of the Roman citizens, which books might be of use to history.

P. 42. " A considerable number of the treaties which Rome had made with the neighbouring states. Il est à presumer qu'ils sauverent un assez bon nombre de ces derniers [les traités] parce qu'ils étoient gardez dans le temple de Jupiter au Capitole, qui demeura à l'abri de la fureur des Gaulois. And treaties of peace are the

P. 33. most authentic materials for history. Les traités de paix sont les materiaux les plus authentiques pour l'histoire, et on ne peut for-

" Il est sur que la partie historique des livres des pontifes, ou leurs *annales* perirent dans la destruction de Rome par les Gaulois. Tite Live est si exprés là dessus, qu'il nous ôte tout sujet d'en douter,—lorsque se plaignant de la peine qu'il a eu parceque TOUS les memoires, conservez dans les archives, qui étoient entres les mains des particuliers, ou qui faisoient partie des livres des pontifes, avoient été enveloppés dans la ruine de la ville. *Et quod etiamsi quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensâ urbe PLERÆQUE interiere.*" P. 56.

N. B. In this place, *pleræque*, with M. de B. imports tous ; in p. 5. 18. presque tout : in p. 20. 27. la plus part ; in p. 19. grande partie.

^z " Quoique les anciens historiens omettent quelques *lustres*, et quelque fois les noms des censures, ainsi que le nombre des citoyens, qui s'étoit trouvé dans chaque denombrement, je serois assez porté à croire, sur ce qui nous reste de ces revues générales des citoyens de Rome, que c'étoit un des monumens le mieux conservé, et que les historiens avoient le moins négligé de consulter. Ce que Denis d'Halicarnasse en cite remonte jusqu' au premier cens sous Servius Tullius. On seroit un peu mieux fondé, si on nous alléguoit de pareilles pieces en faveur de l'Histoire Romaine. Car, si ce que les historiens nous disent des differens cens, où denombrements, qui se sont fait à Rome, est fondé sur le temoignage de ces monumens, qui se gardoient dans les archives, on ne peut disconvenir, qu'ils n'aient échappé aux flammes, du moins en partie, et qu'ils n'aient été de quelque usage pour l'histoire." P. 102, 103.

mer aucun doute raisonnable sur des faits appuyés de pareilles preuves."

IV. "There was, at Rome, no book, no writing, prior to P. 145. Pyrrhus's coming into Italy; no ^a piece that could be of use to P. 70, history, anterior to the end of the fifth century."

How to make this agree with the foregoing enumeration of pieces preserved from the flames, I do not readily perceive.

V. "The later historians of Rome did but copy ^b the earlier P. 6, 7. with regard to the times preceding the earlier."

This seems to be a hasty assertion; since both Livy and Dionysius speak so frequently of the disagreeing accounts given by the authors they cite, with regard to the times anterior to the first historians. And Livy, in his preface, says, that each new writer thinks either to produce something more certain with regard to facts than his predecessors have done, or to excel them in language and style. "Novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se, aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt."

VI. "Those records or monuments which escaped the flames P. 11. (when Rome was burnt by the Gauls) were of little use for composing a history. And the first historians did not rest upon such monuments, but founded themselves *wholly* upon traditions and vulgar stories, as the most celebrated and most esteemed writers inform us,^c who nevertheless took all their accounts from those first historians.

^a "J'ai déjà prouvé que ces annales des pontifes n'existoient point: et je prouverai bientôt, qu'il n'y avoit aucune piece, qui pût servir à l'Histoire, laquelle fut antérieure à la fin du cinquieme siecle de Rome." P. 70.

^b "On reconnoitra facilement, que ceux qui ont écrit l'Histoire Romaine, n'ont fait que se copier les uns les autres pour ce qui regardoit les tems antérieurs." P. 7.

"Fabius Pictor et ceux qui le suivirent de près, avoient ignoré, &c. On n'avoit fait depuis que les copier sans autre examen." P. 45.

"Ils ont été plus de cinq siècles sans avoir d'historiens—les premiers qu'ils ont eus, ont fort mal réussi, destitués comme ils l'étoient, de monumens anciens et de memoires surs, qui leur pussent servir de guides—les historiens, qui depuis ont entrepris de fournir la même carrière, se sont contentés de s'appuyer de l'autorité de leurs prédécesseurs et de les donner pour garans des faits qu'ils rapportoient—ils se sont peu mis en peine d'examiner à la rigueur la vérité des faits." P. 6.

N. B. Unless with regard to absurd fictions, it is hard to guess by what test the later historians, if there were no ancient monuments, no authentic memorials, could examine the truth of the facts related by the earlier historians.

^c "Je recherche ce qui a pu échapper à cet incendie—je trouve que ce qui en échapa, fut de peu d'utilité pour la composition de l'Histoire. Ce sont eux memes [les écrivains les plus celebres et les plus accredités] qui m'apprennent, que ce n'est point sur de pareils monumens, que les premiers historiens se sont appuyés, et que ceux qui les ont suivis (en avouant, que ceux qui les avoient précédés dans cette carrière, ne s'étoient fondés que sur des traditions, et sur des bruits populaires, que d'ailleurs ils n'avoient apporté ni jugement, ni exactitude, dans la composition de leurs histoires, et dans ce qu'ils disoient des premiers siècles de Rome) n'ont pas laissé de reconnoître que c'étoit d'eux qu'ils tiroient tout ce qu'ils en rapportoient [i. e. tout ce

P. 142, 143. 435. "What we have of the Roman history [of the first 500 years] was taken out of family memoirs. Destitute of all other monuments, it was to these pieces, that the historians, towards the middle of the sixth century [*i. e.* the first historians] were obliged to have recourse, and from no other sources could they have drawn what they related of those times, which, as they^d themselves confess, were covered with thick darkness, and of which there was no speaking with any certainty."^e

To explain, and, as much as possible, reconcile, these two paragraphs, we shall have recourse to another passage in the Dissertation.

P. 150. "The most ancient piece known at Rome in Cicero's time^f was the speech of Appius Claudius, the blind, pronounced in the senate to dissuade them from accepting the terms of peace proposed by Pyrrhus, in 474. Indeed, there were beside that some funeral orations, but tradition must have supplied the rest: so that

qu'ils rapportoient des premiers siecles de Rome]." P. 10, 11. "Les historiens, qui ont vecu dans des siecles plus polis, et où l'on n'ignoroit aucune des loix de l'Histoire, n'ayant point eu d'autres sources où puiser que ces mêmes histoires, qui n'étoient fondées que sur la tradition, ils n'ont pû donner plus de certitude à ce qu'ils rapportoient des premiers siecles de Rome." P. 204.

^d By *they themselves*, I presume M. de B. means the later historians; for they are the only writers he cites as complaining of darkness.

^e "C'est des *memoires des familles*, qu'est tiré ce que nous avons de l'Histoire Romaine." P. 142.

"Destitués de tous autres monumens, ce fut à ces pieces [*memoires des familles*] que les historiens, vers le milieu du sixieme siecle, furent obligez d'avoir recours." P. 435.

"Dans quelle source ont-ils puisé ce qu'ils on dit sur des tems, que selon eux-mêmes couvroient d'épaisses tenebres, et dont on ne pouvoient parler avec aucune certitude? *Ce n'a pû être que dans ces traditions des familles* puisqu'il n'y avoit point d'autre monument auquel ils pussent avoir recours." P. 152.

^f I am not aware that M. de B. has any support for this, but a mistake of his own (through inattention) in interpreting a passage of Cicero's Brutus: [c. 16.] *Nec verò habeo quenquam antiquiorem, cujus quidem scripta proferenda putem, nisi Appii Cæci oratio hæc ipsa de Pyrrho, et nonnullæ mortuorum laudationes, fortè delectant: et Hercule, hæc quidem extant.* Cicero is discoursing not of authors in general, nor of historians, but of orators, and the last he mentions is Cato the censor: and he adds, that "he is acquainted with none more ancient, whose writings he thinks worth speaking of; unless the oration of Appius Claudius concerning Pyrrhus, and some funeral orations, may happen to please. Of these there are indeed enough." Had Cicero been speaking of Roman historians, or authors in general, he certainly would not have said, that he knew none more ancient than Cato, that were worth mentioning; because Fabius and Cincius, and several other historians, much esteemed, were prior to Cato. Yet on the authority of this passage M. de B. (p. 145.) writes thus, "On ne pourra pas douter de la verité de ce que j'avance, dès que j'aurai fait voir, qu'on n'avoit à Rome aucun livre, aucun écrit, qui fût antérieur à la venue de Pyrrhus en Italie, événement, qui ne se place que vers la fin du cinquieme siecle de Rome. Pour des HISTORIENS, on sait qu'ils ne parurent que dans le siecle suivant. Ciceron, parlant de ce qu'on avoit de plus ancien de son tems, dit que Caton, qui étoit mort il n'y avoit pas plus d'un siecle, étoit considéré comme un auteur fort ancien *eum nos perveterem habemus.* Certes ajoute t-il, je n'en connois point de plus ancien dont je puisse vous citer les écrits, à moins que l'on ne trouve du gout à la harangue d'Appius Claudius sur Pyrrhus, et à quelques oraisons funebres."

the truth of the history of the first five centuries had no other support but these two witnesses, funeral orations and tradition."

"Perhaps to these we may add, some songs or hymns, composed in honour of the heroes and illustrious men,—pieces not proper to instruct us in the truth of facts."

The case then was this; there were no written family traditions, nor any other [historical] writings, aucun livre, aucun écrit, before the year 474. Between this time and the year 550 (when Fabius Pictor became an historian) funeral orations were written. And from these written orations, and from oral tradition, the first historians compiled their works.

But then we are aground again, by reason of an unlucky passage, P. 150. cited by M. de B. from Dionysius, who tells us, that Fabius [whom all the following historians are said to have copied] compiled his history of the first 500 years from tradition, from hearsay, wholly from hearsay; "on voit que ce qu'il en disoit n'étoit appuyé que sur ce qu'il en avoit oui dire:" ἐξ ὧν ἤκουσε, D. H. lib. 7. p. 475. Fabius then did not make use of the funeral orations, nor of any written family traditions (family memoirs): neither were these, according to M. de B. formed upon hearsay. The matter of them was invented by the vanity of private men. And not only the matter of them was invented, but the greater number of the pieces themselves were forgeries;^g i. e. they were not contemporary with the authors to whom they were ascribed, but forged after their time. And if Fabius took his historical accounts from forged funeral orations, these forgeries must have been almost all made in his own time, and all in the space of seventy-six years; supposing it true, that there were no writings of earlier date than the year 474. And then we shall be at a loss to guess, how it was possible to impose these forgeries upon Fabius for genuine pieces. P. 164. P. 154.

But is it not strange that M. de B. who, by admitting that the public monuments and private memorials of the Romans were burnt by the Gauls, admits that the Romans had both ability and disposition to write before that time, should yet suppose, that they had neither the one nor the other, for above 100 years after that time?

And there is another difficulty arising from another passage P. 162. cited by M. de B. from Dionysius, lib. 1. p. 59. who there

^g "L'on peut assûrer sans temerité que l'Histoire Romaine, pour la plus grande partie, à été forgée sur ces traditions des familles, et sur des oraisons funebres, qui pour la plupart n'étoient que des pieces supposées, que des faussaires avoient forgées pour favoriser les pretensions, que quelques familles formoient à une genealogie illustre."

says, that the earliest Roman historians took all their accounts of the birth of Romulus, and the building of Rome, from the antique narratives in the sacred books, ἐν ἱεραῖς δέλτοις.

And what makes these difficulties the greater is, that M. de B. is of opinion, we^h ought to give full credit to Dionysius in what he says concerning the works and merit of the historians who preceded him.

But, not to dwell any longer on the seeming repugnances in the argumentation of our ingenious critic against the credibility of the history of the five first centuries, let us now consider what Livy says concerning his own history of the times, anterior to the burning of Rome by the Gauls.

“ I have, in five books, set forth what, from the building of the city to its being taken, was done by the Romans, first under the kings, then under the consuls, dictators, decemvirs, and military tribunes, with consular power; the foreign wars and domestic seditions; matters very obscure, by reason of their antiquity (like objects that, at a great distance, are hardly discerned). For it is only by writings, that the transactions and events of remote times can be clearly and faithfully transmitted; and in those days there were few writers; and the greater part of the commentaries of the high-priests, and of the other records, public and private, perished in the burning of Rome.ⁱ Henceforward matters more clear and certain will be related: the civil affairs and military acts of the Romans, after the rebuilding of their city.”^k

Now what is the obvious sense of this passage?

^h “ Denis d’Halicarnasse, aiant entrepris l’Histoire des cinq premiers siecles de Rome, doit etre consideré comme juge competent de ceux qui l’ont precedé dans la meme carriere.” P. 168. “ L’on ne risque rien en s’en rapportant à ce qu’il en dit.” P. 163.

I cannot possibly be of M. de B.’s opinion in this particular. Dionysius seems, of all writers, to be the man who deserves the least credit when he speaks of the merit of other writers. For (lib. 1. p. 5.) he says of Polybius, “ that he wrote little concerning the Romans, and that the little he did write was without any care or accuracy, and wholly founded upon idle reports.” Nor could even Thucydides please Dionysius: but, as to what he says by way of censure on Thucydides, Mr. Hobbes remarks, “ that there was never written so much absurdity in so few lines.”

ⁱ It seems pretty plain from what Livy here says of the destruction of public and private monuments or records, that he knew nothing of the *peu d’usage de l’écriture*, for which M. de B. contends.

Lib. 6. c. 1. ^k “ Quæ ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui; res cum vetustate nimia obscuras, veluti quæ magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur: tum quod et raræ per eadem tempora litteræ fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriæ rerum gestarum: et, quòd etiam, si quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleræque interiire. Clariora deinceps certioraque ab secunda origine, velut ab stirpibus lætiùs feraciùsque renatæ urbis, gesta domi militiæque exponentur.”

“The foregoing part of my history (says Livy) is full of obscurity and uncertainty: because the matters there treated of, are of too ancient date to have been transmitted with faithfulness and exactness by oral tradition, and because the contemporary writers were few, and the greater part of their writings perished in the fire that consumed the city. But the transactions and events after that time, are things more clear and certain, *clariora et certiora* :” how so? “because with respect to these, there are not the same causes of obscurity and uncertainty. The times not being so remote, the traditions concerning them are more to be depended on; contemporary writers were less rare; and there has not been a like destruction of their writings.”

This is surely the plain meaning of his words, and it ought to be observed to his credit, that his history of the earliest times is proportioned, for length, to the scarcity of materials he complains of; for, notwithstanding his circumstantial, and, perhaps in his own opinion, fabulous account of the rape of the Sabine women, with the consequences of it; and notwithstanding the frequent display of his skill in adorning a story, as in his description of the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, and in several other instances, his whole history of the seven kings, who are supposed to have reigned 244 years, hardly fills seventy pages in Le Clerc’s small edition; and of these, twenty are taken up with the reigns of Servius Tullius, and his successor Tarquin the Proud. Now, the institutions of Servius, which were his most important acts, and were the plan whereon, after the expulsion of Tarquin, the new government was established and maintained, cannot easily be called in question; nor, I believe, will any body question the truth of the most material things related of Tarquin’s tyranny, which gave occasion to the revolt from him, and the abolition of kingly government. The obscurity and uncertainty, therefore, of which Livy speaks, must chiefly regard the circumstances with which some facts are accompanied in his relations, and not the principal facts and events contained in the history of the early times.

Certainly M. de B. had not duly attended to the accounts given by the ancients of the regal state of Rome, when he ventured to say, “It is surprising to find a continued history of five P. 6. centuries, in which there is scarce any void, any year, that is not distinguished by some considerable event:” for very few of the 244 years of the kings are distinguished by any event whatsoever.

It may be farther remarked, that Livy’s history of the 119 years,

from the expulsion of Tarquin to the burning of Rome by the Gauls, is above four times as long as his history of the 244 years of the kings; and his history of those 119 years is no longer than his history of the ninety-five years that follow the rebuilding of Rome, and reach to the year 460, with which his tenth book ends. And the next ten books (which are lost) contained but the history of seventy-three years. Now the reason of these differences in the length of his accounts of the different periods is very obvious, and is contained in the passage above cited.

I proceed now to say something of the value of those materials, which the first Roman historians may reasonably be supposed to have had for composing their histories. Without entering into any discussion of the antiquity or contents of the linen books, the books of the magistrates, the tables and memorials of the censors, the books of the decemvirs and duumvirs, or the inscriptions on pillars, statues, or shields (from all which, it cannot be questioned but many things useful to history might be drawn), I shall confine myself to speak of the other sources of historical matter, that were open to the first historians.

1. The annals or commentaries of the high-priests, called the great annals.

That it was the constant custom, from the earliest times, for the high-priests to record in writing the events of each year, and that ancient annals, composed by the high-priests,¹ existed, either entire or in part in Cicero's time, is unquestionable from his express testimony.

L. 6. c. 1. And from the complaint which Livy makes of the loss of the greater part of the pontifical annals, anterior to the burning of Rome [*incensa urbe pleraque^m interiere*] it is evident, that some pieces of those annals were preserved from that fire. His words import this: and his chief ground for saying that the greater part perished, was doubtless the preservation of the smaller.

Rome was burnt by the Gauls about the year 363, *i. e.* about 119 years after the commencement of the republic. The Romans, we are told, were very industrious in collecting what monuments or records had escaped the fire; and it is natural to suppose, that endeavours were used to supply by memory (as far as memory could supply) the defects of what remained of the pontifical an-

¹ —Ab initio rerum—Res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus—ii qui etiam nunc Annales maximi vocantur. De Orat. lib. 2. c. 12. Servius ad Virg. *Æneid.* lib. 1. v. 377. and Vopiscus in Tacito cap. 1. speak to the same effect, as M. de B. observes.

^m M. l'Abbé Sallier considers Livy's *pleraque* as a word of exaggeration, to magnify his own labour in compiling a general history of his country.

nals. "Before the use of letters (says Sir Isaac Newton) the names and actions of men could scarce be remembered above eighty or 100 years after their deaths : and therefore I admit of no chronology of things done in Europe above eighty years before Cadmus brought letters into Europe." It seems here to be admitted by this great man, that the names and actions of men, and even the chronology of things done eighty years back, might be preserved by memory, and without written records. The defects of the great annals might therefore, with certainty enough, be supplied by the help of memory alone, as to the principal events during the far greater part of the time, between the beginning of the republic and the burning of Rome. And with regard not only to that time, but to the earlier times, is it to be supposed, that those persons who had read the annals before they were in part destroyed, remembered nothing of what they had read ?

These annals, thus repaired, would doubtless be very brief and very imperfect, but not useless to history. The great events and the order of them would there be found. And as to the annals, written after the burning of Rome (for the practice was continued), we read of no destruction happening to these, either in whole or in part. It must be granted, however, that even these, through some accident or neglect, were not entire and perfect in the days of Livy, or of the prior historians. If there had been no chasms, no interruptions in them, how could the historians have been so much at a loss, as we find they sometimes were, concerning the succession of the magistrates ?

But, granting the pontifical annals, mentioned by Cicero, to have been very imperfect, and even supposing, that his words, *ab initio rerum*, regard the time when the practice of writing annals began, and not the epoch whence the relations, contained in those which he had read, commenced ; yet (as I said before) certain it is from his testimony, that ancient records, called the annals of the high-priests, or the great annals, did exist in his time : and therefore the silence of Livy and Dionysius, if they are silent (as M. de B. imagines), concerning these annals, will not prove what M. de B. would infer from it, the non-existence of them in their time. If they did not then exist, they must have been lost in the few years between the time when Cicero wrote, and the time when Livy and Dionysius composed their histories ; and of this there is no where any hint. Livy would doubtless have complained of such a loss, had it really happened, since he complains of the earlier loss suffered by the burning of Rome. And for

Short
Chron. p. 7.

these several considerations it is reasonable to believe, that the old annals, of which Livy frequently speaks, and the *ἱερὰ δέλτοι*, mentioned by Dionysius as historical monuments, were the great annals described by Cicero : and I think it may be reasonably asked, How could Cicero well know (and he speaks with confidence) that the custom of writing annals commenced *ab initio rerum*, but from the actual existence, in his time, of fragments of annals, written in the earliest times, or from their being cited by the first historians as existing in their time ?

In Numa.
Dissert.
p. 20.

To prove the non-existence of any annals, or parts of annals, written before the burning of Rome, M. de B. makes great use of the authority of one Clodius, cited by Plutarch, and represents this Clodius as speaking thus : “ All the ancient monuments were burnt when the Gauls sacked Rome, and those which the Romans now have are forgeries.”

* De Fortuna Romanorum,
p. 21.

M. de B. goes on : “ And Plutarch himself, or whoever was the author of the treatise of the Fortune of the Romans,* after speaking of some marvellous events of those early times,—adds, To what purpose should we dwell upon times which have nothing clear, nothing certain, since, as Livy assures us, the Roman history was corrupted, and its monuments destroyed ?”

Then immediately (taking for granted that Plutarch was the author of that treatise) he adds, “ What Plutarch says, upon the testimony of Clodius and Livy, of the destruction of those monuments, gets an additional force in the mouth of so grave an author as he. For since he does not contradict them, he supports what they say by his suffrage. The testimony of these authors is very express,” &c.

P. 26.

Again : “ Livy, Clodius, and Plutarch, depose, that the monuments, by which the truth of the Roman history might have been ascertained, and which alone could give it the requisite certainty, were destroyed in the sacking of Rome.”

P. 56.

And again : “ It is certain, that the historical part of the books of the pontiffs, or their annals, if they ever existed,ⁿ perished in

ⁿ “ If they ever existed.” Had Livy used these words in this place, he would have spoken like a certain gentleman, who, in giving a bad character of a person deceased, after many severe accusations, went on thus : “ And he was a very cruel father to most of his children—if he had any.”

That Livy did not intend to express a doubt whether any pontifical annals existed before the burning of Rome, is pretty evident from a passage (in his 4th book, c. 3.) cited by M. de B.

The historian is writing of the year 310, and he puts these words into the mouth of a tribune : “ If we are not admitted to the Fasti, nor to the commentaries of the high-priests, are we therefore ignorant of those things which are known even by all strangers ? that the consuls succeeded in the place of the kings, and have no rights

the destruction of Rome by the Gauls. Livy is so express upon this, that he leaves us no room to doubt of it."—For he says, "that all the memorials (kept in the archives) that were in private hands, or that made part of the books of the pontiffs, were involved in the ruin of the city." But where does Livy say this? Why, in b. 6. c. 1. where he tells us, that a great part, or the greater part, of what was contained in the high-priests' commentaries, and in other public and private monuments, perished in the burning of Rome: "Et quòd etiam, si quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensâ urbe, pleræque interiere."

Now as to Clodius, Plutarch writes thus: "Though the pedigrees of Numa's family, from its beginning to this day, be set forth in very nice order, there is much dispute concerning the time when he lived. One Clodius, in a work entitled ἑλεγχος χρόνων, asserts that the ancient writings of that sort [τὰς ἀρχαίας ΕΚΕΙΝΑΣ ἀναγραφὰς] were lost when the Gauls destroyed Rome, and that those which now appear were framed by flatterers to please the vanity of some private families, who would needs be thought descended from the most illustrious origins, to which they had in truth no relation." We see, that Clodius speaks only of genealogical tables, and not of any other historical monuments. Had he asserted that all the ancient monuments or records were lost, he would have asserted what was not true, by the concession of M. de B., who allows, that many treaties of peace, the laws of the twelve tables, and several other pieces of antiquity, escaped the flames.

M. l'Abbé Sallier thinks, that Plutarch was not the author of the treatise De Fortuna Romanorum; and, indeed, if he were, he must, how grave soever, have been a very idle man, and condemned by himself in the above-cited passage from that treatise, to spend his time in writing the lives of Romulus, Numa, Poplicola, and Camillus, without any materials, but what he believed to be forgeries and romance.

But can it be imagined, that either he, or Livy, or Dionysius, believed nothing of what they have written of the first ages of Rome, or that they looked upon all as uncertain? Though Livy, in some instances, doubts, yet he often says, "it is evident," "it is certain," *constat, certum est*; and, in his preface, he warns or prerogatives which the kings had not before?" Si non ad Fastos, non ad COMMENTARIOS PONTIFICUM admittimur: ne ea quidem scimus, quæ omnes peregrini etiam sciunt, consules in locum regum successisse? nec aut juris aut majestatis quicquam habere, quod non in regibus ante fuerit?

us, with regard to what he is going to write, to distinguish between the stories adorned with fiction, and the traditions supported by authentic monuments.

And it was very singular, and not a little marvellous, if, when Rome was burnt by the Gauls, the fire did so piously distinguish between sacred writings and profane. It spared that part of the pontiffs' books which regarded public worship, and likewise the treaties of peace and the laws of the twelve tables, treaties and laws being *religiones*,* religious matters, deemed so on account of the religious ceremonies performed at their making; but it destroyed entirely the historical part of the pontifical books, their annals: it spared no writing that was wholly profane, nothing historical, if not somehow under the protection of religion.

*Livy, l. 6.
c. 1.

II. The first Roman historians had, among the materials for their works, not only some parts of the high-priests' annals, written before the burning of Rome, but some parts of *other* public historical monuments or memorials, preserved from that fire. "Quæ in commentariis pontificum *aliisque* publicis monumentis erant, *pleræque* interiire:" the greater part, not all, perished.

What those *other* public monuments were, I will not pretend to say. Perhaps they were the linen books, the books of the magistrates, the memorials or tables of the censors, and some other ancient pieces referred to by the historians.

P. 98.

M. de B. observes, that Livy, who cites the linen books pretty often, from Licinius Macer, during the space of about ten years, does not cite them for any thing after that time, or before it. Now supposing this to be a proof that the linen books, which Licinius had consulted, contained nothing but what related to those ten years; yet, as those years were prior to the burning of Rome, we may reasonably believe, that the books in question were part of an old public record, a fragment preserved from that fire. And we may reasonably think the same of those parts of the books of the magistrates, and of the censors' books, which are cited in attestation of matters anterior to the destruction of Rome by the Gauls. The very imperfection of these pieces carries with it some proof of their antiquity, and of the mischief they had suffered.

III. Original records of many treaties which the Romans had made with the neighbouring nations, before the burning of the city. And these must have been of excellent use to the first historians, both for facts and dates, in their accounts of the early times. And as to the treaties, after the rebuilding of Rome, there is no question of their preservation.

IV. The acts of the senate and of the *comitia*, and the laws of the twelve tables, which, fully laying open the constitution of the state, the customs and manners of the Romans, the rights of the people, and the powers of the magistrates, were a sure guide to the historians in many particulars of their accounts.

V. Whatever could be ascertained by ancient annals or records, preserved in the other cities of Italy, that were fallen under the power of the Romans, when Fabius and his successors undertook to write history. Why should we suppose, that these were totally neglected by the first historians? That the neighbouring nations had books and records is evident from Livy, l. 10. c. 38. where we find, that, in the year 459 of Rome, the Samnites had recourse to their linen books, for direction in forming that legion which they called *legio linteata*.

That treaty with Porsenna (mentioned by Pliny), of which M. de B. takes advantage to discredit the Roman history, was doubtless found at Clusium, or some other city of Hetruria, not at Rome.

Livy, in citing the prior historians, does not always tell us from whence they took their matter, yet often enough to make us know, that they cited authorities for what they delivered. And it is evident, that they had recourse to the archives of the conquered cities. From the passage in Livy (l. 7. c. 3.) before referred to, we learn that Cincius, having examined into the antiquities of Volturni, a town in Hetruria, had found it to have been formerly a custom there to mark the number of the years by nails fixed in a temple dedicated to Nortia, an Hetruscan goddess; and that Cincius was a diligent inquirer into such antiquities, "*diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius.*"

VI. Family memorials, and funeral orations.

M. de B. cites the authorities of Cicero and Pliny,^p to prove P. 104. et that it was the general custom at Rome for each noble family to ^{seq.} preserve memorials, recording the services which the members of it had done the state in the discharge of those offices, with which they had been entrusted. "If these memorials," says M. de B. "had been faithfully written, they would have been of infinite use to history. Should we admit that all the other monu-

^o M. l'Abbé Sallier, in his first discourse, makes this observation; and he adds, "Les nations voisins pouvoient donc offrir des monumens aux recherches des historiens. On pourroit rapporter bien d'autre preuves, que les peuples voisins des Romains n'étoient pas sans monumens et sans histoires. Varron, cité par Censorin et Festus, en plusieurs endroits, fourniroit de bon temoignage pour ce que je dis icy."

^p Cic. in Brut. c. 16. Plin. l. 35. c. 2.

ments were lost, we must likewise admit, that the loss might have been supplied by these memorials. They were so many histories of the lives of particular men, and contained the principal affairs of the state, in the conduct of which those men had had a share. But, unhappily, in the composition of those histories, much less regard was had to truth than to heightening the lustre of families. There were so many falsifications, the truth of facts was so frequently corrupted in these memorials, that no use could be made of them without great precaution."

P. 107, 108. To prove the unfaithfulness of the family memorials, M. de B. insists chiefly on a passage in Cicero, and another in Livy, charging some funeral orations with containing false facts, invented to gratify the vanity of private families. From which it would seem, that he considers the family memorials as consisting wholly of

P. 105, 100. funeral orations. Yet, as he ranges certain records of the censors (called by Dionysius *τιμητικὰ ὑπομνήματα*) among the family memorials, and is inclined to think that the linen books ought to be placed there too, he manifestly admits, that funeral orations were not the whole of the family memorials.

Now, if the practice of writing family memorials began early, and these pieces were preserved, and transmitted from generation to generation, they must have been of excellent use to the first Roman historians: for how much soever those pieces might abound in panegyric exaggeration and false colourings, they would furnish good evidences of the truth of those facts, in which they agreed, and with which the several writers of those pieces were contemporary.

But as it does not appear at what time the custom of writing family memorials began, I shall here leave this matter, and consider what is said of funeral orations.

Dionysius, speaking of the funeral oration which Poplicola pronounced on his deceased colleague Brutus, tells us, it is uncertain whether Poplicola introduced this custom among the Romans, or found it already established by the kings. Be that as it will, there is no doubt of its being the constant practice, from the beginning of the republic, to honour the memory of great men by funeral panegyrics. And, as these were premeditated speeches, and as the glory of the orator was no less concerned in the composition, than the glory of the deceased, it is highly reasonable to believe, that the orator wrote down what he purposed to say, and, by revising and correcting his speech, put it into the best form he could before he delivered it. I say, it is

natural to suppose, that this method was for the most part, if not universally, observed by the speakers of funeral orations. Nor can any thing be more probable, than that the families, concerned in these orations, would be very desirous to preserve them.

And indeed there seems to be sufficient ground to conjecture, that from these funeral orations were taken, into the history of the earliest times of the republic, many particulars, not to be learned from tradition, or the high-priests' annals, or any other public memorials. But then, for an authentic account of what passed among the Romans, I would ask, What better materials could an historian have to work upon, than a series of such orations? For though in a funeral panegyric the orator may well enough be supposed to overrate the private virtues of the deceased, disguise or refine the motives of his actions, ascribe to his remote ancestors exploits which they had not performed, nay, give him noble ancestors from whom he was not really descended: yet, as to the high offices which the person himself had filled, and the public acts he had done in those offices, whether civil or military, we can hardly imagine the orator would attempt to impose upon an audience, who, having been eye-witnesses of the truth, were not capable of being deceived: for the sphere of action, in which the Romans moved during more than 200 years after the erection of the commonwealth, was so very narrow, that nothing considerable, of a public concern, could pass either in peace or in war, but what must be known to almost every individual of the state. The Roman citizens were all soldiers, all went to the war in their turns, and they could not, therefore, be imposed upon with regard to the success of the enterprises formed by their generals: and the same soldier-citizens were parties in all the civil commotions and struggles, and had a share in establishing those useful laws and regulations, which their magistrates had the merit of contriving and proposing. So that a series of funeral orations on the great men of Rome, would contain most authentic memorials of all the principal transactions and events both at home and abroad. It was the business of the historian, who employed these materials for his work, to separate the solid from the light and unsure; and certainly no task could be more easy.

It does not seem probable, that, during the regal state, funeral panegyrics were in use, unless we may suppose that this honour was done to the kings upon their demise, who, while Rome was governed by kings, had the glory of all victories in war, and all

prudent institutions in peace. But certain it is, that the practice prevailed from the very commencement of the republic. And though much the greater number of these funeral orations were unquestionably lost, when Fabius, about 300 years after the expulsion of Tarquin, undertook a general history of Rome, yet, that many of them were preserved, and especially of those posterior to the rebuilding of the city, there seems no reason to doubt. What could Livy mean by the *privata monumenta*, of which, he says, the greater part was destroyed by the Gauls, but these funeral orations and other family memorials? For he speaks of them as pieces that would have been useful towards a general and clear history of those times. And indeed we cannot imagine, that private families, in the earliest times of the republic, were chargeable with that vanity, which Cicero^q and Livy complain of, as the source of many inventions in funeral panegyrics of the later ages. Till some families could with truth boast of their antiquity, and the long glories of a line of ancestors from whom they were descended, there was no temptation, no opportunity, for vain men falsely to claim that kind of nobility, and invent pedigrees to do themselves honour. And should we suppose that, at the renovation of the state, upon the departure of the Gauls (*i. e.* about 119 years after the birth of the commonwealth), the loss of many monuments, public and private, might give both temptation and opportunity for fiction in some degree, yet this could reach to nothing very considerable; and it is hardly credible that the orator at a funeral would, to raise the glory of the deceased and his family, hazard invented facts, which derogated from the glory of other families, and could be contradicted by the memory of persons living. And when in later times (the brevity and imperfection of the pontifical annals and the other public monuments, and the loss of many private ones, through the extinction or decay of families, giving large scope to inventive vanity) consulships and triumphs were falsely ascribed, in funeral orations, to the remote ancestors of those whose obsequies were then solem-

^q "Nec verò habeo quemquam antiquiorem, [Catone censore] cujus quidem scripta proferenda putem, nisi quem Appii Cæci oratio hæc ipsa de Pyrrho, et nonnullæ mortuorum laudationes fortè delectant: et Hercules, hæc quidem exstant. Ipsæ enim familiæ sua quasi ornamenta, et monumenta servabant, et ad usum, siquis ejusdem generis occidisset, et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum, et ad illustrandam nobilitatem suam. Quamquam his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis, quæ facta non sunt, falsi triumphi, plures consulatus, genera etiam falsa, et a plebe transitiones, cum homines humiliores in alienum ejusdem nominis infunderentur genus: ut, si ego me à M. Tullio esse dicerem, qui patricius cum Servio Sulpicio consule, anno decimo post reges exactos fuit." Cic. in Brut. c. 16.

nized; still the accounts, given in those orations, of what they themselves had performed in the high offices they had filled, would be materials which an historian might confidently and safely employ.

Livy's complaint sufficiently proves, that he thought the first historians had made use of funeral orations in compiling their histories, and that some of those writers had very injudiciously adopted what they found delivered in such orations, concerning the remote ancestors of the persons in whose honour they were spoken. But neither he nor Cicero charges those orations with containing false accounts of facts contemporary with the orators, nor do they speak of those pieces as forgeries. I am not aware of any the least ground M. de B. has for thinking, that the funeral orations of which Livy and Cicero complain, were "*pieces supposées que des faussaires avoient forgées.*"

It is in writing of the year 432 of the city (*i. e.* the 188th of the republic) that Livy is at a loss to know, whether the dictator Cornelius, or the consuls of the year, conducted the war against the Samnites, and had a triumph for the success. The authors he consulted differed on this point, all agreeing however in Cornelius being then dictator: they had therefore some unquestionable authority for this particular. Their differences, in relation to the persons who obtained the victory and triumph, he imputes to the differing accounts in funeral orations and inscriptions on images, made long after the time, and by which he supposes the disagreeing historians to have been respectively guided. "It is my opinion," says he, "that the truth of history has been corrupted by funeral orations, and lying inscriptions on images, each family, by plausible fictions, assuming to itself the honour of great exploits. Hence (that is, from this arrogant vanity) it has doubtless happened, that the actions of particular men are confounded (those of one man ascribed to another), and the public monuments are likewise in confusion (disagree, contradict one another). Nor is there any contemporary writer (contemporary with the dictator and consuls of the year 432) extant, by whose authority the truth of the matter in question can be sufficiently ascertained."

What Livy means by public monuments, in this place, I will not pretend to say; probably they were the inscriptions on statues, erected in the later times, in temples and other public places, which inscriptions, contradicting one another, had occasioned a disagreement among the historians, who employed them

in their own compositions. That he does not speak of the high-priests' annals, as confounded or made inconsistent, is evident from Cicero's account of those pieces. The high-priest's business was not to record the transactions that passed two or three hundred years before, but the transactions of the present, or immediately preceding year. No funeral orations nor inscriptions on images, made in after-times, could confound those annals. Contradict them they might, but not make them inconsistent with themselves.

The same may be said of any other monuments, contemporary with the facts recorded in them; no posterior orations nor inscriptions could throw them into confusion.

It must indeed be admitted, upon the credit of Livy's words, that, in his time, no authentic record of any sort, contemporary with the magistrates he is writing of, was extant, by which the particular point in question could be cleared up: for otherwise the differences among the prior historians would not have perplexed him. But he does not say, that Rome had no writers so early as the year 432, or that no writing of so early date was extant in his time. His words rather import the contrary, that there were writers in those days, and that some of their writings were extant, but none whereby the matter in doubt could with sufficient certainty be determined. "Nec quisquam æqualis temporibus illis scriptor *exstat*, quo satis certo auctore stetur."

Demonstration, or satisfactory proof, is not aimed at, by any thing or by all that is said above in favour of the Roman history of the five first centuries; but only probability. The sum is this. It seems from many passages in Cicero, Livy, and other ancient writers, that the first Roman historians had a great variety of ancient and genuine pieces for the foundation of their histories; "The High-Priests' Annals;" "The Acts of the Senate, and of the Comitia;" "Records of the Succession of the Magistrates;" "The Censors' Books;" "Treaties of Peace and Alliance;" "Family Memorials and Funeral Orations."

Of no one sort of these pieces was there an uninterrupted series, but only parts and fragments. The whole stock of materials was insufficient for a continued thread of history; and accordingly the history is broken and imperfect; there are many chasms in

^r "Vitiata memoria funebribus laudibus reor, falsisque imaginum titulis; dum familia ad se quæque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallente mendacio trahunt. Inde certè et singulorum gesta, et publica monimenta rerum confusa. Nec quisquam æqualis temporibus illis scriptor *exstat*, quo satis certo auctore stetur." Lib. 8. c. 40.

it; some things are delivered as uncertain, some as fabulous; and many things in it are fabulous or uncertain, which are not delivered as such. Fabius Pictor and his nearest followers adopted traditional stories which pleased the national vanity, and of which those historians had no desire to destroy the belief, even when they could have done it by the means of authentic monuments; and in many instances they were destitute of those means. The circumstantial accounts of the exploits of particular men, I conjecture to have been taken from family memorials and funeral orations; because I cannot conceive from what other source the historians could have them. For the great annals, according to the description of them by Cicero, must have been too brief, to descend often to circumstances of actions; and tradition (as M. de Pouilly observes) never informs us of circumstances any more than of dates. When fiction or uncertainty is apparent in the accounts given us of the heroic deeds of this or that great man, I apprehend, that those accounts were taken from family memorials and funeral orations, of low date, when, the power of the Romans growing considerable, and their vanity keeping pace with it, genealogies became a matter of great moment to private families.

But as to the most memorable of the national affairs, the civil contests and the important changes produced by those contests in the constitution of the government, the foreign wars in which the Romans engaged, and the final successes of their struggles with each of the neighbouring states, the truth of these events might be assured by tradition alone; and the very dates of most of them would be ascertained by the laws and the treaties that were carefully preserved; the laws consequent to the commotions, and the treaties consequent to the wars. And we may well presume, that the memory of much more than these principal events was transmitted by the high-priests' annals and the other public monuments, contemporary with the facts they recorded. Family memorials and funeral orations, composed in the earliest times of the republic, would be excellent materials for an historian; and even those of later date, where truth was mingled with fiction, would be good authority with regard not only to contemporary facts, but to facts much earlier than those pieces, if many of those pieces agreed in the same accounts.

M. de B. begins the second part of his Dissertation with these words: "I have given the reasons which make me call in question the history of the first five centuries of Rome. They are founded on the want of contemporary monuments and historians. So that

the first historians which Rome produced could have nothing whereon to ground their relations but tradition, which is apt to corrupt very much the truth of facts.^s

Now, granting that the very short account of the 244 years of the kings, contained in Livy's first book, was chiefly taken from tradition, yet surely it is quite incredible that such a variety of matter, so many particulars (with that degree of order which they have) as fill the nine preserved books of Livy that follow the first, and filled seven^t books more that are lost, could all be collected from tradition alone. Tradition is not so copious and methodical. The earlier historians, therefore, from whom Livy drew the matter of his history of Rome, from the expulsion of Tarquin to the end of the fifth century, must have had written records and memorials of some sort to work upon; and from these they must have taken the greater part of what they related; unless we will suppose that their histories were romances of their own invention, which is not very probable; there being no indication whatsoever of those writers being great wits. It is probable, that after Fabius Pictor and some others had composed general histories of their country, most of the private memorials, which had served them in many particulars, for guides and vouchers, were neglected and lost; as was the fate of Fabius, and all the historians prior to Livy, after he had published a better written and more entertaining history, comprehending the substance of all that they had collected.

M. de B. in the second part of his Dissertation, produces from the Roman story several facts, which he calls principal events, and which, from the disagreement among the ancients, in their accounts of them, he considers as wholly uncertain; and from the uncertainty of these principal events, he infers the uncertainty of all the rest. I shall not enter into a particular consideration of the facts referred to; because, first of all, some of them are spoken of by the ancients as uncertain; and nobody pretends to certainty where they disclaim it. In the next place, because I conceive that very few of the facts mentioned have a title to be called principal events; and lastly because, if disagreement in some things, among historians who write of the same people and times, be a sufficient ground for refusing credit to every thing they relate,

^s " J'ai rapporté les raisons qui me font revoquer en doute l'histoire des cinq premiers siècles de Rome. Elles sont fondées sur la disette de monumens, et d'historiens contemporains; de sorte que les premiers historiens ne purent fonder leurs relations, que sur la tradition, sujette à alterer beaucoup la vérité des faits." P. 205.

^t Livy's 17th book ended with the year 495.

there is no history which may not with good reason be utterly rejected; and I am not concerned in the defence of history in general.

But, in the first part of the Dissertation, there is one particular, which being strenuously insisted upon by the ingenious author, and seeming very much to his purpose of discrediting the accounts given us by Livy and Dionysius, of the early times of the republic, ought not to be passed over unconsidered; I mean the treaty which Polybius says was concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians in the first year after the expulsion of Tarquin: Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius being consuls. The reader may find this piece in the seventh chapter of the third book of this history. If the treaty be genuine, and there be no mistake in the date which Polybius assigns to it, it stands in opposition to many things related by the two other historians.

I. It appears by this treaty, (says M. de B.) "That Brutus and Horatius were colleagues in the consulship; which, according to Livy and Dionysius, and all the Roman Fasti, they were not:" and he adds, "that every thing the historians tell us of the events of this year, being partly founded on the names of the consuls, nothing of the whole is, in his opinion, much worthy of credit."^u Dissert. p. 35.

He observes, "that Mr. Dodwell (de cyclis Rom. Diss. x. p. 104.) and Rycquius (de Capitol. Rom. c. 11.) choose rather to accuse Polybius of falsifying this treaty, than admit the uncertainty which it throws upon ancient history: and that Perizonius * has endeavoured to reconcile Polybius with the Roman Fasti, by conjecturing, that Polybius found only the name of Horatius in the original of the treaty, and added, of his own head, the name of Brutus, the better to denote the true date of this piece; and, as the name of Horatius alone had been put on the temple of the Capitol, so that name alone had been put to this treaty. This conjecture [says M. de B.] I would let pass, if it removed the other difficulties raised by the piece in question, and reconciled it with the accounts given by the other historians; yet I think Polybius too well versed in the Roman history to have given Horatius a colleague who never was his colleague; and too exact and scrupulous to have added any thing of his own to an original piece."^{vii. n. 8.}

That it is not probable, Polybius would falsify a treaty, add any

^u "Je crois qu'il faut avouer de bonne foi, que tout ce que les historiens nous disent des evenemens de cette année, étant en partie fondé sur les noms de consuls, est peu digne de creance."

thing of his own to an original piece, I readily grant; and that Perizonius's conjecture, if admitted, would leave the main difficulties in their full force. But I should be curious to know, what Roman history that was which M. de B. supposes Polybius so well versed in, and in which he supposes him to have found, that Brutus and Horatius were colleagues in the consulship. If, in the days of Polybius, there were authentic annals existing, which recorded the transactions of the earliest times of the republic, M. de B.'s main position in his Dissertation is overthrown. If he supposes that Polybius's sole authority for joining Brutus and Horatius in the consulship (contrary to the report of the older historians and annalists, whom Livy and Dionysius are said to have copied) was the piece in question, I would ask, how it appears that the names of Brutus and Horatius were certainly at the head or tail of that ancient monument? It is plain they were not in the body of it. When Livy and Dionysius contradict Polybius upon any particular historical fact, I believe there are very few readers who will not be inclined to side with the last, provided there be no reason not to do so, but barely his being contradicted upon that fact, by those two historians. But this is not the present case. The fact reported by him is highly improbable; and it is inconsistent with a series of not improbable facts, reported by them; facts, in regard to which we cannot conceive any temptation they had to invent, conceal, or disguise: and, in what Polybius himself says, there seems to be good ground for suspecting that he was deceived in relation to the piece in question. He introduces his

L. 3. c. 22. translation of it with these words: "The first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians was made in the consulship of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, the first consuls after the regifuge, by whom also was consecrated the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, twenty-eight years before the passing of Xerxes into Greece. Below, you will find the words of the treaty interpreted in the best manner I was able to do it. For the ancient Latin is so different from that now in use, that the most skilful are frequently at a loss, even after close application, to explain it."— And, in c. 26. after giving us two subsequent treaties, he says, "It is no wonder that Philinus knew nothing of these [all the three] treaties (though engraven on brass, and preserved in the temple of Jupiter, under the custody of the ædiles), for even in my time the oldest men, both Romans and Carthaginians, those who were thought the best acquainted with public affairs, were ignorant of these treaties."

Now, granting that some consuls' names were really found at the beginning or end of the old record in question, yet nobody will suppose that the consuls were there described in the manner Polybius describes them. The description is all his own. And (by the way) when he says, that the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was consecrated by Brutus and Horatius; who can prefer his authority, in this particular, to that of Livy, or of the most ancient Latin historians, whom doubtless Livy followed herein; and to the very inscription itself on the temple, where Horatius was named as the only consecrator? What motive can we imagine the Roman historians to have had for denying Brutus a share in that honour, if he had any title to it? Besides, it seems pretty evident from many passages in Livy, that it was not the custom, in the L. 2. c. 8. dedication of any temple, for more than one person to perform l. 4. c. 29. that ceremony. l. 9. c. 46.

Farther; Not only the description of the consuls, but their very names, as Polybius gives them, cannot well be supposed to have been annexed to this record, Lucius Junius with his surname Brutus, and Marcus Horatius without his surname Pulvillus. If the names were entire and legible, we must believe that the historian has either omitted or added something. And supposing, that to this record were found, both entire and legible, the names of some consuls; yet why is it so difficult to believe, that Polybius may have been deceived, concerning those names, by persons to whom he applied himself, for assistance in his attempt to explain a record in old Latin? For it is not to be supposed that he, a stranger, would undertake without assistance to translate a piece so difficult to be translated, even by the most skilful of the natives. He may have given us a false account of the date of this treaty, without being guilty of forgery.

And why may we not suppose, that time had effaced some parts of the consuls' names, and that the defects were supplied by conjecture? The Roman vanity might have a share too in the conjecture; it might prompt the assistants of our historian to fill up^x

^x Suppose the treaty in question to have been made so late as 304, the first year after the decemvirate, when Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Horatius Barbatus were consuls. The matter of the treaty will, in this case, suit better with the times, according to the accounts of them by Livy and Dionysius. (For Ardea was then in alliance with Rome, and Antium was a Roman colony.) Imagine the names of the consuls to have been partly effaced, and that there remained of them (supposing the cognomens to have been originally inserted) only Lucius—ius—tus, Marcus Horatius. Who will not see, that the Roman vanity of those, whom Polybius employed for his decipherers, might tempt them to supply the chasms with Jun—Bru—? But I am inclined to think that the piece in question was of much later date than the year 304.

the chasms in such a manner as to form an evidence, that the Roman state was considerable enough in the first year of the republic, to have a treaty with the Carthaginians.

But perhaps there is some reason to doubt, whether any date or consuls' names were really found at the beginning or end of this old record. For it is remarkable, that Polybius, who gives us at large two subsequent treaties engraven like the first, on brass, and kept with it under the custody of the ædiles, neither mentions the names of the consuls under whose administration they were made, nor assigns any certain date to either of them. Of the former of the two, he says only, that it was made after the first; and of the latter he says only, that it was made about the time of Pyrrhus's coming into Italy: and for this it does not appear that he had any voucher, but the matter of the treaty itself, where Pyrrhus is mentioned. If he had found dates and consuls' names to these brazen records, it is wonderful that so exact an historian should omit them; and especially when he is employing these records as evidence against Philinus's accounts, and the evidence has no real weight for want of those dates. Seeing then there is so much reason to believe that the records of the two later treaties wanted dates, we may well suspect that the oldest had the like defect; and that the date given to it was by mere conjecture.

Dissert.
p. 37.

II. M. de B.'s second discovery in this important piece of antiquity is, "That so early as the first year of the republic, the Romans practised navigation and piracy; of which things (he adds) there is little said in their history, which represents their marine, till the first Punic war, as consisting only of some merchant-ships, and as not brought to any perfection but on account of that war, as Polybius himself remarks."

L. 1. c. 20.

I must here confess, that I cannot discern, in the treaty, one word importing that the Romans, at the time of its being concluded, practised piracy, or had any ships of war. Perhaps M. de B. collects this piracy from Polybius's comment on the treaty, who says, "That the Carthaginians would not suffer the Romans to sail to the south of the Fair Promontory with long ships, *μακρᾶς ναυσὶ*;" which are commonly understood to be ships of war. But his comment here does not well accord with what he himself asserts, when he writes of the first Punic war: for he there tells us, "That the Romans, to that time, had never thought of the sea—and were so far from having decked ships, that they had not so much as one long ship, or even a lembus." In this particular the historian is undoubtedly mistaken; and I mention

Ibid.

it, not only to shew its repugnance to his comment on the treaty in question, but to shew likewise that Polybius is not always to be followed with a blind deference; and that we ought, in reading him, to observe the rule which he recommends to those who read the historian Fabius, “not to regard so much the great name of L. 3. the person who writes, as the matter he delivers,” and to consider, whether this be probable, have the appearance of truth, and be consistent with what is unquestionably true.^y

But farther, this treaty, according to M. de B. informs us,

III. That so early as the first year of the republic, “The Ro-
mans were masters of all the sea-coast as far as to Tarracina, and
even of the cities of Antium and Ardea; a point wherein it mani-
festly stands in opposition to Livy* and Dionysius.† For these
authors tell us, that Antium was the capital of the Volsci, and
that the Romans did not take it till forty years after, in the con-
sulship of T. Quinctius and Q. Servilius. The city of Ardea,‡
according to the same historians, was besieged by Tarquin the
Proud, at the time when the Roman people shook off the yoke of

Dissert.
p. 37.

* Lib. 2. in
fine.

† Lib. ix.
p. 615.

‡ D. Hal.
lib. 4. p.
277.

Liv. lib. 1.
c. 57.

^y Polybius (lib. 3. c. 26.) quarrels with Philinus, not for being ignorant of the three treaties beforementioned, as he supposes he was, but for asserting things contrary to the tenor of them. Now it does not appear, from any proof Polybius gives, either that Philinus was ignorant of these treaties, or that he asserted any thing contrary to them. Philinus affirmed (in speaking of the grounds of the first Punic war), that in some treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, it had been covenanted, that the former should not invade any part of Sicily, nor the latter any part of Italy. But this assertion does not contradict what is contained in the other treaties. To shew a contradiction, Polybius should have given us the dates of all the three treaties he has mentioned, and likewise the date which Philinus assigned to the treaty mentioned by him; and this Polybius has not done. The treaty to which Philinus referred, might have been made after the time of Pyrrhus's coming into Italy: and Philinus might know there was such a treaty, though Polybius could find no record of it; which is the second bad reason he gives for denying the fact. What Philinus reported is so far from being manifestly false, that it is highly probable. For if the Romans, before they had subdued all Latium, or had even alliances with all the Latin states, thought it necessary to bind the Carthaginians by treaty not to attempt conquests in any part of Latium, it was natural, that when they came to have the same sort of interest in protecting all Italy from the Carthaginians, which they had before in protecting Latium only, they should exclude the Carthaginians from every part of Italy; and doubtless, in that case, the Carthaginians would exclude the Romans, for the like reasons, from every part of Sicily.

[N. B. In p. 455 of the present volume of this history, where the question, Whether the first war undertaken by the Romans against the Carthaginians was justifiable, is discussed, the reasoning is partly founded on the supposition, that the report of Polybius is true; and that no treaty had been concluded between the two states, whereby the Romans were barred from meddling in the affairs of Sicily.]

It is sometimes urged against the authority of Livy and Dionysius, with regard to certain important facts related by them, that Polybius is silent concerning those facts, though he wrote of the same times and on the same subject which they treat. But I shall here observe once for all, that this his silence will never alone be a sufficient reason for rejecting the accounts of the other historians. For Polybius, though he speaks three times of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, does not once mention their burning it; and yet this is an important fact, of which I believe nobody ques-
tions the truth.

his domination. The Ardeates, after that, having the same interests with the Romans, made a fifteen years' truce with them. After which time Ardea continued in alliance with Rome to the year 310, when, on account of some particular discontents, they confederated with the Volsci; but in the following year the old alliance was renewed.

“ This city therefore (adds M. de B.) was, according to those historians, independent, and only in alliance with the Romans; whereas the treaty, given at large by Polybius, imports, that this city, and likewise Antium, Laurentum, Circeii, Tarracina, were subject to them; and expressly distinguished these cities from the cities in alliance with Rome. Hence it appears, that the two historians give us a false notion of the Roman state in the beginning of the republic; for they represent its domination as extending little farther than the proper territory of Rome; whereas by this treaty we see, that it extended over several cities, and over all the sea-coast as far as Tarracina.”

Whenever this treaty was made (supposing it genuine), it is evident, that the main purpose of the Romans in it, was to exclude the Carthaginians from all Latium, not only those parts of it that were subject to the Romans, or in alliance with them, but those likewise with which they had neither of those connexions. And it is not, I think, clear, from the words of the treaty, that all the towns therein mentioned were in absolute subjection to the Romans. It speaks to this effect: “ Let^z the Carthaginians do no hurt to the Ardeates, Antiates, Laurentini, Circeienses, Tarracinenses, or any other of the Latins, if they be ὑπηκοοὶ; nay, if any of them be not ὑπηκοοὶ, let not the Carthaginians meddle with their towns. If they take any town of the Latins [whether they be ὑπηκοοὶ or not ὑπηκοοὶ] let them restore it unhurt to the Romans.” Here is no distinction made of towns subject and towns in alliance, but of the Latins who were ὑπηκοοὶ, and the Latins who were not ὑπηκοοὶ. What the force of the word ὑπηκοοὶ is, does not fully appear; whether it mean *subject* in the strict sense, or only dependent allies. I say dependent allies; for these towns might be in alliance with the Romans, and yet not independent on them; such being the case of almost all the states of Italy at the commencement of the first Punic war. And what

^z ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΑΔΙΚΕΙΤΩΣΑΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΑΡΔΕΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΤΙΑΤΩΝ, ΔΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΝΩΝ, ΚΙΡΚΑΙΑΤΩΝ, ΤΑΡΡΑΚΗΝΙΤΩΝ, ΜΗΔ' ΑΛΛΟΝ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ΛΑΤΙΝΩΝ, ΟΣΟΙ ΑΝ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΙ. ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΜΗ ΩΣΙΝ ΥΠΗΚΟΟΙ, ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΑΠΕΧΕΤΩΣΑΝ. ΑΝ ΔΕ ΛΑΒΩΣΙ, ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΤΩΣΑΝ ΑΚΕΡΑΙΟΝ. Polyb. lib. 3. c. 22.

the true import was of the old obsolete Latin word, which Polybius has rendered ὑπηκοοὶ, who can tell? One would suspect, that neither Polybius nor his assistants did very well understand the piece they undertook to explain. For it is a very strange covenant, "That in case the Carthaginians seized any town of the Latins, not subject to the Romans, they should restore it to the Romans."

Farther; If this brazen monument had, for its date, the names of Brutus and Horatius (consuls in the first year of the republic), and if the words of the treaty import, that the Ardeates were subject to Rome, and distinguish them from allies, it is contradicted by an original authentic record, which Livy mentions of a treaty L. 4. c. 7. of alliance and friendship, made with the Ardeates in the consulships of L. Sempronius Atratinus and L. Papirius Mugilanus (year of Rome 309 or 311), which treaty was a renewal of an alliance that had long subsisted between the two states.^a

Again, it is hardly to be imagined, that the Romans had subdued the maritime towns of old Latium, as far as to Tarracina, in the remotest extremity of it, without having reduced the intermediate inland towns, and, in short, the whole or almost the whole country; yet this subjection of the Latin nation to Rome, in the first year of the republic, is incompatible with an original brazen monument existing in Livy's time, and recording the L. 2. c. 33. treaty of alliance made with the Latins in the second consulship of Cassius (year of Rome 260 or 261).

And, as to Antium, the capital of the Volsci, though Livy re- L. 2. c. 65. ports, that it was taken (in 284) forty years after the commencement of the republic, yet, by the sequel^b of his story, it would

^a The Ardeates, on occasion of a dispute between them and their neighbours, the Aricini, about a tract of land, were insulted by a decree of the Roman people, to whom the cause had been referred; who, instead of adjudging the land to either of the claimants, took it to themselves. Hereupon the Ardeates broke alliance with the Romans, and soon after, by ambassadors, complained at Rome of the injury which had been done them; but complained in such terms, as shewed they were willing to renew alliance and friendship with the Roman state, provided restitution were made of the land in question. The senate gave them a soft answer; and the next year the alliance was renewed by treaty; the record of which treaty Licinius Macer had read. "T. Quinctius Barbatus interrex consules creat, L. Papirium Mugilanus, L. Sempronium Atratinum. His consulibus cum Ardeatibus fœdus renovatum est. Idque monumenti est, consules eos illo anno fuisse, qui neque in *annalibus priscis*, neque in *libris magistratuum* inveniuntur, credo, quod tribuni militum initio anni fuerunt, eo perinde ac si totum annum in imperio fuerunt, suffectis his consulibus, prætermisssa nomina consulum horum. Licinius Macer auctor est, et in FœDERE ARDEATINO et in *linteis libris* ad Monetæ inventa."

^b The Latin historian relates, that when after the taking of Antium in 285, by T. Quinctius, the senate had decreed to place a colony there, the persons appointed to settle the colony could prevail with but few of the Roman citizens to go thither, so L. 3. c. 1. that they were forced to admit of Volsci to complete the necessary number; and he farther tells us, that a multitude of the old inhabitants returning soon after to the city, C. 4.

Livy, l. 8. c. 13, 14. seem, that the Antiates were not really subdued, nor reduced to a state of absolute subjection till the year 415, when the Latins also, or at least the much greater part of them, were brought into the like subjection. And even then Antium was made a Roman colony, into which the natives were admitted.

It would seem, therefore, that the treaty, given by Polybius, as made with Carthage in 244, was not made till after the year 415, the matter of it perfectly agreeing with the state of things after this year, and not before it.

* Orosius, l. 5. c. 7. calls this treaty, *Primum illud ictum cum Carth. foedus.*

Livy speaks of a treaty* of alliance and friendship with the Carthaginians in the consulship of Valerius Corvus and Popilius Lænas, year of Rome (according to the Fast. Cap.) 405; and his words seem to import that this was the first treaty concluded between the two republics. “Cum Carthaginiensibus legatis Romæ foedus ictum, quum amicitiam ac societatem petentes venissent.” Liv. lib. 7. c. 27. He speaks of no other till he comes to the year 447, when he says a third treaty was made with Carthage; “Cum Carthaginiensibus eodem anno foedus tertio renovatum.” Lib. 9. c. 43. So that it would seem from hence, and from the matter of that treaty, which Polybius calls the first, that it was really the second, and made between the years 405 and 447, and after the reduction of Latium in 415. According to the Epitome of Livy, the treaty concluded in the time of Pyrrhus,† which is Polybius’s third treaty, was the fourth treaty made with the Carthaginians. Epit. l. 13. “Iterum adversus Pyrrhum dubio eventu pugnatum est. Cum Carthaginiensibus quarto foedus renovatum est.”

† Y. of R. 475.

Epit. l. 13.

Granting then that, by the words of this old brazen record, the towns there mentioned were absolutely subject to the Romans; what is the conclusion we should naturally draw from it? Not that Livy and Dionysius have given us a false account of the Ro-

these alienated the minds of the colony from the Romans, and its fidelity could no longer be depended upon. Livy seems not to have known the exact time when the Antiates shook off all dependence upon the republic; but he represents them in the year 345 at the head of a confederacy against Rome. In 377, he makes them surrender their town and territory to the Romans. Nevertheless, in 407, we find them acting as an independent people; they had rebuilt Satricum, and sent a colony thither: and they by deputies solicit the Latins to take arms against the Romans. And in 413, the Antiates make incursions on the lands of Ostia, Ardea, and Solonium; and the Romans gain no honour in the war against them. But in 415, they are totally subdued, together with the Latins, and a new colony is sent to Antium. The Antiates are allowed to enrol themselves in the colony; but they are forbid the sea, and deprived of their long ships, some of which the Romans burn, carrying the beaks of them to Rome, where the suggestum, or pulpit, in the Forum, being adorned with them, acquires thence the name of Rostra. With the rest of the ships, the Romans augment their own navy.

Supposing the first treaty with Carthage to have been made in 244, and the third in the time of Pyrrhus, there will have been, according to Polybius, 231 years between the first and the third.

man state in the first year of the republic, but that the piece in question was not genuine, or that the names of Brutus and Horatius were not annexed to it. For,

What could tempt Livy, a Roman, or Dionysius, an extravagant flatterer of the Romans, wilfully to disguise the extent of the Roman domination at the commencement of the republic? I say, wilfully to disguise; for is it possible to believe that either the Romans or the Latins were ignorant of the time when the latter became subjects of the former? And M. de B. seems not to have duly reflected, when he says,^c “It is sufficiently apparent that Livy and Dionysius knew nothing of the treaty mentioned by Polybius.” They could not but meet with this piece in Polybius’s work, which they appear to be very well acquainted with, and of which Livy makes great use in compiling his own. And is it not evident, therefore, from their shewing no regard to what Polybius says of his old brazen monument, either that they looked upon it as not authentic, or knew that he had been deceived concerning the date of it? It is remarkable, that Livy, who informs us, that L. 2. c. 8. some authors, differing from the rest, make Horatius the immediate successor of Brutus, has not thought it worth while to observe, that Polybius makes them colleagues in the consulship.

Add to this, the great improbability that, during the unsettled and precarious state of things at Rome, in the first year after the expulsion of Tarquin, the Carthaginians should enter into any treaty with the Romans; and the yet greater improbability, that they should conclude a treaty with them in terms which suppose them in a settled state, and in a condition to maintain the stipulations therein expressed.

Perhaps we should have found the matter cleared up, and Polybius’s mistake animadverted upon by Livy or Dionysius, if those parts of their histories, which treated of the first war with the Carthaginians, had been preserved.

I shall close these observations with the words of M. de Pouilly, in the beginning of his *Nouveaux Essais de Critique sur la Fidélité de l’Histoire*.

“It very seldom happens that we avoid one faulty extreme without running into another, its contrary: this maxim, true in morality, is true in criticism. Are men afraid of giving credit to fables? They sometimes refuse it to the most certain facts; they look upon

^c “Il paroît meme assez, qu’ils n’en ont eu nulle connoissance.” Dissert. p. 34.
“Si Tite Live avoit eu connoissance de cette piece, &c. S’il avoit consulté ce monument,” &c. P. 39.

history as a compound of truths and fictions, so intimately united, that it is impossible to separate them. Had the historian no part in the transactions he relates? They suspect him of being ill informed.—Had he a part in those transactions? They accuse him of prejudice and prepossession.—On the other hand, there are those who, fearing lest they should happen to reject true history, give credit to all the fables which have borrowed its name.—Let us avoid these opposite extravagances: let us confess that, in history, falsehood is mingled with truth; but that there are marks by which they may be distinguished. Love of the marvellous, interest, vanity, spirit of party, are so many fountains ever open, from whence fiction spreads itself in ample waves over the annals of all nations. When we are reduced to seek the truth of a fact in historians biassed by passions, if they are of different parties and interests, let us bring their narrations together; and from this collation, we shall strike out the truth, if I may so speak, in spite of them: I say farther, that those who are of one and the same party, will commonly deserve some credit in facts of such public notoriety, that they durst not disguise them; or in which they were too little interested to have sufficient temptation to undertake it."

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR, IN
THE YEAR OF ROME 489, TO THE END OF THE SECOND
IN 552.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the close of the preceding book, we left the Romans complete conquerors and quiet possessors of all ancient Italy, that is, of all the country between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, from the remotest border of Hetruria to the Ionian sea. The far greater part of this dominion, though their state [by the usual reckonings] was now 488 years old, had been of late acquisition: for, whatever advantage they might have over their neighbours, in the admirable construction of their legion,^a the discipline of war, or any other respects, they could make but little progress in conquest during the space of above four centuries from the building of their city. Rome, while under the government of kings, was in the weakness of infancy; and if, with Florus, we consider her as advanced to sprightly youth (the second stage of life) when she became a republic, yet her natural strength was impaired, and her growth long checked, by the disease of civil discord, a mischief

^a Vegetius thinks that the form of the legion was not the product of mere human reason, but that the Romans were led to it by a kind of instinct from heaven; "Non tantum humano consilio, sed etiam divinitatis instinctu, legiones a Romanis arbitror constitutas." De Re Milit. l. 2. c. 21.

wholly proceeding from the want of that essential of a free state, a just equality among its members.

By the revolution which expelled Tarquin the Proud, the commons of Rome were delivered from a tyrant, but not from tyranny. A short suspension there was indeed of the weight of oppression. This was owing to the honest zeal of that excellent patriot, Valerius Poplicola, and to the temporising lenity and moderation of the senate, while their fears of Tarquin's return were alive and strong. In so perilous a season, the indulgent fathers had the goodness to decree, "That the poorer sort, by only educating their children, paid sufficient tribute to the state, and ought not to be loaded with any other tax." But it was not long before the plebeians felt themselves in the chains of servitude; Livy makes the death of Tarquin, which happened in the fourteenth year after his banishment, to be the precise period when they began to be oppressed by the nobles.^b The commons then became sensible, that by dethroning their king, they had only cast off the domination of one tyrant to become slaves to many, an assembly of tyrants, whose yoke was no less heavy and insupportable. The Valerian law,* to permit appeals from the sentence of the magistrates to the people assembled, was not sufficient to protect the plebeians from injustice and cruelty. They found it necessary to provide themselves living protectors against the tyranny of the great, and therefore extorted from the senate a consent to the establishment of the tribunitian power. Another rampart against the overflowings of ambition they raised to themselves by instituting the *comitia tributa*, and by the practice of bringing into judgment, before those assemblies, the most exalted of the nobles, upon accusations of treason against the people. By the publication of the laws of the twelve tables, some check was given to the

Livy, b. 2.
c. 9.

* Passed in
the Y. of R.
244.

Y. of R.
260.

Y. of R.
262.

Y. of R.
302.

^b "Insignis hic annus est nuncio Tarquinii mortis.—Eo nuncio erecti patres, erecta plebes. Sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit lætitia; plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope inservitum erat, injuriæ à primoribus fieri cœpere." B. 2. c. 21.

abuse of that prerogative, which the patricians tenaciously kept, of being the sole judges in civil causes: and we find that on several other occasions, the commons, urged by oppression to fury, exerted their natural strength in such a manner as seemed to proclaim them the sovereign masters in Rome.—But those acts of power were only transient flashes, the lightnings of a civil tempest; and, notwithstanding all the advances hitherto made towards liberty and equality, the patricians were the permanent, established lords of the commonwealth: all the great offices, civil, military, and sacerdotal, were confined to their body; the public treasure at their disposal: they heaped up riches to themselves; and, while the people, through extreme indigence, fell under a necessity of contracting debts to the patrician usurers, the laws gave the creditors power to be cruel to their insolvent debtors: and the consequence of all this was, that multitudes of the plebeians, slavishly dependant by reason of their poverty, durst not concur with the more free, in using even the undisputed rights of the commons. Hence the few instances of plebeians chosen to the military tribuneship, even after they were legally qualified for that station.

See b. 3. c.
4. §. 1.

The commonwealth of Rome was never truly a free state, till after the publication of the Licinian laws, those laws which, in their consequences, made merit alone the ordinary scale whereby to ascend to the highest offices; and which, by admitting the plebeians to a reasonable share of what was purchased with their blood, delivered them from that servile subjection to the wealthy nobles in which their indigence had so long detained them.

Y. of R.
386.

From this period, the Roman people, when they made laws, or elected magistrates for the execution of them, were, generally speaking, free from all undue influence; not overawed, as before, by the rich and the great, nor constrained by any force, but that of reason and natural justice, in the most absolute subjection to which is the

most perfect freedom. No citizen, who had shewed superior talents and virtue, stood excluded, on account of the low degree of his birth, from the dignities of the state : the emulation among the individuals was to surpass each other in deserving honours.

Indeed the haughty patricians, as, when vanquished by the plebeians, they had given ground with an angry reluctance, and retired fighting, so they afterward, from time to time, shewed a strong disposition to renew the war, in order to regain their unrighteous sovereignty : but their efforts were faint and ineffectual ; and at length acquiescing in what they could not undo, there ensued domestic peace and union, and an established liberty.

Union at home gave new strength to the state ; and liberty seems to have inspired the people with a more elevated courage, a more unwearied fortitude, than they had hitherto shewn in their wars abroad. By a series of victories, they, in the space of about seventy years (reckoning from the battle against the Latins in 413), enlarged their narrow dominion, of a few leagues about the city, to the utmost extent of Italy. And, though destitute of naval strength and naval skill, their next enterprise, as we shall presently find, will be against a rival republic, beyond the continent ; a republic that, with greater riches and more ample territories than theirs, had possession of the absolute dominion of the sea. The boldness of the undertaking, and the amazing constancy with which they supported it, in spite of the most terrible adversities, are not to be paralleled in the history of any other nation : but the Roman legions were, at this time, legions of free citizens, whose predominant passion was glory, and who placed the highest glory in facing every danger, and surmounting every difficulty, to preserve their liberty, and extend their empire.

CHAP. I.

THE OCCASION OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

Certain Italian soldiers, called Mamertines, who had been mercenaries in the service of Agathocles, king of Sicily, and had, after his death, treacherously seized upon Messina, being reduced to extremities by the arms of Hiero, king of Syracuse, Hiero, one part of them puts the citadel into the hands of the Carthaginians, and the other K. of Syra- sends ambassadors to the Romans, offering them the possession of the city, and im- euse. ploring their protection. The people of Rome order the consul, Appius Claudius, to Y. R. 489. go with an army to the relief of the Mamertines, who, in the meantime, rid themselves of the Carthaginians that had been admitted into the citadel.

THE prophetic exclamation of king Pyrrhus,* as he sailed from Sicily, is now going to be accomplished, and that island to be the theatre of a bloody war between Rome and Carthage. The Epirot, when he beheld these powerful and ambitious republics making swift advances in conquest, and by every step approaching nearer to each other, could have no difficulty to foresee that they would soon become enemies; and, as he might with reason believe that the Romans would finish the reduction of Italy before the Carthaginians could totally subdue Sicily, the conjecture was natural, that this country would be the seat of the war between them. He himself had gone thither, on the invitation of the people of Syracuse, to guard them against the Carthaginian encroachments; and he was, doubtless, persuaded, that, in a short time, they would find themselves under a necessity of suing to the Romans for the like succour. The occasion however of the first rupture, between Rome and Carthage, was not any distress of the Syracusians; it was an event singular and unexpected; and as it has left ground for a dispute, whether the first Punic or Carthaginian war was justly undertaken by the Romans, it may be proper, for the reader's satisfaction, to state the case as fully as possible; and, in order thereto, we must recall some passages of the former part of this history.*

A considerable body of soldiers, Campanians by birth, and called Mamertines, had been mercenaries to Aga-

* See b. 3.
c. 28. §. 3.

* See b. 3.
c. 26. §. 1
and c. 29.
§. 5. Strab.
l. 6. p. 268.
Polyb. l. 1.
c. 7. Diod.
Sic. in
Eclog. p.
866.

thocles, king of Syracuse : upon whose death, finding themselves no longer welcome there, they marched away with all their effects to Messina. Admitted here, and kindly entertained as friends, they treacherously massacred one part of the citizens, expelled the rest, and seized, for their own use, upon the lands, houses, and even wives, of those unfortunate men.

Some time after this, when Pyrrhus was just landed in Italy, the inhabitants of Rhegium, that their city might neither fall into the hands of the Epirot, nor become a prey to the Carthaginians, who were masters of the sea, and whose fleets appeared frequently off the coast, requested of the Roman senate to furnish them with a garrison. A legion of 4,000 Romans, raised in Campania, was, under the command of Decius Jubellius, appointed to that service. At first, they demeaned themselves suitably to the intention of those who employed them : but at length, tempted by the wealth of the place, emboldened by the example of the Mamertines, and strengthened by their aid, they acted the same perfidious and cruel part towards the Rhegians, which the other had acted towards the people of Messina.

As these cities are parted only by that narrow sea (now called the Faro) which separates Italy from Sicily, it was easy for the two bands of robbers mutually to assist each other in the defence of their usurpations ; for which purpose they entered into a strict confederacy.

The Romans, though they found their honour greatly stained by the outrageous wickedness of the garrison with which they had furnished their good allies, were then too much engaged in affairs more urgent to take immediate revenge on the offenders : nor in truth did they turn their thoughts that way till four years after Pyrrhus had left Italy, and the old enemies of Rome were all subdued. Then they marched an army to Rhegium, and besieged it ; in which enterprise Hiero of Syracuse lent his aid. The traitors, hopeless of par-

don, defended themselves with an obstinate resolution, yet the town was at length carried by assault: all those who escaped the sword of the assailants, being led in chains to Rome, were, by a decree of the senate, first beaten with rods, and then beheaded: and the Rhegians were restored to their former liberty and estates.

About six years after this execution of justice, the fame of which had sounded honourably through all quarters of Italy, came messengers to Rome from the Mamertines in Sicily, imploring help against the Syracusians, under whose power they were ready to fall, and who, they feared, would inflict on them the like punishment for the like crimes: a most impudent request from the thieves of Messina, to ask protection of the very judges who had condemned to death their fellow-thieves of Rhegium! Nevertheless, from a view of their present situation, we shall perhaps be induced to conclude, that the Mamertines took this step in consequence of sober reflection, and were not without a reasonable hope of assistance from Rome.

These usurpers of Messina, so long as they could get succours from their friends at Rhegium, had not only lived fearless of any danger, but had often been aggressors on their neighbours the Carthaginians and Syracusians, putting many towns and villages under contribution. The posture of their affairs received a mighty change by the destruction of their Italian allies: of whose wonted aid being deprived, they were overthrown in battle by the Syracusians under the conduct of Hiero,^c

Polyb. l. 1.
c. 8, 9.

^c Hiero, on his return to Syracuse, was elected king. He was the son of Hierocles, and by him descended from Gelo, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse; but his mother was a slave. He distinguished himself early from those of his own years by his expertness in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He gained the esteem of Pyrrhus, and was honoured with several rewards from his hand. Extremely handsome, of great bodily strength, smooth and engaging in his address, equitable in business, and gentle in command, he seemed to want nothing kingly but a kingdom. "Pulchritudo ei corporis insignis, vires quoque in homine admirabiles fuere; in alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus; prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse, præter regnum videretur." Justin, b. 23. c. 4. Polyb. l. 1. c. 8.

He was chosen prætor by the soldiers on occasion of a quarrel between them and the citizens; nevertheless, the latter, on account of the great gentleness and hu-

Polyb. l. 1.
c. 10.

prætor of that state, and their army almost totally cut off. Humbled and reduced by so terrible a blow, they thought themselves no longer in a condition to defend Messina, and, being divided in opinion about what measures to take, one party had recourse to the Carthaginians, made a league with them, and put the citadel into their hands; the other sent ambassadors, with an offer of the city, to the Romans, whose protection they implored, and with whom they pleaded the relation between them, as men of the same country and original.

c. 11.

The Romans, having so severely punished the treachery and cruelty of their own citizens, were very sensible how much their honour might suffer, should they protect villains notoriously guilty of the same crimes; and when, on the other hand, they considered that the Carthaginians^d had not only subdued a very long and

manity with which he proceeded on his first accession to power, confirmed him in that office. He aspired however to something yet higher, as was easily discerned by the quick-sighted from the very beginning of his administration. For Hiero knowing that the citizens, whenever the troops with their leaders went into the field, were apt to fall into factions and seditions, and that Leptines, a man in high repute for his probity, had the greatest sway with the people, he made an alliance with him, by taking his daughter to wife, proposing by this means to secure to himself the fidelity of the Syracusians at home, during his expeditions with the army abroad. As to the soldiery, the veteran mercenaries having lost their discipline, and being on all occasions prompt to mutiny and to raise new commotions, he took the following method to get rid of them. Under colour of a design to extirpate the usurpers of Messina, he marched his forces that way, and, when he came up with the enemy, so ordered his battle, as to keep the Syracusians, both horse and foot, from engaging, while he exposed the mercenaries to the entire shock of the Mamertines. The mercenaries were all cut off; and while the enemy were busied in the slaughter, he withdrew his own people in safety to Syracuse. After his having formed an army to his own mind, he marched once more against the Mamertines, and gave them that total overthrow which is mentioned in the text.

Mr. Rollin, who is a divine, cannot approve this method which Hiero took to rid himself of the foreign mercenaries, though he grants, that he had no other way to secure himself from them. Chevalier Folard, who is a soldier, seems to applaud Hiero for the action, and says, that it ought to have served for a lesson to the Roman emperors, how to guard themselves against the prætorian cohorts, when they became licentious.

Justin,
b. 18. c.
4—6.

App. de
Bell. Pun.
p. 1. Strab.
b. 17.
p. 832.
Vel. Pat. c.
b. 1. c. 6
Joseph.
contr. Ap
b. 1.

^d “ In the following account of the rise and progress of the Carthaginian power, great use is made of Mr. Rollin’s collections in his *Hist. Ancienne*.

The Carthaginians were originally a colony from Tyre (in Phœnicia, a country on the east coast of the Mediterranean), the most renowned city in the world for commerce, and which had long before sent into Africa a colony that built Utica. The foundation of Carthage is ascribed to Elissa, a Tyrian princess, better known by the name of Dido. Her great grandfather, Ithobal, king of Tyre, is thought to be the same with Ethbaal the father of Jezebel, wife of Ahab. Dido married her near relation Acerbas (called otherwise Sicharbas and Sichæus), a man immensely rich. Her brother Pygmalion, king of Tyre, put Acerbas to death, that he might seize his great riches, but she disappointed the cruel avarice of the tyrant, by conveying them secretly out of his dominions. She put to sea with a considerable number of friends

rich tract of country in Africa, and some part of Spain, but were masters of Sardinia, and the adjacent isles on

and dependants, and, after stopping awhile at Cyprus, pursued her voyage, and at length landed on the African coast, between Utica and Tunis. Here she is said to have bought of the natives a piece of ground, as much as she could compass with an ox's hide (cut into thongs), and on this spot to have built Byrsa, afterward the citadel of Carthage. Many of the Africans in the neighbourhood, invited by the prospect of gain, repaired to these strangers to traffic with them, and, in a short time, took up their habitation among them; so that the whole had now something of the appearance of a petty state.

Dido, soon after, by encouragement not only from the people of Utica (who looked upon the Tyrians as their countrymen), but from the Africans also, built a city adjoining to Byrsa, and called it Carthada, a name that in the Phœnician tongue signifies New City. The Romans called it Carthago, the Greeks Carchedon. It was to pay an annual tribute to the Africans for the ground on which it stood.

[It is impossible to fix the time of the foundation of Carthage, chronologers, both ancient and modern, differing widely on the subject. Appian and others place it before the fall of Troy; others many years later.

Solinus reckons 737 years from the first year of Carthage to its total destruction, which, if placed in the 607th year of Rome, Carthage, according to him, was built before Rome 150 years.

According to Sir Isaac Newton, Carthage was founded by Dido 883 years before the beginning of the Christian era. This computation will fall in with that of Solinus, as to the age of Carthage, but not as to the juniority of Rome; which Sir Isaac supposes to be younger than her rival by 256 years.]

The new city grew in a short time into a flourishing condition; Iarbas, a neighbouring prince, demanded Dido in marriage, threatening the Carthaginians with war in case of refusal. Dido, to avoid this marriage, without drawing a calamity upon her people, put an end to her own life with a poniard. She was afterward worshipped as a goddess so long as Carthage subsisted.

The first war waged by the Carthaginians in Africa seems to have been on account Justin, b. of the annual tribute they had bound themselves to pay to the Africans for the ground 18. c. 7. on which their city stood. In this war their arms prospered under the conduct of b. 19. c. 1. one Malchus.

But Mago, who succeeded Malchus, is considered, by Justin, as the first builder of the Carthaginian empire, because it was he that introduced an exact discipline among the troops. After his death his two sons Hasdrubal and Hamilcar had the command of the army. These brothers left each three sons, who shared among them the chief authority in Carthage. They made war against the Moors and Numidians with success, and obliged the Africans to relinquish all claim to the tribute; which they had demanded sword in hand.

[Six commanders out of one and the same family, and who governed all affairs both at home and abroad, seemed dangerous to a free state. It was a jealousy of the exorbitant power of this family of Mago, which induced the Carthaginians to elect a hundred judges out of the senators, to whom the generals were to give an account of their conduct after their return from the war.]

When the Carthaginians had made considerable conquests in Africa, there arose a war between them and the people of Cyrene (a powerful city standing to the east of the greater Syrtis), concerning the limits of their respective jurisdictions. After many bloody conflicts by land and sea, it was agreed (as the story is told) that two men should set out from each of the two cities at the same instant, and that the place of their meeting should be the boundary to the two states. The men from Carthage (who were brothers of the name of Philænus) either made more expedition than those from Cyrene, or, as Valerius Maximus relates, began their course before the appointed time. Be that as it will, the Cyrenians complained of deceit, and refused to stand to the agreement, unless the two brothers (in proof of their innocence) would consent to be buried alive in the place of meeting. The Philæni, readily acquiescing in the proposal, were buried quick in that spot; and the Carthaginians erected there two altars to their memory. The place from that time was called "The Altars of the Philæni" [*Aræ Philænorum*], and was ever after the eastern boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which in time compre-

Sallust. de Bell.

Jugurth.

Val. Max.

b. 5. c. 6.

the coast of Italy, and had even extended their dominion far in Sicily, these things gave them very uneasy appre-

hended the whole extent of the northern coast of Africa, from those altars to the pillars of Hercules.

History does not inform us at what times the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily, Sardinia, or Spain.

Spain had sufficient allurements to draw the Carthaginians thither. It abounded with mines of gold and silver, enchanting baits to their avarice, and it was peopled by a martial race of men, who (if once reduced to be subjects of Carthage) would furnish her with brave troops for the conquest of other nations, and free her, in part, from the necessity of employing foreign mercenaries in her wars. For the genius of the Carthaginians being more turned to commerce than war, they had constantly recourse (at least in the latter ages of their state) to that dangerous expedient of hiring strangers to fight their battles.

Justin, b.
44. c. 5.
Dido, b. 5.
p. 300.

The occasion of the first descent made by the Carthaginians on Spain, was to defend the inhabitants of Gades (a colony from Tyre, and more ancient than those of Carthage and Utica) against the Spaniards.

Encouraged by success in this enterprise, they became aggressors, and made conquests in Spain. It is plain, however, by what Polybius and Livy tell us of the wars of Amilcar Barcas, Asdrubal, and Hannibal, that, till the times of these generals (that is, till after the end of the first Punic war), the Carthaginians did not penetrate far into that country.

[Some account of Spain will be given in a more proper place, when the Romans carry their arms thither.]

Diod. Sic.
l. 5.

Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean, was anciently called Trinacria and Triquetra, on account of its triangular form.

* Passaro.
† Capo di
Faro.

The eastern side, which faces the Ionian or Grecian sea, extends from Cape Pachinum* to Pelorus.† The chief cities on this coast were Syracuse, Tauromenium, and Messina.

On the northern coast, looking towards Italy, and reaching from Cape Pelorus to Cape Lilybæum, the most noted cities were Mylæ, Hymera, Panormus, Eryx, Drepanum, Lilybæum.

Diod. Sic.
b. 11. p.
1, 2.

The south-west side, opposite to Africa, extends from Cape Lilybæum to Pachinum. Its principal cities were Selinus, Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina. The passage from Lilybæum to the promontory of Mercury, in Africa, is about 187 miles.

About the year Ant. Chr. 480, the Carthaginians, in consequence of a league made with Xerxes, king of Persia, raised an army of more than 300,000 men, and equipped a fleet of 200 ships of war, and 3,000 transports, in order to attack and expel all the Greeks who were settled in Sicily and Italy, while Xerxes himself was to invade Greece.

This mighty army, which landed at Panormus, and, under the command of a general named Hamilcar, laid siege to Hymera, was, before that place, totally routed and destroyed by Gelo, governor of Syracuse; and this on the very day of the famous action of Thermopylæ, when Leonidas fell with his 300 Spartans in defending that pass against the numberless forces of Xerxes.

B. C. 413.
Diod. Sic.
b. 13. p.
169.

After the memorable defeat of the Athenians under Nicias at Syracuse, the people of Segesta (a city not far from Eryx), who had declared in favour of the Athenians against the Syracusians, fearing the resentment of the latter, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinus, implored the aid of the Carthaginian republic, under whose protection they put themselves and their city. The Carthaginians, allured by the prospect of possessing a place very convenient for them, promised succour to the people of Segesta.

The conduct of this war was given to Hannibal, grandson to Hamilcar, who had been killed before Hymera. At the head of a great army he besieged Selinus, and took it by assault. He treated cruelly all whom he found in the place, but suffered those who had fled to return and possess the city, paying a tribute to the Carthaginians. He afterward took Hymera by assault, and, to revenge the death of his grandfather, not only rased the city, but caused 3,000 prisoners to be murdered on the very spot where Hamilcar had been slain.

Hannibal, after these expeditions, returned to Carthage; but his successes having rekindled the ambition of the Carthaginians to get possession of all Sicily, they, with

hensions. For they plainly foresaw, that, unless they interposed to prevent it, Messina would soon fall into

this view, three years after his return, appointed him a second time to be their general, and allotted him an army of 120,000 (some say 300,000) men. On his pleading his great age, to excuse himself from commanding in this enterprise, they gave him, for his lieutenant, Imilco, son of Hanno, of the same family.

The Syracusians and their allies prepared themselves to give the enemy a warm reception.

Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of Agrigentum. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one side, he employed his whole force on that one side. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls, and made use of the rubbish and ruins of the tombs which he had found standing round the city, and which he had demolished for that purpose. The plague soon after infecting the army, swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the general himself. The Carthaginians interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods for the injuries done to the dead, whose ghosts they fancied they saw stalking before them in the night. They forbore therefore to demolish any more tombs, and endeavoured to appease the gods: a child was sacrificed to Saturn, and many victims thrown into the sea in honour of Neptune.

The besieged, after eight months, were so pressed by famine, that they resolved to abandon the place in the night. Men, women, and children, all but the aged and sick, retired to Gela, the nearest city to them.

Imilco entered Agrigentum, and massacred all who were found in it. The plunder of the place was immensely rich. It had contained 200,000 inhabitants, and had never before been besieged, nor consequently plundered. An infinite number of pictures, vases, and statues, of an exquisite taste, were found in it, and among other curiosities the famous bull of Phalaris, which was sent to Carthage.

Imilco having quartered his troops during the winter in Agrigentum, and totally ruined it, laid siege to Gela in the beginning of the spring. He took this place notwithstanding the succours brought to it by Dionysius the tyrant, who had seized the government of Syracuse. A treaty, which the Carthaginians afterward made with Dionysius, put an end to the war. The conditions of this treaty were, that Carthage should remain mistress of her ancient colonies, and of the territories of the Sicanians; that the people of Selinus, Agrigentum, and Hymera, should be subject to her; that those of Gela and Camarina should inhabit their own dismantled cities, but be tributary to Carthage; that the Leontines, Messinians, and all the other Sicilians, should enjoy their own laws and liberties, except the Syracusians, who were to continue subject to Dionysius.

These articles being ratified, the Carthaginians returned home, having lost one half of their army by the plague, which raging afterward in Africa, multitudes perished both of the people of Carthage, and of their confederates.

Dionysius had concluded the late peace with the Carthaginians in no other view, but to get time to establish his new authority, and make the necessary preparations for a vigorous war against them. These things being accomplished, he called the Syracusians together, and represented to them the dangerous ambition of Carthage, which, he said, aimed at nothing less than the subduing of all Sicily, an enterprise which only the havoc made in Africa by the plague did at present suspend; and he exhorted them to seize the favourable opportunity they had of being the aggressors.

The tyrant was no less odious than his tyranny to the people of Syracuse; nevertheless, the implacable hatred they bore to the Carthaginians made them receive his harangue with applause. Dionysius, hereupon, without any previous complaint of treaties violated, or so much as a declaration of war, gave up to the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the Carthaginian merchants, who in great numbers were then residing in Syracuse, and were there trading securely on the faith of treaties. These unhappy men were not only plundered of all their effects, but made to undergo the utmost ignominy and cruelties that could be devised, under pretence of retaliation for what the Carthaginians had formerly done to the people of Sicily: and this example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed in many parts of the island. The tyrant, after this strange beginning of hostilities, sent deputies to Carthage, to demand the restoration of all the Sicilian cities to their laws and liberties; and to declare that, in case of refusal, all the Carthaginians found in those cities should be treated as enemies.

the hands of those formidable neighbours ; who would then be able speedily to invade Syracuse, and all the

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, the chief magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily ; and, notwithstanding all that Imilco could do to succour it, carried the place by assault. He put all the inhabitants to the sword, except those who took refuge in the temples ; he plundered the town, and then leaving a strong garrison in it, under a trusty governor, returned to Syracuse.

Diod. Sic. The following year, Imilco came back to Sicily with a most formidable army.
b. 14. Jus- He landed at Panormus, recovered Motya by force of arms, and took several other
tin, b. 19. cities. Animated by these successes, he marched his forces towards Syracuse with
c. 2, 3. intention to besiege it, ordering his fleet, under the conduct of Mago, to sail thither.

Mago, with 200 ships of war, that were adorned with the enemy's spoils, was quickly seen entering the great port as in triumph, and followed by 500 barks. The Carthaginian land forces, consisting, according to some authors, of 300,000 foot and 3,000 horse, appeared at the same time on the other side of the city, and both together threw the Syracusians into the utmost consternation. Imilco for thirty days successively employed his troops in laying waste the neighbouring country. He afterward possessed himself of the suburb called Acradina, and pillaged the temples of Ceres and Proserpine, beating down the tombs that stood round the city, to fortify his camp with the materials. But now, when, master of almost all the cities in the island, he expected to complete the conquest of it by the speedy reduction of Syracuse, a dreadful plague, which with incredible swiftness and destruction spread itself among his troops, put an end at once to all his pleasing hopes, and made the splendour of his anticipated triumph vanish in a moment.

Dionysius did not neglect so favourable an opportunity to attack the enemy. The Carthaginian ships were almost all either taken or burnt. The land forces made but a feeble resistance ; but night coming on, Imilco, during that short suspension of hostilities, sent to Dionysius for permission to carry back to Carthage the small remainder of his troops, offering him 300 talents, which was all the money he had left. This permission could not be obtained but for the Carthaginians only, with whom he stole away in the night, leaving the Africans to the discretion of the enemy. However, to shew that what he had done was purely to preserve those few of his countrymen whom the plague had spared, and not from a cowardly care of his own life, he on his arrival at Carthage retired immediately to his house, shut the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, and killed himself.

A misfortune far greater than what the Carthaginians had just suffered in Sicily now threatened them at home ; for the Africans, resenting highly that their countrymen had been left behind in that island, to be slaughtered by the Syracusians, flew to arms in the utmost fury, seized upon Tunes, and, their numbers increasing to more than 200,000 men, marched directly to invest Carthage. Happily for the republic, this numerous army had no leader, no discipline, no provisions, no engines of war. Disputes and jealousies quickly broke the lawless rabble into factions, and famine soon after entirely dispersed it.

Carthage, not yet despairing of the entire conquest of Sicily, made a new effort in that view. A general named Mago had the conduct of the enterprise. He lost 15,000 men and his own life in a battle against Dionysius ; and those of the Carthaginian army, who escaped the slaughter, were constrained to sue for peace. Dionysius insisted on their evacuating Sicily and defraying all the expenses of the war.

The Carthaginians pretended to accept the peace on these terms ; but representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they possessed in Sicily without the express orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to last till the return of an express sent to Carthage. During this interval they chose the son of Mago to be their general. This new commander, though very young, yet by his great ability and conduct so improved the short time he had to manage, that, at the return of the express, he was in a condition to take the field, and give the enemy battle. He gained a victory over the Syracusians, so considerable, as to produce an honourable peace for the Carthaginians. By the conditions of the treaty, they not only kept all their possessions, but acquired some additional places, and had also 1,000 talents from Dionysius.

Diod. Sic. After the death of this the elder Dionysius, and in the time of the younger (his
b. 15. son and successor), Carthage took part in the troubles wherein Syracuse was involved,

other parts of the island, not yet in their obedience. They considered, likewise, that the Carthaginians, when

endeavouring to make advantage of them for establishing there her own domination. Timoleon from Corinth rescued the Syracusians from this danger, and reduced the Carthaginians to sue for peace, which was settled on the following terms: The river Halycus (or Lycus) near Agrigentum was to be the boundary of the Carthaginian territory in Sicily; all natives of the cities subject to the Carthaginians were to be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to Syracuse with their effects; and, lastly, the Carthaginians were not to assist, or to have any correspondence with, the several tyrants who at this time pretended to the lordship of that city. Plut. in Timol. about the Y. ant. Chr. 346.

It was probably about the same time that Hanno, one of the most considerable citizens of Carthage, formed the design (but without success) of making himself tyrant of his country, by poisoning the whole senate at a banquet. His stratagem being discovered, he was put to death by torture; and his children, and all his relations, were at the same time cut off without mercy, though they had no share in his guilt. Justin, b. 21. c. 4.

Some years after this, the Carthaginians were terribly alarmed for their possessions in Sicily, by the growing power of the formidable Agathocles. This man, who is said to have been the son of a potter, owed the wonderful rise of his fortune in a great measure to the beauty of his person, his distinguished courage, and his enterprising genius; but chiefly to his consummate wickedness, the arts of treachery, and the practice of the most unbounded cruelties. He was now absolute lord of Syracuse. Not content with this elevation, he aspired to be king of all Sicily, and had made so swift a progress in subduing the island, that Carthage was obliged, in self-defence, to dispatch a very numerous army thither, to put a stop to his conquest. Hamilcar commanded it; he gave the tyrant a total overthrow near the Hymera, pursued him even to Syracuse, and closely besieged him in that capital of his dominion. About the Y. ant. Chr. 317. Justin, b. 22. Diod. Sic. b. 19. c. 1. Polyb. b. 15. p. 1003.

The cruelties of Agathocles had made him universally detested by the Sicilians; he was now therefore deserted by all his allies, and he knew at the same time that his own forces were too weak to preserve the place. In these distressful circumstances he formed an enterprise worthy of the most accomplished hero:—To make a descent upon Africa, invade the dominion of his victorious enemies, and transfer the war to the very seat of their empire. His great foresight and judgment to discern that this design was practicable, and also the courage and prudence he displayed in the execution of it, are much admired by the historians, but cannot be enlarged upon here. Let it suffice to mention, that, leaving under the command of his brother, Antander, a sufficient number of his troops to defend the city for some time, he put to sea with the remainder, without letting any body know his design, or what course he intended to steer: but, before his departure, to encourage the Syracusians to behave themselves with constancy during his absence, he assured them, that the siege would be but of short duration, and that he had found an infallible way to victory.

The forces which Agathocles took with him in this expedition amounted to about 14,000 men. Having landed these troops safely in Africa, he immediately called them together, opened to them his design, with the motives of it, and made them understand, that the only way to deliver their own country from its present distress, was to carry the war into that of their enemies. He represented to them, that the citizens of Carthage were a luxurious and effeminate people, utterly unable to cope with the Syracusians, inured to the toils of war; that the unexampled boldness of his enterprise would alone disconcert and terrify them; that they were wholly unprepared to repel an enemy at their gates; that the Africans, always hating the Carthaginians, would infallibly join him upon the first notice of his landing; and, in a word, he promised them the whole wealth of Carthage as the certain reward of their courage in the present expedition. The soldiers received his harangue with applause and acclamations, and fancied themselves already in possession of that rich city. Taking advantage of their present sanguine temper, and the high hopes he had inspired them with, he then persuaded them to burn all their ships in honour to Ceres and Proserpine, pretending, that in the passage to Africa he had secretly made a vow so to do, if those deities would grant him a prosperous voyage. When by thus destroying his fleet he had brought his soldiers under a necessity of placing all their confidence in their courage, he led them on to action.

once in possession of Messina, might make use of it almost as a bridge to pass into Italy, the conquest of

Two considerable cities he successively attacked and carried by assault in a short time ; the latter was Tunes, not many miles from Carthage. The Carthaginians, terribly alarmed at the swift progress of this unexpected invader, hastily armed their citizens to the number of above 40,000, and sent them out under the command of Hanno and Bomilcar, men who had been long at variance about family interests. A pitched battle quickly ensued ; Hanno was slain in it, the Carthaginians routed, and their camp taken. It is said, that Bomilcar might have restored the battle after the death of Hanno, if, for private reasons of self-interest, he had not chose rather to quit the field to Agathocles. After this victory many fortified places surrendered to the conqueror, and great numbers of the Africans revolted to him.

Dio. Sic. b. 17. Q. Cart. b. 4. It was at this time that an embassy came to Carthage from the Tyrians, to implore succour against Alexander the Great, who besieged their city ; a request which the Carthaginians, how willing soever, could by no means comply with, in the present melancholy situation of their affairs.

Dio. Sic. b. 20. The unhappy condition to which the Carthaginians were reduced, they ascribed to the anger of the gods, provoked at some neglect of duty. It had been a custom, from the very infancy of Carthage, and was become a part of their religion, to send annually to Tyre (the mother-city) the tenth, or what was so called, of the public revenue, as an offering to Hercules, the patron and protector of both Tyre and Carthage. But from the time that this revenue grew considerable, the whole tenth was not fairly remitted : remorse seized the Carthaginians ; and, to expiate their guilt, they now sent to Tyre presents of prodigious value.

Another custom had prevailed at Carthage, of a most barbarous and bloody superstition, that of sacrificing great numbers of children to Saturn. Anciently those children were chosen out of the best families ; of late the children of slaves and beggars had been substituted in the room of the nobly born ; a fraudulent impiety, for the expiation of which, 200 children of the first rank were now thrown into the fire, an offering to the god ; and, as Diodorus Siculus reports, 300 of the citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves on this occasion to pacify the same deity.

After these expiations, expresses were dispatched to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the news of what misfortunes had befallen the republic in Africa, and to urge him to send speedy succours to Carthage. Hamilcar commanded the deputies not once to mention the victory of Agathocles, but on the contrary to report, that his forces had been all cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians.—The senate of Carthage had sent to Hamilcar by the messengers all the beaks of Agathocles's ships which had been burnt, that by shewing them he might the more easily gain credit to this report. The stratagem had liked to have proved successful. Hamilcar summoned the besieged to surrender, and shewed the beaks. The ruin of Agathocles being generally believed in Syracuse, the majority of the citizens, and Antander himself, were disposed to capitulate. But Eurymon, an Ætolian, whom Agathocles had left behind him to counsel his brother, by much persuasion prevailed with them to hold out till they had certain intelligence of the truth. A galley of thirty oars arrived soon after in the port, and brought the news of Agathocles's victory, which at once restored life and resolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a last effort to carry the city by assault, but without success. He then raised the siege, and sent 5,000 men to the relief of his distressed country. Returning afterward in hopes to surprise the city in the night, his design was discovered, his army defeated, and he himself taken prisoner. The Syracusians cut off his head, and sent it into Africa, a welcome present to Agathocles.

The confusion into which all these disasters threw the Carthaginians, encouraged Bomilcar their general to attempt the execution of a design he had long harboured in his breast ; it was to make himself monarch of the Carthaginian state. He had gained over some of the citizens to his interest, and had secured a body of the foreign mercenaries to assist him. The conspiracy nevertheless proved abortive ; he was overpowered, and, being made prisoner, was crucified for his rebellion.

While Bomilcar was pursuing his wicked design against the liberties of his country, Agathocles was busy in a treachery of another kind. He had won over to his cause Ophellas, king of Cyrene, by pretending that he would leave him the empire of Africa, and that he had no view in his present expedition, but to draw the Carthaginians out of Sicily. Ophellas brought a considerable army to the assistance of the

which had been long their ambition. All this was well weighed by the Romans; and yet, as Polybius reports,

Syracusians. Agathocles, to get the absolute command of these troops, slew their leader by surprise, after which, by fair words, and large promises, he engaged the Cyrenians to follow him.

His affairs being now in a flourishing condition, he thought it proper to leave them awhile under the conduct of his son Archagathus, and return into Sicily, to take some care of his interests at home. His renown, and the report of his victories, flew before him. On the news of his arrival in Sicily, many towns revolted to him; but it was not long before ill news recalled him into Africa.—His absence had entirely changed the face of things in that country, and all his arts and endeavours proved ineffectual to restore them to their former condition. His army had been defeated, his strong holds had surrendered to the enemy, and his troops were mutinous for want of pay. He attacked the Carthaginians after his landing, but was repulsed and routed; he lost 3,000 men in the action. After this defeat, and another disaster, by which he lost 4,000 of his men, the Africans of his army all deserted him. Not thinking himself therefore in a condition to maintain the war any longer, he resolved to leave Africa; and not having ships sufficient to transport his troops into Sicily, he would have stole away with only a few of his friends, and his younger son Heraclides; for he feared lest his eldest son Archagathus, being a daring man, and having been too familiar with his stepmother, would attempt something against his life. Archagathus discovered his design, caused him to be arrested and put in chains. A sudden panic soon after seized the army, believing that the enemy was just ready to fall upon them. The guard who had the king in custody, being in the same consternation with the rest, and in their fright coming out with their prisoner bound, the soldiers were so moved at this sight, that they all cried out, “Unloose him, let him go.” Agathocles was no sooner freed from his chains, but, consulting only his own safety, he got on board a small vessel, and set sail for Sicily, leaving his two sons to the fury of the enraged soldiers, who slew them both upon the first discovery of his departure. The Syracusian troops, though thus forsaken by their leader, made an honourable treaty for themselves with the Carthaginians, with whom also Agathocles, after his return into Sicily, concluded a peace upon equal terms, notwithstanding his late disasters and disgrace.

After the death of Agathocles, and when Syracuse was again involved in civil war, the Carthaginians renewed their attempt once more to subdue the whole island of Sicily. They possessed themselves of many cities belonging to the Syracusians, and invested Syracuse itself. This common danger obliged the contending parties in the city to unite, and call in king Pyrrhus to their aid. Pyrrhus,* by repeated victories * See b. 3. over the Carthaginians, deprived them in a short time of all their possessions in Sicily, except the city of Lilybæum only. By his own misconduct he afterward lost c. 28. §. 1. all the fruit of his successes, being abandoned by his Sicilian allies, and obliged to quit the island to preserve himself and his Epirots from total destruction. The Carthaginians, who before his departure had brought a mighty army into Sicily, not only recovered all their ancient possessions, but endeavoured to enlarge their dominion by new conquests. Hiero being chosen to the government of Syracuse, opposed the progress of their arms, till the affair of Messina united the two powers in one enterprise, drew the Romans into Sicily, and gave commencement to the first Punic war.

The Form of the CARTHAGINIAN GOVERNMENT.

The government of Carthage, like that of Rome, was composed of three different authorities, which balanced each other; the authority of the two supreme magistrates, called suffetes (from the Phœnician word *sophetim*, which signifies *judges*), that of the senate, and that of the assembly of the people. To these was afterward added the council of the hundred.

The SUFFETES.

The suffetes were annual magistrates, and their authority much the same with that of the consuls at Rome. By the ancient writers they are frequently styled kings, dictators, consuls. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. Their office was to convene the senate, to preside there, propose the matters for debate, and collect the voices. They also sat as chief justices in private causes of importance. Nor was their authority confined to civil affairs, they sometimes commanded the armies.

the conscript fathers could not be brought to determine for succouring Messina; because they judged, that the benefit which they should draw from it would not be greater than the reproach they should suffer for so inconsistent a conduct. But the people having been greatly impoverished by the late wars, and it being represented to them by those who were to command the army, in case of an expedition into Sicily, how profitable it would be, not only to the public in general, but to each man in particular, they passed a decree in favour of the enterprise; and Appius Claudius,* one of the consuls, was ordered to conduct an army into Sicily to the relief of Messina.

* His colleague was Fulv. Flaccus.

Year of R O M E 489.

B. C. 263.

Appius, to learn the posture of the enemy, and the true state of things in that place, is reported^e to have

The SENATE.

The number of which the senate of Carthage consisted is not known; it must certainly have been very considerable, seeing 100 persons were selected from it to form a separate council. In the senate all public affairs were debated, the letters from generals read, the complaints from the provinces heard, ambassadors admitted to audience, peace and war determined. When the senators were unanimous, there lay no appeal from their decision; but whenever they were divided in opinion, the affair devolved to the people; a regulation which seems well contrived to prevent divisions, and a factious opposition to reasonable counsels; for it was not to be supposed that any member of an assembly, which had the prerogative of judging decisively in affairs, would willingly suffer them to be carried before another tribunal.

The PEOPLE.

Arist. b. 2. de Rep. c. 11.

It appears from Aristotle's enlogium on the government of Carthage, that, so low as to his time, the people spontaneously left the chief administration of public affairs to the senate. And Polybius remarks, that, while the senate governed, the Carthaginians were successful in all their enterprises. But at length riches and extensive conquests made the people insolent; and then, forgetting that they owed their prosperity to the wise conduct of that venerable body, they not only interfered in the government of the state, but arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period the public affairs were transacted wholly by cabals and factions; and Polybius assigns this as one of the chief causes of their ruin.

The TRIBUNAL of the HUNDRED.

Y. of Carthage 487.

This council was composed of 104 persons, though for brevity's sake they are called the hundred, and was instituted to be a check upon the Carthaginian generals, who had used before to exercise an absolute and uncontrollable power when at the head of armies in the field; they now became accountable to these judges for their actions, on their return from the campaign.

Of these 104 judges, five had a particular jurisdiction superior to that of the rest, and were like the council of ten in the Venetian senate. A vacancy in their body could be filled by none but themselves. They had also the power of choosing those who composed the council of the hundred.

^e "Primo ad explorandos hostes fretum piscatoria navi trajecit [Appius Claudius Caudex], et cum duce Carthaginiensium egit, ut præsidium arce deduceret. Rheginum regressus," &c. Aurel. Vict. c. 37.

That the consul in person went over privately to Messina, seems to be supported

ventured over thither in a fishing-boat, and to have so happily conducted himself there, as by some means to

by the words of Polybius, who speaks of the Mamertines sending for Appius, and surrendering their city to him, as of a transaction previous to the passage of the Roman army to Messina. But, according to this author, they had either by art or force rid themselves of the Carthaginian officer before they called over Appius. Polyb. lib. 1. cap. 11.

If we may believe Zonaras, the person who went over privately to Messina, to learn the state of affairs in that city, was not Appius Claudius the consul, but one Claudius, a legionary tribune, whom the consul dispatched on that commission.

Zonaras differs in some particulars from Polybius concerning the origin of the first Punic war, and has many circumstances which are not mentioned by any writer but himself. He tells us, that the two republics were mutually jealous of each other; each thought its own safety depended on subduing its rival. This was the true cause of the war. Thus far he agrees with other writers. But he adds, that the Romans assigned, for their motive to the war, some assistance which the Carthaginians had formerly given the Tarentines against Rome. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, alleged, as their ground of quarrel, that the Romans had made a friendship with Hiero, when he was at war with Carthage,

As to the affair of Messina, his relation is in substance as follows: The Mamertines, being besieged by king Hiero, ask succour from the Romans. The Romans, knowing that if this request should be refused, they would give themselves to the Carthaginians, who might then be able to pass into Italy, readily promise to send the succour desired. This promise, however, not being speedily performed, and the Mamertines being straitly pressed by the enemy, they apply for aid to the Carthaginians, who thereupon make peace with Hiero, both for themselves and for the Mamertines, as the most effectual means to hinder the Romans from coming into Sicily: and, under a leader named Hanno, they take upon them the guard of the city and of the straits. In the meanwhile, Claudius, a legionary tribune, whom the consul had sent before him with a few ships, comes to Rhegium; but finding that the enemy has a much stronger fleet at sea, and therefore not daring to attempt the passage with his ships, he steals over privately in a small boat to Messina, and has a conference with the Mamertines; but, through the opposition of the Carthaginians, is obliged to return without effecting any thing. Afterward, when he hears that the Mamertines are in some commotion (for though they would not consent to be subject to Rome, they were weary of the Carthaginians), he goes over again, and promises that the Romans, if admitted into the place, shall return home as soon as they have restored Messina to a state of security. He then bids the Carthaginians quit the place, or give a good reason for staying. The Mamertines are silent through fear; the Carthaginians make him no answer, because they hold the city by force and despise him.—The silence of both, cries Claudius, shews that the Carthaginians act unjustly, and that the Mamertines desire liberty; for if these cared for the Carthaginians, they would promise to stand by them. The Mamertines applaud his words. He then returns to Rhegium, and endeavours to pass from thence to Messina with his fleet. In this attempt he loses some of his ships by stormy weather, others are taken by the Carthaginians, so that he is forced to return once more to Rhegium. The Carthaginian admiral coming on the coast of Italy, offers to restore the ships he had taken, but at the same time declares, that the straits belong to the Carthaginians, and that he will not suffer the Romans even to wash their hands in them. Claudius hearing this, rejects the offer with indignation, repairs his fleet, and, seizing a favourable opportunity, passes safely with his troops to Messina. Hanno was now retired into the citadel; he had quitted the city through a distrust of the inhabitants. Claudius persuades the Mamertines to invite Hanno to an amicable conference. The Carthaginian, though with great reluctance, comes to the assembly, lest the Mamertines, who already complained of his injustice, should begin hostilities against him. After much altercation between him and Claudius, he is seized by a Roman officer, and carried to prison, the Mamertines approving of the action. Thus Hanno is reduced to the necessity of entirely abandoning Messina. The Carthaginians punish him for his ill conduct, and send a herald to signify to the Romans to quit Messina and all Sicily by a certain day; which demand not being complied with, they in the first fury of their resentment murder all the Italian mercenaries in their service; and then, assisted by king Hiero, lay siege to Messina.

make the Carthaginian officer and his soldiers evacuate the citadel; after which the consul returned to Italy to prepare for the embarkation of his troops.

CHAP. II.

FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD YEARS OF THE WAR.

490.
491.

The Carthaginians, in conjunction with Hiero, king of Syracuse, who had entered into a league with them, besiege Messina. Appius Claudius lands in Sicily, defeats the allies, and forces them to raise the siege. The next year, Hiero, for 100 talents of silver, purchases a peace with Rome, and the year following assists the Romans in taking Agrigentum from the Carthaginians.

Year of
R O M E
489.
B. C. 263.

188th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 11.

THE people of Carthage, upon the news of their officer's having quitted the citadel of Messina, were so highly offended, that they condemned him to be crucified, as both a traitor and a coward. They ordered, at the same time, a fleet and a land army to besiege the place. Hiero, the new king of Syracuse, having now a fair prospect of exterminating the usurpers of Messina, entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and joined his forces to theirs: so that the Mamertines were entirely closed up within their city, the Carthaginians lying with a navy at sea, and with an army on one side of the place, while the Syracusians lay before it on the other.

In this their great danger came Appius Claudius, the Roman consul, to Rhegium, with an army appointed for their relief: but how to pass from thence to Messina was a difficulty that seemed insurmountable. Not that he wanted transports; for he had borrowed from the Tarentines, Neapolitans, and other neighbours, a sufficient number of triremes and boats of fifty oars, wherein to waft over his men: but the Carthaginian fleet was in the way, and was by much superior in strength to that

Such is the account given us by Zonaras, of what passed in relation to Messina before the consul went thither. But I do not find the least mention of the voyages or management of the tribune Claudius in any other author. Only that the Romans sent some troops to Messina, as Zonaras relates, before Appius went thither with the main army, is supported by a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, who speaks of an agreement between Hiero and the Carthaginians to make war upon the Romans, unless they would immediately withdraw all their forces out of Sicily; and this is previous to the arrival of the consul with the legions.

of the consul. He was obliged therefore to have recourse to stratagem. He pretended to give the enterprise entirely over as a thing impracticable, and, the better to deceive the enemy, steered his course towards Rome. This motion made the Carthaginians watch the straits less narrowly ; and then the consul, tacking about on a sudden, and being favoured by a dark night, passed to Messina without opposition.^f

Year of
R O M E
489.
B. C. 263.

188th consulship.

Frontin. de
Strat.
b. 1. c. 4.

^f Polybius (from whom this account of the origin of the first Punic war is chiefly taken), though he does not directly charge the Romans with injustice in their beginning this war, yet declares (lib. 1. c. 10.) that it would be difficult to justify them. Sir Walter Raleigh is clearly of opinion, that the Romans in this enterprise were unjust. His words are these : “ Now in this place I hold it seasonable to consider of those grounds whereupon the Romans entered into this [the first Punic war] ; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to the rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprise was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame), but how allowable in strict terms of lawfulness, whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the Mamertines did yield themselves, and all that they had, into the Romans’ hands (as the Campanes, distressed by the Samnites, had done), I cannot find ; neither can I find how the messengers of those folk, whereof one part had already admitted the Carthaginians, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the public name of all. B. 5. c. 1. §. 3.

“ If therefore the Mamertines, by no lawful surrendry of themselves and their possessions, were become subject to Rome, by what better title could the Romans assist the Mamertines against their most ancient friends the Carthaginians, than they might have aided the Campanes against the Samnites, without the same condition ? which was (as they themselves confessed), by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in all histories ; doubtless it is, that no company of pirates, thieves, outlaws, murderers, or such other malefactors, can, by any good success of their villany, obtain the privilege of civil societies, to make league or truce, yea, to require fair war, but are by all means, as most pernicious vermin, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of some civilians, that a prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these ; it were a position of ill consequence. This I hold, that no one prince or state can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their crimes ; wherefore, we may esteem this action of the Romans so far from being justifiable by any pretence of confederacy made with them, as that, contrariwise, by admitting this nest of murderers and thieves into their protection, they justly deserved to be warred upon themselves by the people of Sicily, yea, although Messina had been taken, and the Mamertines all slain, ere any news of the confederacy had been brought unto the besiegers.”

To this reasoning of our learned countrymen I take leave to answer :

Whether the messengers who went to Rome from Messina from one part only of the Mamertines, could be enabled to treat in the name of all, or whether the Mamertines made such an absolute surrendry of their possessions to the Romans, as the people of Capua had formerly done, seems not material to the present purpose. Neither the Romans nor the Carthaginians could acquire any right to Messina in virtue of any such surrendry, whether made by a part or by the whole body of the Mamertines, these having themselves no right to the town, if they are to be considered as a nest of pirates, murderers, and outlaws, which is the light in which Sir Walter considers them.

In the next place, though it be granted, that no one prince or state can give protection to pirates, thieves, and murderers, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their crimes ; I say, though this be granted, it will not affect the present question. For, that the Romans did not grant their protection to the Mamertines, in the circumstance above described, is evident from what our author himself relates. He tells us, that the Carthaginians (and

Year of
R O M E
489.
B. C. 263.

188th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 11.

His arrival, however, did not discourage the besiegers; for they far exceeded him in number of men, and the whole island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at sea to hinder any supplies from getting into the town. All this Appius well understood; and therefore, apprehending both danger and dishonour in the enterprise, he dispatched ambassadors to the Carthaginians and Hiero, to treat of an accommodation, and obtain peace for the Mamertines.

they were the principals in the present war, Hiero was only an auxiliary), upon the news of their officer's being driven out of the citadel of Messina, sent a fleet and an army to besiege the place, as a town that had rebelled, having once been theirs. These preparations were to punish rebellious subjects, not to punish the Mamertines as pirates and murderers, not for the injuries they had done to the lawful proprietors of Messina. It would indeed have been shameless in the Carthaginians to pretend the latter after they had made a league with the usurpers, treated them as a civil society, and consented to protect them against king Hiero.

From the whole then it would seem, that our author has not assigned sufficient reasons for passing so rigorous a sentence of condemnation against the Romans.

B. 1. c. 1.
§. 3.

Chevalier Folard, who in his comment upon Polybius entirely differs in opinion from Sir Walter, makes very short work with the present question.

A necessary war (says he) is always just. A war, without which the rights and liberties of a people must be greatly endangered, is a necessary war: this was the case of the Romans at the present juncture; and he cannot therefore believe, that the senate of Rome were really so scrupulous as Polybius represents them to be, about accepting the offer made them by the Mamertines.

Nay, the chevalier declares, that not only the consideration of a present danger to our liberties, but even the prospect of a distant one, an allowable motive to begin a precautionary war; and that the too great power of any prince will justify the neighbouring powers in making war upon him; because liberty is a thing, which by both divine and human laws we are allowed to have so tender a concern for, that the apprehension of being deprived of it justifies whatever we do for its preservation.

As I shall not contend with the force of this argument, so neither can I think it necessary to have recourse to it to justify the Romans in the present war.

If the Mamertines are to be considered as a civil society, the Romans acted nothing contrary to justice in making an alliance with them, or in succouring them when in that alliance. Rome (if we may believe Polybius) had made no treaty with the Carthaginians, or with Hiero, whereby she was bound not to concern herself in the affairs of Sicily. Polyb. b. 3. c. 26.

If the Mamertines are not to be considered as a civil society, but as a gang of robbers and pirates, Messina would then belong to the first civil society that should get possession of it; and the Romans having acquired the right of first possession, the Carthaginians must be considered as the aggressors; for I presume, that the latter cannot be deemed to have acquired the right of first possession even of the citadel, by the bare admission of their officer with a few men into it, since they did not enter the citadel as taking possession of it for themselves, but to guard it for the usurpers against king Hiero.

As to the conduct of the Romans in protecting the Mamertines, who had been guilty of the same crimes for which the senate had punished the Campanian legion, it must undoubtedly at first, as Polybius observes, have a strange appearance; but certainly when, by sparing the most notorious offenders, a national good is to be obtained, much greater than could accrue from punishing such offenders, there is no doubt but the arm of vengeance may wisely and lawfully be stayed. And this appears plainly to have been the motive on which the Romans acted in the case now before us, even according to Polybius's relation of the matter.

The answer^s from king Hiero was, that the Mamertines, for their cruelty and wickedness in getting the possession of Messina, and for divers other barbarities committed in Sicily, were most justly besieged; and that it did not become the Romans, so famed for their justice and faithfulness, to protect such bloody villains, who had contemptuously broken all the ties of faith and truth among men: that if the Romans began a war in defence of such wicked invaders, it would be evident to all the world, that succour to the distressed was but a pretence to cloak their covetousness, when in truth their aim was to gain Sicily.

Year of
R O M E
489.
B. C. 263.

188th con-
sulship.

Diod. Sic.
in Eclog.
p. 874.

The consul finding his negotiation fruitless, and that he was under a necessity of fighting, took at length the bold resolution to sally out into the field, and make the enemies know, that his coming to Messina was to drive them from the town, and not to be by them besieged within it.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 11.

In executing this determination it was very advantageous for him, that the confederate armies lay encamped in such a manner, as not to be well able to assist one another in distress. Appius sallied out first against Hiero, and drawing up the legions in order, presented him battle. This brave prince (says a learned writer, well skilled in military affairs) must certainly have wanted good advice on the present occasion; otherwise he would not have hazarded all his power against an enemy, of whom he had made no trial, when it had been easy for him, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own camp. With great readiness and gallantry he accepted the challenge, and met the enemy; but after a long and bloody conflict, the Syracusians were defeated, and driven to save themselves within their intrenchments. The Romans returned triumphantly with the spoils of the dead into Messina.

Sir W.
Raleigh.

^s According to Diodorus Siculus, the consul's embassy was sent from Rhegium before he passed the straits.

Year of
R O M E
489.
B. C. 263.

188th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 11.

c. 12.

The king, by this disaster, learned a point of wisdom very useful both to him and his kingdom during the remainder of his life. Had Messina been taken by the Carthaginians, Syracuse itself must have sought help from Rome against those friends whom it now so diligently assisted. Hiero had (in respect of those two mighty states) but a small stock, which it behoved him to manage frugally; such another loss would have almost ruined him. He therefore quietly broke up his camp in the night, and retired home; intending to leave those to try the fortune of the war, who had hopes to be gainers by the event of it.^h

Appius, receiving intelligence of the king's retreat, and finding the courage of his men greatly raised by their success in the late action, resolved to attack the Carthaginians without loss of time. Having caused the soldiers to take their repast at a very early hour, he sallied out by break of day, surprised the enemy, and routed them with great slaughter; those who escaped flying for refuge to the neighbouring towns. The Romans, after this action, made inroads upon the country as far as to the territory of the Syracusians, and at length sat down before Syracuse. It does not appear, however, that the consul made any progress in the siege: remitting the conduct of this enterprise to his successors, he returned to Rome.ⁱ

^h Diod. Siculus writes, that when the consul landed at Messina, Hiero, suspecting that the Carthaginians had made way for him, fled himself to Syracuse.

Florus says, that Hiero confessed he was conquered before he saw the enemy.

Zonaras, b. 8. makes Appius to land with his forces, not at Messina, but some place near it, and to attack the Syracusians before he entered that town.

ⁱ According to Eutropius, b. 2. and Silius Italicus, b. 6. Appius Claudius had a triumph for his victories; but the Capitoline marbles say nothing of it.

He acquired his surname of Caudex, if we may believe Seneca, (de Brev. Vit.) from his having transported the Roman army from Italy to Sicily in small boats, which the ancients called *caudices*.

Mr. Vertot, perhaps on no other authority, says, that this general was the first who, by the means of some rafts, transported troops into Sicily, which got him the surname of Caudex, as having found the art of fastening planks together, so as to make transports of them.

Chevalier Folard rallies the abbot on this passage of his history, and wants to know his voucher. Doubtless the chevalier has good reason to dispute the fact. It would have been madness for the consul to have attempted to waft an army cross those straits on such transports; neither had he any occasion to have recourse to that

§. II. THE Romans being animated by the victories of Appius to pursue the war with more than ordinary vigour, it was decreed, that the consuls for the new year, Manius Valerius and Manius Otacilius, should both go into Sicily, and should take with them four legions, each consisting of 4,000 foot and 300 horse. Upon the arrival of these forces in Sicily, most of the towns* and castles, that had submitted to the Carthaginians and Syracusians, gave themselves up to the Romans; insomuch, that the king of Syracuse found it high time for him to endeavour after a peace with an enemy so formidable, and that came now to besiege him in his capital. He perceived, says Polybius, that the designs and hopes of the Romans were better founded than those of the Carthaginians, and in conclusion therefore sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and an alliance with Rome. Valerius and Otacilius readily embraced the overture, and the more readily, on account of the difficulties they were under with regard to their convoys. The Roman troops had the last year been driven to great straits, and there was good reason to apprehend lest the Carthaginians, who were masters of the sea, should be able totally to debar them of all supplies of

Year of
R O M E
490.
B. C. 262.

189th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 16.

* Diod. Si-
culus (p.
875.) makes
the number
to be sixty-
seven.

dangerous expedient, all the ships in the ports of Italy being at his disposal; and Polybius expressly tells us, that Appius embarked his men on vessels of fifty oars, and on triremes borrowed of the Tarentines, Locrians, &c. This relation of Polybius is decisive also against Seneca.

The chevalier will have it, that Appius's surname of Caudex was on account of a dull, stupid air, the word *codex* signifying a blockhead.

Father Catrou, in the large Roman history, speaking of Appius's surname, keeps clear of Mr. Vertot's rafts and Seneca's little boats; but then he wants a reason for Claudius's surname of Caudex. He says, that when Appius undertook to cross the straits with his fleet, he went himself on board a sorry galley, hastily and clumsily built ("une mauvaise galere tumultuairement construite et sans art.") This enterprise happily executed, the Romans thought it so fine an exploit, that they gave the consul the surname of Caudex, which word, adds the father, signified then "un mauvais bateau fait de planches mal arrangées et précipitemment réunies."

But what reason in the world can be imagined why Appius should make choice of such a transport, wherein to convey his own person to Sicily, when he might have chosen the best triremes in the fleet? I cannot find, that the reverend father has any authority for this fact.

If Appius did really acquire the surname in question from the bad build and fashion of any vessel in which he crossed the straits, I should conjecture it was from that fisher-boat (which might be a *caudex*) wherein, as Aurelius Victor reports, he courageously ventured over to Messina, to learn the state of things there before he transported his army thither.

Year of
R O M E
490.
B. C. 262.

189th con-
sulship.

In Eclog.
p. 875.

provision. The consuls nevertheless made the king purchase the alliance which he sought with 100 talents of silver.

Diodorus Siculus reports, that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, was by this time come with a fleet to Xiphonia (not far from Syracuse) to the assistance of the king, but that hearing of what was done, he instantly retired.^k

Hiero, after this treaty, continued ever a firm and useful friend to the Romans; and being a prince who not only made the prosperity of his subjects his chief aim, but always pursued that aim by measures honest and noble, he enjoyed a long and happy reign, dear to his people, beloved of his allies, and universally esteemed by all the Greek nations.

Year of
R O M E
491.
B. C. 261.

190th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 17.

§. III. THE treaty with the Syracusian king being ratified by an ordinance of the Roman people, it was now thought advisable to abate of the number of troops in the service, and to send into Sicily, under the command of the new consuls (L. Posthumius Megellus and Q. Mamilius Vitulus), only two legions; which, through Hiero's friendship, they trusted would live in plenty of all things necessary.

As for the people of Carthage, when they learned that Hiero of a friend was become an enemy, and when they considered that the Romans were now superior to

§ De Brev.
Vit.
† Saturn.
b. 1.

^k We find by the Capitoline marbles, that a dictator was created this year at Rome to drive the nail, probably on account of some prodigies, or to stop the plague: from the same marbles we learn also, that Valerius at his return to Rome was decreed a triumph, and that he acquired the surname of Messala; which Seneca § and Macrobius † tell us was given him for the conquest of Messina (then called Massana). It is hard to reconcile this with Polybius's account, unless we suppose that the enemy got possession of that place after the return of Appius Claudius into Italy. The Jesuits believe rather, that Valerius performed some notable exploit in the defence of Messina, while Otacilius was otherways employed, and that this occasioned the distinction with which he was afterward honoured above his colleague. Pliny authorizes this conjecture, when he tells us, (b. 35. c. 4.) that Valerius brought with him from Sicily a picture representing the battle wherein he had vanquished Hiero and the Carthaginians before Messina. He fixed it up in the old palace of king Tullus Hostilius, where the senate used to assemble.

The same author reports also, (b. 7. c. ult.) that Valerius brought with him from Sicily another novelty, an horizontal sundial, and that he placed it on a pedestal in the *comitium* near the rostra.

them in strength, they turned their thoughts to provide a force that might be sufficient to preserve those acquisitions which they still possessed in the island. To this end they hired a great number of troops in Gaul and in Liguria, but principally in Spain; and, having resolved to make Agrigentum* (a strong place, distant about eighteen furlongs from the sea, on the south coast of Sicily) the rendezvous of their armies, and their chief magazine, they transported the mercenaries to that city.

Year of
R O M E
491.

B. C. 261.

190th con-
sulship.

* Called
also Agra-
gas, now
Gergenti.

The consuls Posthumius and Mamilius were now arrived in Sicily with the legions, and having got intelligence of the designs of the Carthaginians, and of the preparations they were making in Agrigentum, came to a resolution to march directly with their forces towards that place, and invest it. They pitched their camp about a mile from the town, and totally blocked it up.

It happening to be the time of harvest, the Roman soldiers, who foresaw that the siege would be a long one, dispersed themselves abroad to forage; and this they did in so unguarded a manner, that it tempted the besieged one day to sally out upon them. The Carthaginians not only fell upon the reapers in the fields, but made a furious attack upon the Roman advanced guards, not without hopes to force the very camp. And here (says Polybius) the Romans, as on many other occasions, owed their preservation to that discipline in which they excelled all nations; for being accustomed to see those punished with death who deserted their post, or fled in battle, they diligently rallied, and bravely sustained the shock of the enemy, though superior in number. And though many of the Romans fell, the loss was much greater on the enemy's side, who being at length surrounded when they had almost forced the Roman intrenchment, were with great slaughter driven back to their works. After this action the Romans became more wary in their foraging, and the Carthaginians

Year of
R O M E
491.
B. C. 261.

190th con-
sulship.

bellu
-argt oala
won, aag
illegible

Diod. Sic.
in Eclog.
p. 875.
Polyb. b. 1.
c. 18.

less forward to make sallies. The consuls, however, the better to secure themselves, cut a deep trench between the walls of the city and their camp, and another on the side towards the country, to prevent any surprise that way; which double fortification also hindered the besieged from receiving any supplies whatsoever. At the same time provisions and all necessaries were brought to the besiegers by their Sicilian allies to Erbesus; and from that town, which lay not far from their camp, their convoys passed without impediment.

Affairs continued five months in this posture, neither party gaining upon the other any considerable advantage, their engagements being for the most part only in slight skirmishes. The besiegers received daily reinforcements from the Sicilians, and in all amounted to above 100,000 men. In the meantime the city, being stuffed with a garrison of 50,000 soldiers, began to be much straitened for provisions: Hannibal, who commanded there in chief, dispatched frequent advices to Carthage, representing the extremities to which they were reduced, and demanding speedy succour. The Carthaginians, therefore, embarking on board their fleet what soldiers and elephants they could readily muster, sent them into Sicily to Hanno, their other general in that country. Hanno, having assembled all his forces at Heraclea, a maritime town a little to the west of Agrigentum, marched directly to Erbesus, where he had a secret correspondence, and which was put into his hands by treachery. By this loss the Romans not only were deprived of their wonted supplies, but became themselves almost as closely besieged by Hanno, as Agrigentum was by their troops; and they must unavoidably have quitted their enterprise, if king Hiero had not relieved them in their distress. He found means to convey provisions to their camp, though not in great quantity, nor sufficient to prevent those distempers among the soldiers, which are the usual consequences of scarcity.

Hanno, having intelligence of the bad condition of the Roman army, that the soldiers were enfeebled by want, and their number diminished by diseases, believed he might now be able to cope with them. He marched with fifty elephants, and all the rest of his forces, from Heraclea (whither he had returned after the affair of Erbesus), sending his Numidian horse before, with orders to approach to the enemy's camp, and endeavour to draw the Roman cavalry to a battle, in which they were to retreat till they joined the main body. The Numidians punctually performed their instructions. They marched up to the intrenchment of the enemy, and being attacked by the Roman horse, retired before them till they joined Hanno with the army, which almost encompassing the Romans, slew many of them, and drove the rest back to their camp. After this exploit, the Carthaginians made no other attempt for two months, but lay strongly encamped on an eminence about ten furlongs from the Romans, waiting for some opportunity to fight with advantage.

In the meantime, Agrigentum was reduced to the utmost extremity by famine. Hannibal gave notice to Hanno, as well by signals from the town as by frequent expresses, that the garrison were no longer able to sustain the wants they laboured under, and that many of the soldiers were compelled by hunger to desert. This brought Hanno to resolve upon a decisive action, to which the Romans were no less disposed, on account of their inconvenient situation. The two armies therefore drawing out, came to an engagement on the ground between their camps. The success was long doubtful; but Hanno's elephants being at length disordered by his own vanguard, which the Romans had broken and put to flight, those unruly beasts threw his whole army into confusion. The Carthaginians suffered a great slaughter; some few got into Heraclea; but the Romans took most of the elephants, and all the enemy's baggage.

Year of
R O M E
491.

B. C. 261.

190th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 19.

492.

493.

Darius.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 20.

Year of
R O M E
492.
B. C. 260.

191st con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
491.
B. C. 261.

190th con-
sulship.

And now Hannibal turned all his thoughts to make his escape from Agrigentum, which he despaired of holding any longer; and perceiving that the Romans after their victory, wearied with labour and grown secure by their good fortune, kept negligent watch, he rushed out of the place at midnight with all his foreign troops, and filling the Roman trenches with fagots, passed over their works unhurt and unperceived. The Romans saw not their error till the morning, when they contented themselves with a short pursuit, and presently returned to take possession of the town; which they entered without resistance, unmercifully despoiling the inhabitants both of their riches and of their liberty.

CHAP. III.

THE FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

492.

In the consulship of L. Valerius and T. Otacilius, Rome fits out a fleet of 100 quinquiremes and twenty triremes, in order to dispute with the Carthaginians the dominion of the sea. One of the consuls of the next year, Cornelius Asina, falls

493.

into the enemy's hands, together with seventeen of his galleys; but the other consul, C. Duilius, gains a memorable victory over the Carthaginian fleet, near Mylæ, chiefly by means of a new-invented engine for grappling and boarding the enemy's ships.

Duilius.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 20.

GREAT joy there was at Rome on the news of the taking of Agrigentum, and every body's courage and hopes were raised. They now thought it not enough to have rescued Messina, and enriched themselves by the war; they proposed nothing less than the entire expulsion of the Carthaginians out of Sicily; nay, and this was to be done the very next year by L. Valerius and T. Otacilius, their newly-elected consuls. However, they soon became sensible, that the task was too difficult to be accomplished in so short a time. For though a great number of the inland towns of Sicily had, after the reduction of Agrigentum, readily submitted to the Romans, who were evidently superior to their enemies by land; yet many places situate on the coast had revolted from them, through fear of the Carthaginian strength

Year of
R O M E
492.
B. C. 260.

191st con-
sulship.

by sea. And indeed this advantage on the side of Carthage, made the success of the war still doubtful; which being well considered by the Romans, as also that the coast of Italy lay exposed to the depredations of the Carthaginians, who made frequent descents upon it, whilst Africa felt none of the calamities of war, they at length resolved to apply themselves diligently to maritime affairs, and even, at their first essay, to make provision for such a fleet, as should be able to contend with the naval power of Carthage.

Year of
R O M E
492.
B. C. 260.

191st consulship.

Polybius, in speaking on this subject, cannot forbear to express his admiration of the magnanimity of the Romans, so void of fear in enterprises of the greatest hazard and moment; and it is in truth an astonishing instance of the resolute bravery of this people, that being hitherto extremely ignorant in all the arts relating to navigation, they should now at once determine upon a naval battle with the Carthaginians, who had held uncontested, from time immemorial, the dominion of the sea.

The same author tells us, that the Romans were not at this time masters of one single galley,¹ no, not even of a bark; and were so little skilled in ship-building, that if fortune had not favoured them, it would have been almost impossible for them to put their design in execution. A Carthaginian galley, cruising on the coast of Italy, and venturing too near the shore, happened to be stranded; the Romans seized her before the crew could get her off, and, by the model of this galley, their first

¹ Doubtless Polybius goes too far, when he affirms that the Romans had no ships before the first Punic war; the ancient treaties between Rome and Carthage, which he himself presents us with, evince the contrary: nay, it appears by the former part of this history, that they had ten ships of war at the time of the rupture with the Tarentines. And as to what he says of the loss the Romans would have been at to build a fleet if they had not seized a Carthaginian vessel which chanced to be stranded, his meaning, to be consistent with himself, must be, either that without this accident they would have had no good model whereby to build any ship of war, or would have had no model at all of a quinquiremis. For he tells us, in the very same part of his history, that some of the vessels in which they transported their troops the first time to Messina, were triremes (and these were ships of war) borrowed from their neighbours, the Tarentines, &c.

Year of
R O M E
492.
B. C. 260.

191st con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 21.

fleet, which consisted of 100 quinquiremes and twenty triremes, was built.^m

While these vessels were upon the stocks, the men appointed to be the rowers were taught the use of the oar in the following manner:—Seats were raised on the sea-shore, in the same fashion and order as they were to be in the galleys, and the mariners being placed thereon, an officer, who stood in the midst of them, instructed them, by signs with his hand, how at once and all together to dip their oars, and in like manner to recover them out of the water. They afterward spent some time in practising upon the water what they had been learning at land, adventuring first along the coast of Italy.

Year of
R O M E
493.
B. C. 259.

192d con-
sulship.

Before the finishing of this naval armament,ⁿ the consular fasces were transferred to Cn. Cornelius Asina and C. Duilius. It fell to Cornelius to be the Roman admiral. Leaving orders with the pilots to make the best of their way to the straits so soon as all the new vessels should be equipped, he with only seventeen of them repaired to Messina, to give directions for the reception and security of the main fleet. He had not been long there, when, deceived by some false intelligence, he thought he had a fair occasion of surprising Lipara.^o Thither he went with his squadron, and drew up under the walls of the town. Hannibal, who commanded at sea for the Carthaginians, and was now at Panormus, having notice of this design, immediately dispatched

^m Of the ancient ships of war, the most considerable were the *naves longæ* (long ships or galleys), so named from their form, which was the most convenient to wield round or cut their way; whereas the ships of burden were generally built rounder and more hollow, that they might be more easy to load, and might hold the more goods. The most remarkable of the *naves longæ* were the triremis, the quadriremis, and the quinquiremis, exceeding one another by one bank of oars, which banks were raised sloping one above another. Some indeed fancy a different original of these names, as that in the triremes for example, either there were three banks one after the other on a level, or that three rowers tugged all together at one oar; but this is contrary not only to the authority of the classics, but to the figures of the triremes, still appearing in ancient monuments. Kennet's Antiq. part. 2. b. 4. c. 20.

ⁿ According to Florus, b. 2. and Orosius, b. 4. c. 7. the Romans were but sixty days in building and equipping their fleet, reckoning from the time that the necessary timber was prepared.

^o A town in a small island of the same name, not far from Sicily, to the north.

away twenty galleys, under the command of one Boodes, a senator, who, arriving in the night, blocked up Cornelius in the harbour. As soon as day appeared, the Roman mariners, in their first fright, to save themselves, got with all diligence ashore. The consul, in this distress, seeing no remedy, yielded himself prisoner; and the Carthaginians possessing themselves of the seventeen vessels, and the principal Roman officers, made the best of their way back to Hannibal.

Year of
R O M E
493.
B. C. 259.

192d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 21.

Such is Polybius's account of this affair; but, according to Livy's Epitome, b. 17. Cornelius was made prisoner by treachery, being decoyed from his ship by the pretence of a parley, to which the Carthaginian commander invited him in order to a peace.

Not long after this adventure of Cornelius, Hannibal himself was very near falling into a like disaster by an equal indiscretion. For having received advice that the Roman fleet was at sea, and coasting along Italy, he would needs be himself a witness of the number and posture of the enemy; and to that end went in search of them with only fifty of his galleys. The Romans happened to be nearer than he was aware of, and just as he doubled a promontory on the Italian coast, surprised him with their whole fleet in order of battle. In this encounter, he lost the greater part of his squadron, and escaped narrowly himself, when every body despaired of his safety.

The Romans continued their course towards Messina, pursuant to the instructions they had formerly received from Cornelius, of whose defeat and captivity having got advice, they immediately sent the news of it to Duilius (who then had the command of the land forces in the island), and while they waited the coming of the consul, they prepared for a new engagement with the enemy, whose fleet they heard was not far off. And considering that their own ships were heavy and slow, not having been built with great art, they turned their thoughts

Year of
R O M E
493.
B. C. 259.

192d con-
sulship.

* The crow.

to contrive some new invention which might compensate for this disadvantage; and then was devised that famous machine which they afterward called the corvus.*

The learned cannot agree concerning the exact form of this engine. Polybius's description of it has not been found sufficient to make it clearly understood. It appears to have been a kind of drawbridge, so framed on the prow of the vessels, that being let fall upon an enemy's ship, it served both to grapple her and to render the boarding her more easy.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 23.

Duilius, upon the first notice of what had happened to his colleague, remitting the conduct of the land army to his tribunes, hastened to the fleet, where hearing, on his arrival, that the enemy were cruising on the coast near Mylæ, which was not far from Messina, he made the best of his way with all his galleys to encounter them. Their fleet consisted of 130 ships, and was commanded by the same Hannibal who had escaped with his army by night from Agrigentum. His own vessel was a septiremis, or galley of seven banks of oars, belonging formerly to Pyrrhus king of Epirus.

The Carthaginians greatly rejoiced when they descried the Romans, whom they held in such extreme contempt, that they advanced with their prows directly upon them, careless of any order of battle, and dreaming of nothing but certain victory. But when they drew near they became much astonished at the sight of the engines before-mentioned, having never seen the like before, and not being able to conjecture the design of them. However, they stayed not long in suspense, nor did the novelty of what they beheld lessen their presumption. The headmost of their vessels made a furious attack upon the Romans, who grappling with them by means of their engines, entered them at once, fighting upon deck hand to hand with their enemies, as upon firm ground. And now neither the lightness of the Carthaginian galleys, nor the skill of their mariners, availed any thing; all was

carried by the advantage of weapon and superiority of valour, and both these were on the side of the Romans. The Carthaginians lost in this first encounter thirty of their vessels, of which Hannibal's galley was one, he himself escaping in a small boat, when he was by all given for lost. At length the rest of the fleet came up; but having perceived the terrible effect of the new engines in the defeat of their first squadron, they used all their endeavours to avoid them, nimbly rowing round the Roman galleys, to find an opportunity of attacking them with safety; but when they observed, that which way soever they approached, those machines were traversed and opposed to them, they were at length compelled to yield the honour of the day to the Romans, retreating with the loss of fifty more of their ships.

Year of
R O M E
493.
B. C. 259.

192d con-
sulship.

Hannibal, with the remainder of his fleet, stood away for Afric; but fearing lest crucifixion should be his fate, he sent before him one of his friends, a man well chosen for the commission, who, being introduced into the senate, "Your admiral," said he, "desires to know your opinion, whether, in case the Romans appear at sea with a numerous fleet, he should give them battle?" "Doubtless he ought to fight," they all cried out unanimously. The messenger then added, "He has fought, and is vanquished." And thus Hannibal escaped the danger that hung over him; for they were no longer free to condemn an action which they had already approved.

Val. Max.
b. 7. c. 3.
in Extern.

As for Duilius, the courage of whose men was greatly raised by their late surprising victory, he landed his forces on the island, and marched to the relief of Segesta, which the enemy at that time closely besieged. He not only forced them to raise the siege of this place, but took from them Macella by assault. After these exploits, leaving the land army behind him, he returned to Rome, to receive the recompence due to his valour and conduct. A victory at sea so unexpected, so complete, and so important, made all former victories at land

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 24.

Year of
R O M E
493.

B. C. 259.

192d con-
sulship.

Cio. in Cat.
maj.

Florus, b. 2.

* Columna
Rostrata.

to be in a manner forgot. The conqueror, beside the usual honour of the triumph, which was decreed him, was suffered to assume a new one of his own invention.

During the rest of his life, whenever he had supped abroad in the city, he caused himself to be attended home with flambeaux and music. Medals were struck by the Romans to perpetuate the memory of his exploit; and to the same end they erected in the Forum a rostral pillar of white marble.* This pillar was in the last century accidentally dug up out of the ground, in that part of Rome which was formerly the Roman Forum. There are yet the figures of six rostra, or prows of Roman galleys, sticking to it, and a long but imperfect inscription on the pedestal.

CHAP. IV.

THE SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND EIGHTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

494. Four thousand Samnites conspire with certain discontented slaves to plunder and burn Rome, but are seasonably discovered and punished. The Romans invade Corsica and Sardinia with success. A quarrel in Sicily between the Roman army and their Sicilian auxiliaries, gives the enemy some advantages in that island.
495. Next year several towns there surrendered to one of the consuls; and the other surprises the enemy's fleet in a port of Sardinia, and takes many of the ships;
496. whereupon the Carthaginian sailors mutiny, and crucify their admiral. The Romans are again conquerors in an engagement at sea near the Tyndaris.

Year of
R O M E
494.

B. C. 258.

193d con-
sulship.

Orosius, b.
4. c. 7.

Zon. b. 8.

THE consuls for the following year were L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Aquilius Florus. While the former employed himself on the coast in getting the fleet ready for new enterprises, the latter was detained at Rome on occasion of a conspiracy then on foot to plunder and burn the city. Four thousand Samnites being appointed, contrary to their inclination, to serve as rowers in the galleys, had united with 3,000 discontented slaves in this design; but a certain commander of auxiliaries, whom they had chosen to be their leader, and who seemed at first to go heartily into their measures, had no sooner learned their whole secret, than he discovered it to the senate, who took effectual care to avert the mischief and punish the offenders.

Before this domestic disturbance was quite over, Cornelius weighed anchor and put to sea. Ambitious of signalizing himself by some exploit yet unattempted, he made a descent first upon Corsica and then upon Sardinia, and in a short time made considerable progress in the conquest of those islands, the possession of which was of great importance to the Romans, who now aspired to the empire of the seas.

Year of
R O M E
494.
B. C. 258.

193d consulship.

Aquilius went late into Sicily. The affairs of the Romans had suffered much in that island since the departure of Duilius. For a dispute had arisen between the Roman and Sicilian troops about the post of honour; which dispute was carried so far as to produce a separation. Hamilcar (the Carthaginian general by land) who was then at Panormus, having intelligence of this division, surprised the Sicilians as they were about to encamp between Paropus and Thermas, and slew 4,000 of them. He had also taken Enna and Camarina, and had fortified Drepanum.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 24.

Aquilius stayed in the island all the winter in quality of proconsul, and by his able conduct brought affairs into a better posture.

In the meantime his colleague held the *comitia* for the new elections, where A. Atilius Calatinus and C. Sulpicius Paterculus were chosen consuls. The command of the land army fell to the former, the fleet to the latter. Soon after the arrival of Calatinus in Sicily, Misistratum, which the proconsul, Aquilius, had reduced to the last extremity, surrendered to him. From thence he marched towards Camarina; but in his way, not taking sufficient precaution, he brought his army into a valley, where he was shut in, and surrounded by the Carthaginians, under the command of Hamilcar. In this desperate situation, Calpurnius Flamma,^p a legionary tribune, undertook, with the consul's consent, an action of bravery much extolled by the historians. With 300

Year of
R O M E
495.
B. C. 257.

194th consulship.

Zon. b. 8.
Orosius,
Florus,
Aurel.
Victor,
c. 39.
Livy, Epit.
b. 17.
Livy, b. 22.
c. 60.

^p He is called by some writers Cæditius, by others Laberius.

Year of
R O M E
495.
B. C. 257.

194th con-
sulship.

chosen men, he, to make a diversion, seized an eminence, where he knew the Carthaginians would soon attack him, and from whence he could have little hope to escape.—He promised himself, that by this motion he should give the enemy so much employment, that they would not be able to obstruct the consul's march. The stratagem succeeded. The Carthaginians, in their attempt to dislodge him, met with so obstinate a resistance, that they were forced to bring almost the whole body of their army to the charge; and in the meantime, the consul with his legions got safely through the pass with little opposition. Of the 300 Romans, Calpurnius was the only person that escaped: he was found miserably wounded, but still breathing, under a heap of dead bodies, and his wounds being carefully dressed, he recovered. A crown of gramen was the reward of his exploit.

Plin. b. 22.
c. 6. and
Diod. in
Eclog. p.
876.

Calatinus, after this escape, continued his march towards Camarina, and, by the help of engines, sent him by king Hiero, made himself master of it. Enna betrayed her garrison, and opened her gates to him. He took Sittanum by assault; and then many other towns surrendered without standing a siege, and, among the rest, Erbesus, in the country of the Agrigentines. Flushed with this success, he undertook the siege of Lipara, expecting for the future to meet with no resistance wherever he appeared; but Hamilcar having got notice of his design, had stolen with some troops into the place; and when the Romans, who saw none but citizens upon the ramparts, confidently began to scale the walls, they were on a sudden surprised by a sally of the Carthaginians, and shamefully repulsed with considerable loss. And thus Calatinus finished his campaign, which, by the mixture of good and bad success, gained him but little honour.

Zon. b. 8.

As for the other consul, Sulpicius, he had conducted the fleet like an able commander. He had not only

assisted his colleague in the reduction of the maritime towns of Sicily, but had much advanced the conquest of Sardinia and Corsica. However, this did not satisfy his passion for glory; he burnt with a desire of distinguishing himself by a naval victory; and because no Carthaginian fleet appeared at sea, he spread a report that he intended to go and burn the ships of the African republic in their harbours. This news alarmed the Carthaginians, and they trusted Hannibal once more with the command of a considerable fleet. He found Sulpicius with his not far from the coast of Africa. But when both sides were preparing for an engagement, a storm separated them, and drove the ships of both fleets into the ports of Sardinia. After this, Sulpicius surprised the Carthaginian admiral in a harbour of that island, and took many of his galleys; which misfortune begetting a mutiny in the remainder of his fleet, the mariners seized on his person, and crucified him.

Year of
R O M E
495.
B. C. 257.

194th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 24.

The year following, when C. Attilius Regulus and Cn. Cornelius Blasio were consuls, the former, being with the fleet at Tyndaris, descried the Carthaginian fleet standing along the coast in a confused and careless manner, whereupon he hastened with a squadron of ten galleys to give them chase, directing at the same time the rest of the ships to follow him. The Carthaginians, observing that the detached squadron was advanced a good distance from the enemy's main fleet, tacked about on a sudden, and surrounding the ten ships, quickly sunk them all, except the admiral's galley, which escaped only by her lightness and the force of her oars. But the rest of the Roman fleet coming up soon after in order of battle, amply revenged this disgrace; for the Carthaginians were forced to fly to the island of Lipara, with the loss of eighteen of their vessels, of which eight were sunk and the other ten taken.

Year of
R O M E
496.
B. C. 256.

195th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 25.

Little was performed this year by land, the armies engaging in no action of importance, and the contend-

Year of
R O M E
496.
B. C. 256.

195th con-
sulship.

ing powers being chiefly solicitous about the increase of their naval strength, which, for good reason, as we shall presently see, was by each side deemed to be more than ever its principal affair.

CHAP. V.

THE NINTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

497.

Regulus.

To oblige Carthage to recall her armies from Sicily, Rome undertakes to transfer the war into Africa. In this view, both the consuls are sent out with a fleet of 330 ships of war, and an army of near 140,000 men. They gain a complete victory over the enemy's fleet near Ecnomus, and afterward land in Africa. One of the consuls returns to Italy with the greater part of the fleet and the army, leaving his colleague Regulus to pursue the war.—The Roman general, after taking several towns, routs the land forces of the Carthaginians near Adis, and then offers peace to the republic, but upon conditions that are rejected with indignation.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 26.

THE struggle between the rival republics for the dominion of Sicily had now lasted eight years, and Carthage had already lost the greater part of her acquisitions in that island, when the Romans, to make her relinquish the rest, undertook to transfer the war into Africa.—They imagined, that they should hereby reduce the Carthaginians to the necessity of calling home all their forces for the defence of their own country. The naval preparations of the Romans the last year had been wholly in view to the execution of this design; and the fleet which they now put to sea, under the command of their new consuls, Marcus Attilius Regulus* and L. Manlius, was suitable to the importance of the enterprise; for it consisted of no less than 330 ships of war.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

* A second
time.

On the other hand, the Carthaginians, who well knew how easy it was for an enemy, who had once got footing in their country, to subdue the inhabitants on the coast, and to march even to the walls of Carthage, had determined to exert their utmost strength in opposing the intended descent. Fully bent upon a sea engagement, they had equipped a fleet that was still more numerous than that of the Romans. They arrived at Lilybæum with 350 galleys. From this place they went afterward

to Heraclea Minoa, where they stayed at anchor, waiting the motions of the enemy.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

The Roman fleet had touched at Messina, and had thence steered its course along the coast of Sicily that lay to the right, and having doubled the promontory of Pachinum, was come to Ecnomus, where their land forces then were. From these the consuls selected the ablest of the soldiers for the present service, providing all things necessary either for a battle with the enemy by sea, if it should be offered, or to make an irruption into Africa, if their voyage thither should not be obstructed. Each galley in the Roman fleet had 300 rowers and 120 soldiers, so that the whole army amounted to near 140,000 men. As the Carthaginians exceeded their enemies in number of ships, so was their army proportionably greater, consisting of above 150,000 mariners and soldiers.— And now, says Polybius, who could behold, or but barely hear of, such fleets and armies, and of the hazard to which these contending states were exposed, without being astonished at the mightiness of their power, and without taking part in the danger with which they threatened each other?

196th con-
sulship.

Ecnomus was not far from Heraclea; the two parties were obstinately determined, the one to invade, the other to defend; it was easy therefore to foresee they would soon come to a battle.

The Romans, considering the advantage which the Carthaginians had over them in the lightness and ready working of their galleys, took especial care to draw up their fleet, that it should be difficult to break its order. They divided their ships into four squadrons, to three of which they gave the names of the first, the second, and the third fleet; and these, in three lines, composed the form of a wedge or triangle, pointing towards the enemy.

The first fleet to the right, and the second to the left (keeping the prows of their vessels turned outwards),

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

made the sides of the triangle; and at the head of these two lines, that is, at the point where they met, were the consuls Regulus and Manlius, in two galleys abreast of each other. The third fleet made the base of the triangle, and towed the vessels of burden, which carried the horses and baggage.

In the rear of all was the fourth division, which they called the triarians, a term taken from the land forces. This squadron was drawn up in a line parallel to the base of the triangle, but was stretched so far in length, that its two extremities extended a good way beyond those of the base.

The several divisions of the Roman fleet being thus disposed, the whole, says Polybius, was fit for action, and very difficult to be broken.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 27.

The Carthaginian fleet was commanded by Hanno, who had succeeded so ill during the siege of Agrigentum, and by Hamilcar, who had fought near Tyndaris. These admirals, observing how the Roman galleys were drawn up, and rightly conjecturing the intention of such a disposition, turned their thoughts to disappoint it, by the order in which they should dispose their own vessels, and by stratagem.—Having divided their whole fleet into four squadrons, they drew three of them up in one long line frontways, their prows pointing directly on the enemy. Hanno was with the squadron which formed the right of this line, and which stretched a great way out into the sea. He had with him all the best rowing galleys, such as were proper to attack and retreat, and could row round the Romans at pleasure. Hamilcar was with the squadron in the left of the line. The third squadron, which made the centre, was designedly drawn up very thin, that the Romans might be tempted to begin the attack there, in which case this squadron had orders to retreat, thereby to engage the Roman galleys, which made the two sides of their triangle, in a pursuit, which would separate them from the base.

The fourth division of the Carthaginian fleet, in form of a tenail, kept close under the shore which lay to the left of their long line of battle.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

The stratagem abovementioned, and which Polybius imputes to Hamilcar, succeeded. The Romans began their attack on the Carthaginians in the middle of their line. The galleys that were attacked, pretended to fly through fear, and the assailants, that is to say, the first and second fleets of the Romans, pursuing them warmly, disjoined themselves from their third fleet (which towed the baggage), and from the triarians in the rear of all.

196th con-
sulship.

When the Carthaginians judged that the first and second fleets of the Romans were sufficiently distanced from the rest, the signal was given from Hamilcar's galley; whereupon those that were chased by the Romans immediately tacked, and made head against the pursuers, Hamilcar with his squadron charging them at the same time. And now the battle grew warm; for though the Carthaginians had the advantage in the lightness and ready working of their vessels, yet the Romans lost not their assurance of success in the end; they found themselves better men when they came to the sword's point, and they had great trust in their engines, with which they grappled and boarded the enemy; besides, the soldiers were animated by the presence of their generals, in whose eye they fought, and who themselves engaged in equal hazard with the rest.

During this conflict, Hanno, who commanded the squadron which had formed the right of the Carthaginian line, bearing down upon the Roman triarians, attacked them vigorously, and succeeded so well, as to reduce them to very great extremities.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 28.

At the same time the fourth squadron of the Carthaginians, which in form of a tenail had been posted close under the shore, ranged themselves into a front, and advanced against that squadron of the Romans which they called their third fleet, and which had made the

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

base of their triangle. This fleet was therefore obliged to cast off the vessels they had in tow, which having done, they received the Carthaginians, and fought them with great bravery. So that now might be seen three naval battles at one and the same instant.

The fortune of the day was for some time doubtful, and would at length have infallibly declared for the Carthaginians, if Hamilcar's courage had been equal to his skill in stratagem, and if, with his two squadrons of the left and the centre, he had only maintained the fight against the first and second fleets of the Romans, so as to hinder them from going to the assistance of their other fleets; but he, after some loss, shamefully fled out of the battle.—And now, while Manlius employed himself in towing away such ships as had been taken, Regulus, who perceived the great danger the triarians were in from Hanno's attack, advanced with all diligence to their relief, taking with him those ships of his colleague's squadron, which had not suffered any thing in the engagement with Hamilcar. The triarians hereupon, though now almost quite vanquished, recovered heart, and renewed the battle with alacrity. Hanno, seeing himself thus assaulted contrary to all expectation, both in front and rear, betook himself to his oars, and made off to sea, yielding the day to the Romans.

About the same time, Manlius coming up, and joining Regulus, they both hastened to the succour of their third fleet, which had been forced under the shore by the fourth squadron of the enemy, and was in a manner besieged there. This third fleet would have been in great danger of destruction, before the consuls could have come to its rescue, if the Carthaginians had had the courage to push their advantage; but their dread of being grappled by the corvi, and of coming to a close fight with the Romans, was so great, that they contented themselves with driving their enemies against the shore, and there keeping them beset. And now they

were themselves entirely surrounded by the Romans, who took fifty of their ships with all their equipage. Such was the event of this last combat in particular. The Romans, every where victors, took in all sixty-four of the Carthaginian galleys, and sunk thirty. Of their own fleet they lost but twenty-four galleys, and these perished against the shore, not one was taken.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

The consuls, after this victory, returned into the ports of Sicily to take in provisions and fresh troops, and prepare anew for a descent upon Africa.

Polyb. b. 1
c. 29.

Whilst they were thus employed, Hanno made no scruple to go in person to amuse them by conferences about peace, which Hamilcar had refused to do, for fear he should be treated as the Carthaginians had treated Cornelius Asina five years before. Hanno's confidence was founded upon a different judgment of the temper of the Romans; and experience on the present occasion shewed that he judged rightly. For when a certain legionary tribune cried out, "That he ought to be detained prisoner, by way of reprisal, for the treachery practised towards Cornelius," both the consuls immediately ordered him silence; and then turning to Hanno, "The faith of Rome secures thee from that fear." The Carthaginian was dismissed in safety, but his proposals were rejected, and the consuls pursued their enterprise.

The Romans had a fortunate voyage, and landed in the neighbourhood of Clypea, near the promontory of Mercury. Having made themselves masters of that town, they would not advance any farther till they had received fresh instructions from Rome: for such was the dependence of the consuls upon the senate at this time, that they did little more than execute the orders of the fathers; most of whom being experienced soldiers, and having commanded armies, were very capable of directing the conduct of their generals. The consuls however did not continue in a perfect inaction; they fortified Clypea after the Roman manner, and detached

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

parties to ravage the rich territory all around, and plunder the fine houses of the Carthaginian nobles. These detachments, meeting no opposition, brought away an immense booty, besides 20,000 prisoners, who were made slaves.

Val. Max.
b. 6. c. 6.

When the consuls' messenger came back from Rome, he brought orders for Manlius to return to Italy with the fleet, and for Regulus to continue in Africa with a sufficient number of troops to carry on the war. The people of Rome depended greatly on the courage and abilities of Regulus, and the city was in universal joy upon the publishing of this regulation. But when the news of it came to Regulus, he was much afflicted. His pretext was, the bad condition of his little farm of seven acres of land. He represented to the senate, that upon the death of the husbandman, to whom he had committed the care of his farm, the management of it had fallen to a day-labourer, who had since stolen his instruments of husbandry, and carried off all his stock ; so that his presence was necessary at home to provide for the subsistence of his wife and children. Upon this the senate gave orders that his losses should be repaired, his farm taken care of, and his family maintained at the public expense ; but he himself was directed to stay in Africa. Manlius, leaving behind him forty ships, 15,000 foot, and 500 horse, returned to Italy with the rest of the army, and with all the prisoners which had been taken upon the continent of Africa.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 29.

Regulus made incursions into the country, and pushed on his conquests with prodigious rapidity.^q All

Flor. b. 2.
Zon. b. 8.

Val. Max.
b. 1.

A. Gell. b. 6.

Plin. b. 8.

^p Regulus, in the progress of his conquests, encamping on the banks of the Bagrada, a river that discharged itself into the sea, not far from Carthage, is said by many authors to have met there with a monstrous serpent, of 120 feet long, which much infested his army, seizing his men, and swallowing them whole when they went to draw water. The skin of this animal was so tough, and its scales so thick, as to be impenetrable by the Roman weapons, insomuch that they were forced to employ their battering engines, called *ballistæ*, to destroy it. And even when they had killed it, the stench of its carcass infected the air and the water to such a degree, that the Romans were forced to decamp. Many other extraordinary things are related by the historians of this serpent, which was probably nothing more than an overgrown crocodile, a creature common in Africa, but to which the Romans were at this time strangers. *Catrou.*

the towns in his way that were unfortified, he took by assault, and those that were fortified, by siege; and now at length he sat down before Adis, a city of great importance, and pressed the siege of it with vigour.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th consulship.

Hitherto the Carthaginians had brought no army into the field to oppose his progress.—Upon the first notice of their terrible defeat at sea, apprehending a sudden invasion from the Romans, they had dispatched away some troops to keep guard upon the coast; but this care was over, as soon as they learned that the Romans were landed. They proceeded therefore with all possible application to reinforce their army with new levies, and make due provision both for strengthening the city, and securing the country. They named two generals to command their forces, Bostar, and Asdrubal the son of Hanno; they afterward sent orders to Hamilcar, who was then at Heraclea, to return home with all expedition. Hamilcar brought with him to Carthage 5,000 foot and 500 horse, and being there named third general of the republic, and having consulted with Asdrubal, it was determined no longer to endure that the Romans should make such spoil upon the country, and to hasten to the relief of Adis. They advanced with their army, and encamped upon an eminence, which, though it overlooked the Roman camp, was a very incommodious situation; for as their greatest strength lay in their horse and elephants, to abandon the plain country and post themselves in high and steep places, where neither elephants nor horse could be of any use to them, was in effect to point out to their enemies the method to destroy them. Regulus, who saw their mistake, gave them no time to rectify it. At break of day he marched against the enemy, his troops ascending the hill on both sides. The mercenaries of the Carthaginians behaved themselves gallantly on this occasion, and repulsed the first legion of the Romans which charged them in front; but being presently after attacked in the rear by the

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 30.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

soldiers who had got up the hill on the other side, they could no longer maintain the fight. The whole army disbanded itself, and in the utmost confusion fled out of the camp. The elephants and the horse, which had been wholly useless during the action, gained the champaign country and escaped. The Romans having pursued the foot for some space, returned and pillaged the camp; after which they proceeded to make incursions as before, spoiling the country, and taking towns without opposition. Among others, they seized upon Tunes, and there they pitched their camp within the walls of it; this being of all places the most commodious for distressing Carthage itself, and the country about it.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 31.

The Carthaginians, who had so unfortunately managed their affairs both by sea and land, not so much through the cowardice of their armies, as the insufficiency of their chiefs, began now to despair. For over and above the calamities that have been related, the Numidians, their implacable enemies, taking advantage of the present troubles, had entered their provinces with fire and sword, and compelled the inhabitants to fly for refuge to the capital, whither they brought both fear and famine, a mighty multitude of all sorts flocking at once thither.

It is not surprising therefore if, in such extremity, the Carthaginians were overjoyed to receive a message from the Roman general, exhorting them to think of an accommodation. What moved Regulus to make this step was the apprehension lest a successor, who was expected from Rome, should deprive him of the glory of putting an end to the war. The senate of Carthage with great readiness dispatched away some of their principal citizens to confer with him: but these were so far from yielding to his proposals, that they could not with patience even hear them mentioned. For Regulus would have had them esteem it as a singular grace and benefit, that he granted them peace upon any terms whatsoever;

and those he demanded were so infamous for the Carthaginians, that in their imagination nothing worse could befall them, should they be entirely conquered. The deputies therefore returned to Carthage, not only without having consented to any thing, but full of indignation at the intolerable insolence of the Romans.—The senate likewise, when the report was made to them of what had passed at the conference, shewed so much courage and greatness of mind, that though they were almost at the brink of despair, they determined rather to abide any adversity, which their worst fortune could bring upon them, than stain the nobility of their name and actions by so shameful a treaty.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

CHAP. VI.

The senate of Carthage entrust Xantippus, a Lacedemonian, with the command of their army. By his excellent conduct he totally defeats the Romans in a pitched battle, and takes Regulus prisoner.

IN the height of this distress, to which the victories and obdurate pride of Regulus had reduced the Carthaginians, there fortunately arrived at Carthage a body of recruits which they had hired in Greece. Among these was a certain Lacedemonian named Xantippus, an officer well skilled in military affairs according to the Spartan discipline. This man having informed himself of the circumstances of the late overthrow, and of the number of horse and elephants which yet remained, concluded within himself, and freely said it among his friends, that the Carthaginians had not been vanquished by the enemy, but by the ignorance of their own leaders. This discourse being spread among the people, came at length to the ears of the magistrates, who thereupon commanded him to be brought before the great council. Xantippus offered such strong reasons in support of what he had advanced, that it was impossible to resist the force of them. He shewed plainly, that if, instead

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 32.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

of encamping upon the high grounds, they would keep in the open champaign country, they might not only banish all fear of the enemy, but even be assured of victory. The whole assembly, the generals not excepted, applauded what he said, and it was unanimously agreed to place him at the head of their troops; the only example of the kind in all history, and a sure proof that the Carthaginians were in the utmost perplexity and consternation.

The soldiers had already begun to conceive a favourable opinion of this stranger, and to hope for some advantage from him; but when, after he had led them without the walls of the city, they saw in what manner he drew them up, and the new exercise he taught them according to his rules, displaying such a skill in the art of war as they had never seen in any of their former generals, they were quite transported with joy; they pressed earnestly to be led against the enemy, being assured that they could not fail of success under the conduct of Xantippus. The army in a few days began to march. It consisted of 12,000 foot, 4,000 horse, and about 100 elephants.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 33.

The Romans were at first a little struck with the novelty, to see their enemies boldly marching in the open flat country, but having no doubt as to the event, they advanced with all expedition to meet them, and encamped within about 1,200 paces of them. Next day, the Carthaginians held a council of war, to determine how they should proceed, while the soldiers, assembling in great numbers, and proclaiming every where the name of Xantippus, demanded with much earnestness to be led against the enemy. The officers observing this forwardness of the army to fight; and being urged by the pressing instances of Xantippus not to let the ardour of the soldiers cool without action, directions were presently given to prepare for battle, and the whole conduct of it was committed to the Spartan, who disposed his troops in the following manner:

He drew up all his elephants in one rank, and behind these, at a reasonable distance, he placed the Carthaginian infantry in one phalanx. The foreign troops were posted, one part of them in the same line with the phalanx, to the right of it; the other part, composed of light-armed soldiers, was placed in the intervals of the squadrons of horse, which made the two wings of the army.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.
196th con-
sulship.

On the part of the Romans, as the chief care of Regulus was to guard against the elephants, he to this end placed in front his velites, or light-armed soldiers, that these with their darts or other missive weapons might drive back those huge beasts upon the enemy, or at least hinder them from rushing with their usual violence upon the legions. It was also out of fear of the same animals, that he made his battalions deeper in file than he had been accustomed to do; an excellent precaution, says Polybius, against the shock of the elephants; but then, by narrowing his front, he left himself more exposed to be attacked in flank by the enemy's cavalry, which greatly outnumbered his.

It does not appear of what number of men Regulus's army consisted; but supposing him to have lost none of those which his colleague left him, they amounted but to 15,000 foot and 500 horse.

The two armies being thus drawn up, and the signal being given by Xantippus, the first onset was made by the elephants, which met with so little resistance from the velites, that they presently broke into the Roman main body, making great destruction amongst the foremost ranks of it. However, the rest of that body stood firm for some time, by reason of its depth. But the Carthaginian horse, having quickly driven those of Regulus out of the field, began now to charge his battalions both in flank and rear, which put them into great distress, for they were forced to face every way, and could neither pass forward, nor yet retire, and had much

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 34.

Year of
R O M E
497.

B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

to do to make good the ground on which they stood. In the meanwhile such of the Romans as with great difficulty had made their way through the elephants, and had left them at their backs, met with the Carthaginian phalanx, which not having yet engaged, and being therefore quite fresh and in good array, obtained an easy victory over a body of men already in disorder, and wearied with wounds and labour. These being entirely cut off, and the phalanx advancing, there was no longer any resource for the Romans. Surrounded on all sides, the greater part of them were crushed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants, or slain in their ranks by the arrows of the horse. Some attempted to escape by flight, but being in an open country, they were easily overtaken by the cavalry, and either cut off or made prisoners. Five hundred, who followed Regulus, fell alive with him into the enemy's hands.^r

Of the whole Roman army, there escaped only 2,000 men, who had been posted in the left point of their main body, and who, in the beginning of the action, to avoid the shock of the elephants, had wheeled round them, and charged the mercenaries that were to the right of the enemy's phalanx, putting them to flight, and pursuing them even to their intrenchments. These 2,000, as it were by miracle, got safely to Clypea, when the rest were all slain or taken.

On the enemy's side were killed but 800 men, of whom the greater part were of those mercenaries that had been attacked by the 2,000 Romans.

The Carthaginians, having spoiled the dead, marched back to their city, leading in triumph the Roman general and the 500 other prisoners.

^r Chevalier Folard is of opinion, that the loss of this battle was wholly owing to the mistake of Regulus, in not leaving (as Scipio did afterward at the battle of Zama) sufficient spaces between the columns of his main body, for the elephants to pass freely through them. That if, by this precaution, the Roman infantry had shunned the mischiefs, which, for want of it, they suffered from the elephants, they would have had nothing to fear from the Carthaginian horse, which could have made no impression on them (formed as they were), even after the Roman cavalry were driven out of the field.

Whoever, says Polybius, reflects seriously on this adventure, will gather from it excellent instruction for the conduct of human life. The misfortune of Regulus affords us an admirable lesson of moderation, and teaches us to be always on our guard against the inconstancy of fortune. We see him who but a few days before was so elated by success, so haughty and inexorable, reduced at once to be the scorn of a people whom he had despised and insulted, and to stand in need of that clemency from his enemies, which he had with pitiless pride refused them in their misery. We learn wisdom, says our author, two ways; by our own experience, and by the experience of others. The first is the more convincing, but the other is the easier and safer. And this is the great benefit we reap from the study of history. Without any peril to ourselves, we gather rules of conduct from a view of the miscarriages and misfortunes of other men.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 35.

Polybius also observes, that the event which has been just related, confirms that saying of Euripides, "That one wise head is of more value than a great many hands." For it is manifest in the case now before us, that the counsel and abilities of one single person subdued the Roman legions that were esteemed invincible, restored a sinking and despairing commonwealth, and revived the courage of a spiritless army, grown stupid by their defeats.

The Carthaginians, whose affairs had prospered to their wish, expressed their joy by solemn thanksgivings to the gods, and by congratulations and mutual good offices to one another. As for Xantippus, who had had so great share in restoring the commonwealth, he shortly after (an admirable example of judgment and wisdom) took his leave and departed from Carthage, well foreseeing that his services, too great for a reward, would draw upon him both envy and calumny, against which a native perhaps might have been able to guard himself by the means of

c. 36.

Year of
R O M E
497.
B. C. 255.

196th con-
sulship.

Appian.
De Bell.
Pun. c. 3.

relations and friends, but which would in all probability bring ruin upon a stranger, who had nothing to support him but his merit.

Polybius tells us, that some authors give a different account of Xantippus's departure, and promises to take notice of it in another place : but that part of his history has not been transmitted to us. According to Appian, the Carthaginians, fearing lest the honour of the victory should be ascribed to the Lacedemonians, feigned a gratification of their general, made him magnificent presents, and appointed a convoy of their own ships to conduct him to Sparta, but with secret instructions to the commanders of the galleys to throw him and his Lacedemonians overboard, so soon as they could come into open sea. Such, says our author, was the end of Xantippus, and such the recompence he received for so noble an exploit. But surely this is a very senseless account, or the Carthaginians must have been a very senseless as well as ungrateful people, first to do public honour to the Spartan, as the known and undoubted author of the victory, and then to imagine they could rob him of that glory, and conceal their obligation to him, by treacherously throwing him into the sea.

CHAP. VII.

FROM THE NINTH TO THE FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

Rome dispatches her new consuls into Africa, with a great fleet, to bring off the re- 498.
 mains of Regulus's army, which after the late battle had taken refuge in Clypea.—
 The consuls gain a victory over the Carthaginian fleet, near the promontory of
 Mercury: they land at Clypea, and take the legionaries on board; but in their
 passage home meet with so terrible a storm, that of above 400 vessels, only four-
 score escape destruction. The Romans fit out a new fleet, with which the suc- 499.
 ceeding consuls pass into Sicily, and there reduce some towns.—Next year 150 500.
 Roman ships perishing by tempest, the republic gives over all thoughts of naval
 enterprises, and resolves to depend entirely upon her land forces; but those are
 so much afraid of the Carthaginian elephants, that for two years together they 501, 502.
 dare not face the enemy in battle, or even appear in the plain field. This terror
 among the legions, and the advantage which the enemy had of being able, at
 pleasure, to supply their maritime towns with recruits and provisions, make the
 Roman senate resolve to try once more the fortune of Rome at sea. In the mean- 503.
 time, the Roman general in Sicily draws the Carthaginians into a snare, routs
 their whole army, and kills or takes all the elephants.

THE Romans, having received an account of the miser- Year of
 able condition of their affairs in Africa, applied them- R O M E
 selves with all diligence to repair and equip their fleet, 497.
 in order to rescue out of danger the 2,000 soldiers, who, B. C. 255.
 after the late battle, had escaped to Clypea. In the 196th con-
 meantime the Carthaginians, to reduce those remains of sulship.
 Regulus's army, laid siege to that place, and used their Polyb. b. 1.
 utmost efforts to carry it; but so brave and so obstinate c. 36.
 was the resistance they met with, that they were forced
 at length to abandon the enterprise and retire. And
 now, hearing of the naval preparations of the Romans,
 for a new expedition to Africa, they fitted out in a short
 time about 200 galleys, and put to sea to watch the ar-
 rival of the enemy.

Early in the summer, the new consuls, Fulvius and Year of
 Æmilius, with a fleet of 350 sail, appeared off the pro- R O M E
 montory of Mercury, and there came to an engagement 498.
 with the Carthaginians, who, not being able to sustain B. C. 254.
 the very first shock, were entirely defeated, and lost 114 197th con-
 of their vessels. The Romans pursued their course, sulship.
 arrived at Clypea, took the garrison on board, and then
 steered back towards Sicily.^s

^s There are two parts of the Roman conduct in this war, which Mr. Rollin and Chevalier Folard think very hard to be accounted for.

1. Why did the Romans, after their victory at sea near Ecnomus, and the fortunate

Year of
R O M E
498.

B. C. 254.

197th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 37.

They had a prosperous voyage till they came near the Sicilian coast, in the territory of Camarina ; but then so terrible a tempest overtook them, as no words are able to describe. Of above 400 vessels, only fourscore escaped destruction : the rest either foundered at sea, or were dashed to pieces against the rocks ; so that the whole coast from Camarina to Cape Pachynum was covered with dead bodies and fragments of ships. History affords no example of a more deplorable shipwreck.

descent made in Africa in consequence of that victory, leave so small a number of troops under Regulus to carry on the war in that country ?

Mr. Rollin says, it was a manifest renouncing of the advantages gained by sea ; and the Chevalier declares, that it is enough to distract a commentator, and wonders that Polybius makes no remark on this strange proceeding.

Again, 2. Why did the Romans, just after this new victory at sea, near the coast of Africa, entirely abandon that country, instead of attempting to complete the conquest of it ? Polybius relates this fact also without any remark upon it, to the great amazement of Chevalier Folard.

But as to both these difficulties, may it not be answered, that the only object of the Romans in this war, was the conquest of Sicily ? To alarm Carthage, and induce her to withdraw her forces out of that island, are the reasons assigned by Polybius for the descent made by the Romans on Africa. But they were disappointed as to the effect of this measure ; for the Carthaginians judging, by the small army left with Regulus, that the enemy, in making their descent, had no farther view than to cause a diversion, did not recall their troops out of Sicily ; but seeing, as Polybius says, that the war would go on slowly, named two generals, Bostar and Asdrubal, to command the forces they had at home : and when afterward Hamilcar was sent for from Sicily to join those generals, he brought with him but 5,500 men.

It is plain, therefore, from the conduct of both the contending powers, that neither the Romans intended, nor the Carthaginians feared, any serious attempt upon Carthage by Regulus, when he began the war in Africa.

But why did not the Romans resolve to attempt Carthage after the victory at Ecnomus ? I answer : because, from their knowledge of its great strength, and of the many resources its prodigious wealth furnished, they judged the conquest of it impracticable at this time, and before Sicily was subdued. And that they judged right, one may fairly conclude from Polybius's not reproving their policy, and from the difficulties they afterward met with in that enterprise, even when masters of Sicily, and of all the islands between Italy and Africa.

But, after the total defeat of Regulus's army by means of the elephants, the difficulty of succeeding in an African war was become infinitely great. We find, that the legions were possessed with such a dread of those animals, that for some years they durst not come to a pitched battle with the Carthaginians even in Sicily, where the Romans had many advantages which they must have wanted in Africa.

In a word, Sicily was the present object of the Roman ambition, and the only reasonable object it could now have ; and we shall see, by what follows, that they had need of all their forces for the reduction of this island : so that their leaving Africa after the victory at sea by Fulvius and Æmilius, ought not perhaps to have so greatly astonished the Chevalier Folard.

If we may credit some authors, we have a shorter way of getting rid of the Chevalier's difficulties, which is to deny the facts that gave occasion to them. According to these writers, Regulus's army was not so inconsiderable, as from Polybius's account it seems to have been. Appian and Orosius make it 30,000 strong ; and Eutropius reckons 47,000 men, of whom 30,000 were slain, and 15,000 taken prisoners in the battle with Xantippus.

And as to the Romans quitting Africa after the victory at sea by Fulvius and Æmilius, the last named author [Eutropius] represents them, not as making this retreat by choice, but as being constrained to it by famine.

And this calamity was owing not to fortune, but to the obstinacy of the consuls. For the pilots had often represented to them, that the season was come when it was no longer safe to navigate on that coast of Sicily which looks towards Africa: but they being full of expectation, that the towns situate thereon, terrified by the late victory, would readily submit to them on their first appearance, despised the admonition, to pursue an interest that was by no means worthy of the hazard. But such, as Polybius tells us, was the character of the Romans; impetuous, presumptuous, and obstinate, they would carry every thing by mere violence; they would force all nature to their will: to them nothing was impossible which they could desire; nay, it must of necessity come to pass, if they had once decreed that it should be done. And indeed, adds our author, in their enterprises by land, and where they had to do only with men and the works of men, this inflexible audaciousness of spirit for the most part (not always) carried them through every obstacle to the end proposed; but in their naval expeditions, when they foolishly imagined that the winds and the seas must be complaisant to their wishes and projects, they were sure to be chastised for their overweening presumption: and of this they had frequent experience.

Year of
R O M E
498.
B. C. 254.

197th consulship.

The Romans, though extremely afflicted, were not discouraged by the ruin of their fleet; they ordered a new one of 220 sail to be speedily built; and, which is almost incredible, this powerful armament was completely equipped in three months' time.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 38.

The consular fasces had been transferred to A. Attilius and Cn. Cornelius Asina (the same Cornelius who was formerly made prisoner at Lipara, and had lived some time in captivity). These commanders, having passed the straits with the new fleet, and touched at Messina to take with them the eighty vessels which had escaped the late storm, shaped their course for Cephale-

Year of
R O M E
499.
B. C. 253.

198th consulship.

Diod. Sic.
in Eclog.
p. 877.

Year of
R O M E
499.
B. C. 253.

198th con-
sulship.

* Palermo.

dium, which was delivered to them by treachery; thence they sailed to Drepanum, and began to besiege it; but upon succours being brought thither by Carthalo, the Carthaginian general (who had retaken Agrigentum, and demolished the walls of it), they drew off and sailed to Panormus,* which, according to Polybius, was then the capital city of the Carthaginians in Sicily. The consuls besieged this place, and having carried the outworks by assault, the besieged capitulated, and surrendered the town. The inhabitants of Selinus, Tyn-daris, and other places, did the like, having first driven out the Carthaginian garrisons. After these conquests the Romans, leaving a strong body of troops in Panormus, returned to Rome.

Year of
R O M E
500.
B. C. 252.

199th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 39.

Early the next summer the succeeding consuls, Cn. Servilius and C. Sempronius, sailed over to Sicily with all their naval force, and from thence soon after stood for the coast of Africa, where they made several descents, and brought away some booty, but performed nothing of moment. Coming at length near the island of the Lotophagi (which was called Meninx), not far from the lesser Syrtis; and, being unacquainted with the coast, they ran upon some banks of sand, and there stuck fast: the sea ebbing left them dry, and they were utterly at a loss what to do, apprehending the destruction of the whole fleet. But the flood returning some hours after, and they lightening the vessels by throwing their booty overboard, made a shift to get off. Immediately they stood away for Sicily, as if they were flying before an enemy, and, having doubled the cape of Lilybæum, arrived safely in the port of Panormus. But from thence steering their course homewards at a time unskilfully chosen, they lost 150 of their vessels by a storm that overtook them in the passage.

So terrible a destruction of two fleets by tempest totally discouraged the Romans from all naval enterprises. No more than sixty vessels were to be equipped for the

future, and these were to be employed only to transport the troops with the baggage and ammunition into Sicily. Their thirst of glory and empire was not abated, but they determined to rely wholly on their land forces for the achievement of the conquest they had in view. This conquest however could not be effected by land armies alone, while the maritime towns in the possession of the Carthaginians were open to receive provisions and recruits by sea, as occasion should require. Nay, ever since the defeat of Regulus by means of the elephants, the Roman soldiers were afraid of coming to any engagement by land, where they should have to do with those huge and furious animals.

Year of
R O M E
500.
B. C. 252.
199th con-
sulship.

The Carthaginians had dispatched Asdrubal with 140 elephants to Lilybæum, and had strengthened the army which was there with troops drawn from other places; and they had sent after him 200 ships of war. Asdrubal, after his arrival, having first applied himself diligently to discipline his soldiers and elephants, had boldly taken the field with a resolution to offer the enemy battle. But though the armies were on several occasions encamped within five or six furlongs of each other, sometimes in the territory of Selinus, sometimes about Lilybæum, the Romans, for the space of two years together, had not once the resolution to come to an engagement with the enemy; nor durst they descend into the open champaign country. So that during the consulship of C. Aurelius^t and P. Servilius, and that of L. Cæcilius Metellus and C. Furius, no progress was made in their affairs, except the taking of two towns, which they could besiege, still keeping themselves posted in high and inaccessible places. This terror among the legions made the senate of Rome at length change their measures, and resolve to try their fortune once more at sea. And

Y. R. 501.

Y. R. 502.

^t In this consulate Tib. Coruncanius was chosen pontifex maximus, the first instance of a plebeian raised to that high station.

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 40.

* A second
time.

† A second
time.

accordingly, after the election of C. Atilius* and L. Manlius† to the consulate, they ordered the building of fifty new vessels, and that suitable levies should be made of men fit for that service.

In the meantime Asdrubal having observed the dread that possessed the Roman army, whenever he presented them battle; and having intelligence that Furius was returned to Rome with one half of the army, and that Cæcilius with the other was at Panormus to protect his allies while they gathered in their harvest, he marched from Lilybæum, and came with all his forces to the borders of the territory of Panormus, hoping to provoke Cæcilius to fight. But the Roman, who well understood his own business, kept close within the town, and, pretending fear, suffered the Carthaginians to advance and pillage the country without opposition, till with all their elephants they had passed a river which ran within a mile of the place. He then sent out some light-armed troops to skirmish and draw the enemy farther on, supporting his first detachment by others, as occasion required, till by this management he had brought the whole Carthaginian army as near the town as he wished them to be. At a proper distance from the walls he had caused a trench to be cut, which the elephants could by no means pass; and he had given his dartmen orders, in case those animals advanced against them, to retire by slow degrees till they came to that trench, into which they were then to leap down, and from thence to gall the elephants with their darts as much as possibly they could. He ordered the town's people, at the same time, to furnish themselves with great quantities of darts, and post themselves at the foot of the walls. Cæcilius himself, with the main body of his forces, remained in readiness at a certain gate of the town, which was opposite to the left wing of the enemy. When the battle grew warm, the leaders of the elephants, being desirous to have the chief honour of the victory, advanced in order upon the Romans,

whom, retiring before them, they pursued to the very brink of the trench abovementioned. There they were at a stand, and the elephants being terribly galled with the darts, both of those who leaped into the trench, and of those who were on the other side of it, began presently to grow unruly, and turning back furiously upon their own infantry, utterly disordered them. And now Cæcilius, who saw his advantage, sallied out with all his troops, fresh and in good order, and charging the enemy in flank, easily put them to the rout. The Carthaginians suffered a great slaughter; some of their elephants were killed, and the rest were all taken.^u

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

The news of Cæcilius's exploit caused great rejoicings at Rome, not so much on account of the taking the elephants, though that was a very terrible blow to the enemy, as because, by the victory obtained against those formidable animals, the courage of the Roman soldiers was entirely restored, and they no longer feared to keep in the open country. It was resolved therefore diligently to pursue the design of sending the new consuls into Sicily with a naval force, and, by vigorous efforts, both by land and sea, to put an end, if possible, to this destructive war.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 41.

CHAP. VIII.

Carthage disheartened by her losses sends ambassadors to Rome, and, together with them, the captive Regulus, to treat of a peace. Regulus dissuades the senate from hearkening to the overture, and even from consenting to an exchange of prisoners. In performance of his word given he returns to Carthage, and there, soon after, dies.

THE defeat of Asdrubal^x before Panormus threw the people of Carthage into discouragement; they began now to think seriously of peace; and believing that if Regulus, a man so much esteemed by his countrymen, engaged in the affair, an accommodation might be easily effected, they sent him to Rome with the ambassadors

Appian. in
Punic.
Bell. c. 3.
Livy, Epi-
tom. b. 18.
Eutrop.
b. 2.
Cic. de
Offic. b. 3.
Sil. Ital.
b. 6.

^u Cæcilius, according to Pliny, b. 8. c. 6. caused the elephants to be transported to Italy, where they were baited to death in the Circus at Rome.

^x This general, according to Zonaras, was crucified for his misconduct.

Val. Max.
b. 1. c. 1.
et b. 9. c. 2.

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

A. Gell.
b. 6. c. 4.
Aurel. Vict.
c. 40.
Zon. b. 8.

appointed for this negotiation ; having first taken an oath of him to return to Carthage, in case there should neither be peace nor an exchange of prisoners. When, after his landing in Italy, he came to the gates of Rome, he would by no means enter the city, alleging, that he was no longer a Roman citizen, but a slave of a foreign power, and that he did not come to infringe the laws and customs of his native country, which forbade the senate to give audience to strangers within the walls ; nor, when his wife Marcia with her children ran to meet him, did he shew any signs of joy, but fixed his eyes upon the ground, as one ashamed of his servile condition, and unworthy of their caresses. So extraordinary a behaviour raised the admiration both of the Romans and Carthaginians, and all were impatiently curious to know how he would conduct himself in the senate. The fathers being at length assembled without the walls, the ambassadors were admitted to an audience, and made their proposals ; and then Regulus, whose turn it was to speak next, only added, “ Conscript fathers, being a slave to the Carthaginians, I come on the part of my masters to treat with you concerning a peace and an exchange of prisoners.” He said no more ; and when he had uttered these few words, sought to withdraw and follow the ambassadors, who could not be present at the deliberations. In vain the consuls pressed him to stay, and give his opinion as a senator and consular person ; he absolutely refused to take his place among the conscript fathers. However, he obeyed his African masters, who directed him to continue in the assembly. There he remained in a modest silence till the oldest senators had declared their opinions, and then he expressed himself to the following effect : “ Romans, I am sensible, that the fatigues and expense of so difficult a war put your virtue to a severe trial ; but what great enterprise can ever be achieved without a steady fortitude ? I am an eye-witness of the distress of Carthage. It is nothing

but the impossibility of maintaining the war that makes the Carthaginians solicit for a peace. You have lost one battle (it was when I commanded), a misfortune which Metellus has repaired by a notable victory. Except two cities, Sicily is entirely yours : and your new fleet spreads a terror throughout the seas. You govern your allies in tranquillity, and they serve you with zeal. Carthage, drained of her wealth, can depend but little on the provinces of her dominion. With how much ease did I bring them into a revolt ! Your armies are composed of soldiers of one and the same nation, united by mutual esteem and affection : the troops of Carthage are chiefly made up of strangers, who have no tie to her but their pay, and whom the example of Xantippus will deter from engaging in her service. My opinion, therefore, is absolutely against a peace with our enemies ; nor do I think it for your interest to make an exchange of prisoners. Among the Carthaginian captives you have thirteen considerable officers, young, and capable of commanding one day the armies of the enemy. As for me, I grow old, and my misfortunes have made me useless ; add to this, that the number of Carthaginian captives of an inferior rank infinitely exceeds that of the Roman prisoners, so that the exchange must be to your disadvantage. And after all, what can you expect from soldiers who have been vanquished and reduced to slavery ? Will they serve the republic with the courage of men whose reputation is entire and untouched ? No ; they will rather be like timorous deer that have escaped out of the toils of the hunter, ever ready to fly at the approach of danger."

This discourse filled the senators with admiration and compassion ; and though they approved his advice concerning the proposals made by the Carthaginians, yet they knew not how to consent to the ruin of a man, whose contempt of life made him the more worthy to be preserved. The pontifex maximus being consulted,

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

declared, that his oath having been extorted from him, he might without perjury continue at Rome. They pressed him therefore not to return to Afric; but Regulus was offended with these solicitations. “What! have you then resolved to dishonour me? I am too well acquainted with the inconstancy of the people’s favour, to trust them with the care of my reputation. At my first return they are full of good-will, touched with a fresh remembrance of my misfortunes: this fit of joy once over, and I am no longer thought of. Nay, I doubt not but my stay here would be reproached me by those who have seemed the most afflicted for my absence. How often shall I be called slave! May not Rome herself disdain to own me for one of her citizens? I am not ignorant, that death and the extremest tortures are preparing for me; but what are these to the shame of an infamous action, and the wounds of a guilty mind? Slave as I am to Carthage, I have still the spirit of a Roman; I have sworn to return, it is my duty to go; let the gods take care of the rest.”

The senate, by the same decree which refused the Carthaginian ambassadors both peace and an exchange of prisoners, left Regulus at liberty to continue at Rome, or return to Carthage, as he should think fit. This was all that Marcia could obtain from the fathers by her tears and solicitations. Regulus, to free himself from all farther importunity of his friends, assured them that, before his departure from Afric, the Carthaginians had given him a slow poison, and that he could not long survive the negotiation. As soon as it was ended, he quitted his native country, to go and resume his chains at Carthage, with the same serenity as if he had been going to a country-seat for his recreation.

Those authors who have celebrated the heroism of Regulus on this occasion, though they all concur in reporting that he suffered at his return into Africa some cruel death from the revenge of the Carthaginians, yet

are by no means agreed concerning the particular kind of torment he was made to undergo.

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

The most current opinion is, that they cut off or sewed back his eyelids, and then bringing him out of a dark dungeon, exposed him to the sun at mid-day : that after this they shut him up in a kind of chest or press stuck full, on the inside, with iron spikes, and there left him to die in torment.^y

202d con-
sulship.

^y Although this story of the cruel revenge which the Carthaginians took of Regulus after his return to Carthage be found in many of the best Roman authors, and although it be not expressly contradicted by any ancient writer ; yet the reasons that are offered by some moderns against the truth of it may perhaps excuse our incredulity, should we look upon it as a mere fiction.

Palmerius, in a note upon Appian, offers two very weighty arguments for rejecting the account as fabulous.

1. The total silence of Polybius, concerning every thing that happened to Regulus after his defeat and captivity.

How can we account for that author's silence upon matters of so interesting a nature, in his history of the first Punic war; a history which, in many parts of it, is written rather with prolixity than brevity; I say, how can we account for this, but by supposing that Polybius, for good reasons, disbelieved the tradition which had been greedily embraced by the Romans concerning Regulus's death, and therefore disdained to record it; and that nevertheless he was unwilling to offend them by contradicting such a favourite story? It was hence, doubtless, that he avoided saying any thing of Regulus's voyage to Rome, his behaviour there, and his return to Carthage; because, had he mentioned these without speaking of his death (the supposed immediate consequence of them), an affected silence in this particular only, would have amounted to a direct condemnation of the prevailing opinion.

2. A fragment preserved by Valesius, of the 24th book of Diodorus Siculus.

This fragment (speaking of Regulus's wife and sons, into whose custody Bostar and Hamilcar, two captive Carthaginian generals, had been given) begins thus :

“ But the mother of the young men [the Attilii] grievously laid to heart the death of her husband, and thinking [or imagining] that he had lost his life [*δι' ἀμέλειαν*] for want of good looking after, stirred up her sons to use the captives cruelly.”

Then it relates, that the captives being thrust together into a close place, where they could hardly stir, and being kept from food, Bostar, after five days of extreme misery, expired : that Hamilcar, who yet held out, telling the wife of Regulus how careful he had been of her husband, with tears implored her compassion ; but that she, far from being touched with the least sense of humanity, kept him five days after this in the same hole, shut up with the carcass of his companion, giving him only so much sustenance as would serve to prolong his life in misery : that by means of some servants in the house, a report of this horrible cruelty came to the ears of the tribunes of the people : that the magistrates having well assured themselves of the fact, summoned the Attilii, and threatened them with the severest punishments, if for the time to come they did not take all due care of the prisoners; nay, that they were very near pronouncing sentence of death upon the young men, for having brought a dishonour upon the Roman name : that the Attilii, to excuse themselves, laid the blame upon their mother : that they burned the body of Bostar, and sent the ashes to his relations, and for the future cherished Hamilcar, whom they had so barbarously treated.

Palmerius's conjecture from the whole is this :

That Bostar and Hamilcar being taken prisoners [probably in that sea fight on the coast of Africa where the Carthaginians lost 114 ships, because no mention is made of them in the war after that time], the senate, to console the wife and sons of Regulus, put those captive generals into their hands, that they might have the price of his ransom in their possession.

That Regulus died of some distemper in captivity, whereat the wife being extremely vexed, as having lost the pleasing hope of recovering her husband by

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

The news of this barbarity no sooner reached Rome, but the senate, by way of retaliation, gave up the chief of the Carthaginian captives to be treated at the discre-

exchange, treated the captives cruelly; that the magistrates being angry at this conduct, she, to give a colour of justice to her cruelty, told this fable of her husband's perishing by hunger, want of sleep, and other torments, to her neighbours and gossips; that hence the story by degrees spread far, gathering strength as it went, and easily obtained credit through the hatred borne to the Carthaginians.

Palmerius might have added, that as some women have imaginations very creative, and as, especially where their passions are concerned, they easily believe the real existence of what mere imagination exhibits, the wife of Regulus might possibly have persuaded herself without any ground, that her husband had lost his life through the hardships of his imprisonment. And this is conformable to the fragment of Diodorus, which says, that she, thinking that he had lost his life through neglect, stirred up her sons, &c.

3. A third argument against the story of Regulus's death by torture, may be drawn from the disagreement among those who report it, concerning the kind of torture he was made to undergo. Did he perish by being kept from sleep? was he starved to death? was he crucified? or did he end his life in a chest or barrel stuck with spikes? All these are reported by different authors. If it were certain that the Carthaginians put him to death by torture, is it not strange that the kind of torture should not be more certainly known? Florus doubts whether he died by the hardships of his imprisonment, or upon a cross.

4. Where there is any good reason to suspect the evidence to a fact, the improbability arising from the situation of things, makes strongly against the belief of such fact. Now it seems highly improbable that the Carthaginians should treat Regulus in the manner pretended, at the very time when two of their generals and many of their inferior officers, as well as multitudes of their common soldiers, were in the hands of the Romans.

5. We may observe, that the senate's giving up the Carthaginian prisoners to be treated at the discretion of Regulus's sons, upon the news of the cruel death he had suffered, a fact reported by A. Gellius, and which, if true, would be the strongest argument in favour of the common opinion, is absolutely inconsistent with what Diodorus relates of the anger of the Roman magistrates at the conduct of the Attilii with regard to the captives.

Thus much concerning the credibility of the story of Regulus's sufferings. Before we take leave of him, let us see Sir Walter Raleigh's judgment upon that part of his behaviour which is supposed to have drawn upon him the Carthaginian resentment, and brought him to so miserable an end. Sir Walter's words are these:

"The death of Attilius Regulus, the consul, was very memorable. He was sent from Carthage to Rome, about the exchange and ransom of prisoners on both sides, giving his faith to return if the business were not effected. When he came to Rome, and plainly saw that his country should lose by the bargain, so far was he from urging the senate unto compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly persuaded to have the prisoners in Afric left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to Carthage, where for his pains taken he was rewarded with a horrible death. For this his constancy and faith all writers highly extol him. But the Carthaginians seem to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in his prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamity would have the natural care to preserve himself and others, by yielding to such an office of humanity as is common in all wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the Carthaginians thought of him, sure it is, that his faithful observance of his word given cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech which he made in the senate against the exchange of prisoners, appears, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vain-glorious forwardness, rather than from any necessity of state. For the exchange was made soon after his death; wherein the Romans had the worst bargain, by so much as Regulus himself was worth. As for the authority of all historians, that magnify him in this point, we are to consider that they lived under the Roman empire: Philinus, the Carthaginian, perhaps did censure it otherwise."

tion of Marcia (the widow of Regulus), who condemned them to the same kind of death her husband had suffered.

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

CHAP. IX.

FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

The consuls set sail with the fleet for Sicily, and lay siege to Lilybæum. Himilco, the Carthaginian commander in the city, makes a vigorous defence. In the mean time a squadron of ships from Africa passes through the Roman navy, and lands 10,000 men in the town; which being afterward straitly shut up, one Hannibal, a Rhodian, undertakes to go thither with a single galley, and bring intelligence to the senate of Carthage of the condition of the besieged; and he succeeds. The garrison in a sally burn all the towers and engines employed against their town; after which, the Romans turn the siege into a blockade. Next year the consul Claudius Pulcher, attempting to surprise Drepanum, is by the governor of the place defeated at sea, and loses the greatest part of his fleet. The rest of the Roman navy, under the other consul and his quæstors, is, by the Carthaginian admiral, forced upon the south coast of Sicily, where every one of the ships perishing by storm, Rome once more renounces the empire of the seas. Her general in Sicily gets possession of the city of Eryx. The following year produces no remarkable action between the contending parties. The Carthaginian army, for want of pay, mutiny against their general. He is recalled home, and succeeded in the command by Amilcar Barcha, father of the famous Hannibal.

WHEN the consuls Attilius and Manlius had got all things ready for their expedition into Sicily, they put to sea with a fleet of 200 sail, and arrived on the coast of Lilybæum, in the neighbourhood of which place their land forces were already assembled.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 41.

It was the strongest, and except Drepanum (about fifteen miles from it northward) the only city of importance, which the Carthaginians possessed in the island; and the Romans had therefore resolved to besiege it, as knowing that, could they make this conquest, it would be easy for them afterward to transport the war into Africa.

Lilybæum stood almost at the extremity of the cape of the same name, and was surrounded by a strong wall, and a deep ditch filled with water from the sea. The Romans sat down before it, and having fortified themselves by an intrenchment which ran from sea to sea, made their first approaches against some towers of defence. These they soon beat to the ground; after which they filled up the town ditch, and by their battering

C. 42.
Diod. Sic.
in Eclog.
p. 879.
Zon. b. 8.

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

engines, and by mining, so weakened the wall in many parts of it, that the besieged began to be extremely terrified; although the garrison, without reckoning the inhabitants, consisted of more than 10,000 men. Himilco, who commanded in the place, performed the part of a gallant and able officer. He repaired the breaches, made countermines, and was in a manner every where present, watching an opportunity to set fire to the enemy's wooden towers, and engines of battery; and, in this view, making frequent sallies by night and by day with a boldness little short of temerity; on which occasions the slaughter was sometimes not less than what commonly happens in ranged battles in the field.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 44.

In the meanwhile, though they were ignorant at Carthage of what passed at Lilybæum, yet concluding that the garrison must be sorely distressed, they dispatched an officer named Hannibal, with 10,000 men on board a fleet of fifty galleys to their relief. Hannibal being arrived at the island of Ægusa, lying a little off of Lilybæum, waited there for a favourable and brisk gale, which no sooner presented, but crowding all his sails, he came to the entrance of the port, having ranged his soldiers in a fighting posture on the decks of the vessels.—The Romans, whose ships were stationed on each side of the mouth of the haven, partly through surprise, and partly through fear of being forced by the wind into the port with the enemy, made no motion to attack them, but contented themselves to look on and wonder at their hardy attempt. Thus Hannibal, without any opposition, made his way into the haven, where he landed his men, to the great joy of the besieged, who were yet more pleased with the consternation in which they beheld their enemies, than with the succour they themselves received.

C. 45.

Himilco observing the alacrity and good dispositions, both of the inhabitants, whose courage was raised by the reinforcement, and of the new comers, who had yet

suffered nothing of the hardships incident to a town besieged, resolved now to make a general sally, and attempt what he had long meditated, the burning of the enemy's towers and engines. The conflict on this occasion was extremely bloody, all the forces on both sides being engaged in it, and fighting with the utmost obstinacy and emulation. In conclusion, the Romans happily preserved their works; for at the very instant when they were beginning to despair of it, Himilco seeing great numbers of his men slain, and his purpose not effected, sounded a retreat, and put an end to the fight.

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

After this action, Hannibal sailing away in the night, went with his fleet to Drepanum, there to consult with Adherbal, who was his intimate friend, and who commanded in that place for the Carthaginians.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 46.

But now the Romans kept Lilybæum so straitly shut up, and watched the entrance of the haven so narrowly, that nobody durst make an attempt to come out of it. In the meanwhile they were very impatient at Carthage to have some account of the condition of the besieged; and at length a certain Rhodian, named Hannibal, a man of distinction, undertook to satisfy their desire. Having prepared a light galley expressly for this enterprise, he put to sea from Carthage (or perhaps from Drepanum), and got under covert of one of those islands lying off of Lilybæum. Early the next morning, with a fair and fresh gale, passing in view of the enemy, who could not thrust from the shores on either side time enough to stop him, he got by ten o'clock into the port. The Romans doubted not but this bold adventurer would soon attempt to return. The consul, therefore, to keep a better guard, posted at the entrance of the port ten of his nimblest vessels (on each side five), which with their oars, displayed like wings, kept themselves ready to fly upon the expected prey. The Rhodian nevertheless in broad day-light made his passage

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 47.

safely through these guards, and not only so, but when he was got out to sea, turned about, and lying upon his oars, with an insulting mockery, challenged any one of them to come and fight him. In this manner he passed and repassed several times, bringing orders and carrying intelligence, to the great encouragement of the besieged, and the amazement of the Romans at so successful a temerity. But the boldness of the Rhodian was founded on his perfect knowledge of the channel, and how to keep clear of the rocks and sand banks on each side. His success so often repeated, encouraged others who had the same skill, to follow his example: which the Romans finding to be of very ill consequence, they undertook to choak up entirely the mouth of the haven. For this purpose, they filled a great number of round ships (or ships of burden) with huge stones, and sunk them in the channel; but the force of the stream carried the most of these away. However, they grounded so many of them in the best of the entrance, as at last made a manifest rising and heap, like a ragged island, in the passage. A certain Carthaginian galley coming out of the port in the night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran herself aground upon it, and so fell into the enemy's hands. The Romans immediately manned her with chosen soldiers and their best rowers, and then placed her on the watch to catch the Rhodian. He had happily got into the port by night, and was returning in open day, when he found himself chased by a galley that gained upon him. He soon perceived what she was by her form and her swiftness, and as he was not able to run from her, he had no way left but to turn about and fight with her. This he resolutely did, but she being too well manned for him, he was presently taken; after which, no more attempts were made to go in or out of the port of Lilybæum.

C. 48.

The besieged, however, were not so disheartened by this disadvantage, as to remit any thing of their atten-

tion to a vigorous defence; and though they had lost all hope of destroying the works erected against their fortification, they continued indefatigable in repairing the breaches made in it. And now a favourable accident, when they least expected such good fortune, delivered them at once from the fear of those wooden towers which overtopped their walls, and of all the battering engines of the besiegers. So violent a tempest arose on a sudden, as made the galleries of the Romans totter, and threw some of their towers to the ground. This was thought by some Greek soldiers in the service of Carthage an opportunity which ought not to be neglected, to attempt once more the burning of the enemy's works of battery. Having communicated the project to their commanding officer (who both approved it, and prepared every thing necessary for its execution), out they rushed, and set fire to the works in three places. The flames spread themselves with great swiftness, by reason of the violence of the wind and the dryness of the timber, the works having been long erected. The Romans, all in confusion and surprise, knew not which way to turn themselves; for they were blinded by the smoke and the sparks of fire which the wind drove in their faces, so that many of them were slain before they could approach the places where help was wanted. On the other hand, the wind favouring the Carthaginians, not only they could see clearly, and so take their aim, but whatever they threw either against the enemy, or against their batteries, was carried with the greater violence to the mark, while the darts of the Romans could take no effect. In a word, the fire became irresistible, and spreading every way, it consumed to ashes all the Roman works, and even melted the brazen heads of their battering rams.

The besiegers by this blow were totally discouraged from the thoughts of renewing their attacks. They turned, therefore, the siege into a blockade, encompassing

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.

Year of
R O M E
503.
B. C. 249.

202d con-
sulship.
Polyb. b. 1.
c. 49.

the place with a rampart and a ditch, and patiently hoping to obtain, by some happy turn of fortune, or by starving the enemy, what they now despaired of carrying by assault.

Year of
R O M E
504.
B. C. 248.

203d con-
sulship.

But when the news came to Rome that great numbers both of the sea and land forces had been lost in fighting to defend the works, and in the other service of the siege, the people were only the more animated by it to pursue the enterprise with vigour, insomuch that 10,000 of them voluntarily offered themselves to go and serve before Lilybæum. Upon the arrival of these troops at the camp, Claudius Pulcher, who was then in the consulate (with L. Junius Pullus), and had the command of the forces in Sicily, having called his officers together, proposed to them instantly to embark and sail with all the fleet to Drepanum. To engage their approbation of this project, he represented to them that Adherbal, the governor of that place, had not a sufficient strength to resist them ; that he knew nothing of the reinforcement they had received, and would never imagine they could be masters of a naval army, after the losses they had sustained in the siege. The design being generally approved, the seamen, both old and new comers, were ordered forthwith to embark, together with the bravest soldiers of the legions, who readily offered themselves for this expedition, not doubting but they should enrich themselves with the plunder of Drepanum.

For this place then the fleet, consisting of 124 galleys, set sail about midnight ; and at break of day the headmost of the vessels were descried from the town. Adherbal was at first struck with the unexpected appearance of the enemy, but soon recovering himself, he determined to run any hazard rather than endure a siege, with which he plainly saw that he was threatened. Instantly he called together upon the sea-shore all his seamen and soldiers, both those that were on board his gal-

leys and those that were in the town, and set before them in few words how easily they might be victors in a naval battle, if they would but resolve to behave themselves with courage; and on the other hand, what dreadful calamities (the consequences of a siege) they must unavoidably undergo, if on the present occasion they let themselves be intimidated by the apprehension of danger. The army unanimously declared their readiness to follow him whithersoever he should please to conduct them. Hereupon he instantly ordered them all on board, and embarking himself, directed them to keep their eyes on his galley (which should lead the van), and to do as she did. Then putting to sea he brought his fleet out of the port, and hid them behind some rocks which lay on the side of the haven opposite to that by which the Romans were going to enter.

The headmost of the Roman vessels were already entered into the port, other galleys were entering, and others were not far off, when Adherbal, quitting his concealment, appeared on a sudden with his fleet out at sea, and in a posture to give battle. At this sight Claudius, extremely surprised and disappointed, made a sign to his foremost galleys to tack and stand back again; but when those that had entered the port, or were in the haven's mouth, began to hasten back, they encountered with others that were yet standing in, so that falling foul of one another, many of the ships received great damage, and were in danger of perishing. At length in such manner as they could, they drew out; and as fast as they got clear and obtained room, put themselves in order of battle along the shore, with their prows pointing towards the enemy. Claudius, who had been in the rear of his fleet, now placed himself in the left of his line. He had it once in his power (as some report) to sheer off, but was obstinately bent to try an engagement; insomuch that when the sacred chickens were consulted, and refused their meat, he

Year of
R O M E
504.
B. C. 248.

203d consulship.

Year of
R O M E
504.
B. C. 248.

203d con-
sulship.

Cic. b. 2.
de Nat.
Deor. Val.
Max. b. 1.
c. 4.
Polyb. b. 1.
c. 50.

C. 51.

threw them cage and all into the sea ; “ If they won’t eat (said he), let them drink,” not reflecting that such a contempt of religion might discourage those who were witnesses of it.

In the meanwhile, Adherbal, having with five great vessels passed the left wing of the Romans, turned the prow of his own galley upon the enemy, making a signal for the rest of his fleet, which followed on the same line, to do the like. And now the whole Carthaginian fleet being drawn up in front, advanced against the Romans, who, as was before said, were drawn up along the shore, a situation than which none could be more dangerous. As soon as the two fleets were near each other, the flags of defiance were hoisted by the two admirals, and the battle began. At first the conflict was equal on both sides, each fleet having on board the hardiest men they could pick out of their land forces. But victory by degrees began to declare for the Carthaginians, who indeed had many advantages above the Romans, by the lightness of their vessels, the expertness of their rowers, and especially by the wise precaution they had taken to have sea room, wherein to work their vessels as occasion required ; for at any time when they were pressed by the enemy, they could at pleasure retire, spread themselves, or draw close together, in which movements the lightness of their galleys greatly availed. Moreover, when any of the Roman galleys (heavily built and unskilfully managed) chased any of theirs, and thereby separated themselves from their own fleet, those who were chased could tack upon the pursuers, and intercept them, or, rowing round them, come upon their flank with their prows, and sink them. All these benefits were wanting to the Romans ; but their greatest evil was their situation ; because when any of their vessels were hard pressed, they could by no means retire for the shore ; they must either run aground upon the flats, or bulge against the rocks.

The consul at length observing the distress of his fleet, that some were split upon the rocks and others stranded, stood away to the left, and with only thirty vessels that were the nearest to him, escaped out of the battle. The rest, to the number of ninety-three, fell into the enemy's hands, together with all the men, except a few soldiers who had got ashore, after their vessels were run aground or broken to pieces. Eight thousand of the Romans are said to have been slain, and 20,000 taken prisoners.

Year of
R O M E
504.
B. C. 248.

203d con-
sulship.

Orosius,
b. 4. c. 10.

This was a glorious action for Adherbal, to whom the Carthaginians did very great honour, ascribing the success to his sole virtue and bravery; while, on the other hand, Claudius was recalled to Rome, where he was reproached with his shameful defeat, and with the loss his country had sustained, as entirely owing to his folly and temerity. Nevertheless, when he was ordered to name a dictator, he, to insult the senate, nominated to that supreme dignity one Claudius Glycia, a mean fellow, who had been his viator or tipstaff: but this mock dictator^z did not hold the place; M. Attilius Calatinus was substituted in his room. After which the consul (now deposed) was brought to a formal trial for his misconduct, and was loaded with a rigorous sentence.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 52.

Suet. Life
of Tib. Fast.
Cap.

As for the other consul, Junius Pullus, he had been dispatched over to Sicily, with order to supply the camp before Lilybæum with provisions and all necessary stores; for the safe convoy of which, he had a squadron of sixty galleys. Being arrived at Messina, he there augmented his fleet with what ships had been sent thither from Lilybæum, and from other places in the island, and then set sail for Syracuse; his whole fleet now consisting of 120 ships of war, and 800 storeships. From Syracuse he dispatched his quæstors with one half of his vessels of burden, and some of his galleys, that they might

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 52.

^z According to Liv. Epit. he was suffered afterward to wear the prætexta at the public shows.

Year of
R O M E
504.
B. C. 248.

203d con-
sulship.

without delay furnish the camp with necessaries, while he himself stayed at this port, waiting the arrival of that part of his fleet which had not been able to keep him company, and was not yet come up, as also to receive the corn which the islanders in the alliance of Rome had provided for him.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 53.

About this time, Adherbal, studious to make the best advantage of his victory, and having sent away to Carthage the ships and the prisoners taken in the battle, delivered thirty of his galleys to Carthalo, who had already under his own command seventy, with which he was lately arrived, and sent him to try what mischief might be done to the Roman fleet in the harbour of Lilybæum. Carthalo suddenly entered the mouth of the haven, and finding the Romans more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged than to the defence of their fleet, without difficulty seized and towed away some of the galleys, and set fire to others. The Roman camp took the alarm, and the soldiers hastened to the rescue: but Himilco, governor of the town, sallying out at the same time, and putting the Romans in great distress, gave Carthalo leisure to go through with his enterprise. After this exploit, the Carthaginian ran all along the south coast of Sicily, with a view to obstruct, what in him lay, the succours that were coming to the Roman army. And receiving advice by his scouts, that a great fleet of all sorts of vessels was approaching, and was not far off, he advanced with much joy to encounter them; for both he and his men were full of courage by reason of their late victories. The fleet which had been descried was that under the conduct of the Roman quæstors; who, when they got notice that the Carthaginians were at hand, not conceiving themselves of sufficient strength to hazard an engagement, presently made for the coast, and drew up their vessels under covert of a poor town belonging to their party. Here was indeed no safe harbour, yet they found some sort of shelter in

certain coves and small retreats among the rocks; and the town having furnished them with engines for casting stones and shooting arrows, they waited here in a posture of defence, the attack of the enemy. But Carthalo knowing that they could not long ride under those rocks, but would be forced by any great change of wind either to put out into the deep or to abandon their ships in order to save the men, he, after he had taken some few of their vessels, would not pursue the assault any farther, but retired into the mouth of a neighbouring river, and there lay waiting for an opportunity to seize the rest, without hazard to himself.

Year of
R O M E
504.
B.C. 248.
203d con-
sulship.

In the meanwhile the consul Junius having dispatched those affairs which had detained him at Syracuse, departed thence, and doubling the cape of Pachynus, shaped his course for Lilybæum, totally ignorant of what had happened to his quæstors. The Carthaginians perceived his approach, and, quitting their station, sailed away to attack him before he could join the other part of his fleet. Junius was yet a great way off when he first descried the enemy; yet finding himself too near to fly, and too weak to fight, he also, like his quæstors, ran in close on a part of the coast that was quite harbourless and full of rocks, imagining no danger so great as that of the enemy. Carthalo did not care to attack him in a place where it was difficult to work a ship with safety, he betook himself therefore to a station between the two fleets, and there watched to see which of them would first stir, resolving to assault that which should first dare to put out to sea. Thus all the three fleets were on the south coast of Sicily, between the cape of Pachynus and Lilybæum, a tract exceedingly dangerous when the wind stormed at south. The Carthaginians, who knew the times of tempest and their signs, and who now perhaps observed some swelling billow, or some other such-like indication of an approaching storm, immediately weighed anchor, and made all haste to double

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 54.

Year of
R O M E
504.
B. C. 248.

203d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 55.

Zon. b. 8.

the cape of Pachynus, thereby to cover themselves from the rage they feared. This, though with great difficulty, they effected, and secured their ships. But the Romans, who knew better how to fight than how to navigate, remaining exposed on that rocky coast, were so terribly assaulted by a boisterous south wind, that not a single ship of either fleet escaped being dashed to pieces.

In this manner was Rome once more deprived of all her naval force; and, thus deprived, she renounced once more the empire of the seas.

Notwithstanding all these disasters, the Romans were still superior to their enemies by land, and though driven to hard shifts for provisions, they continued the blockade of Lilybæum, firmly fixed to abide the utmost extremity rather than abandon their enterprise.—As for the consul Junius, who had not lost his men when his ships were destroyed, he repaired with all expedition to the camp, full of anxious thoughts how to retrieve his honour by some remarkable service. Between Panormus and Drepanum, on the side of a mountain, the highest in all Sicily except Ætna, stood the city of Eryx; and on the top of the mountain was the temple of Venus Erycina,^a the fairest and richest temple in the whole island. Junius formed a design upon these, and being assisted by the treason of some of those who had been appointed to defend them, got possession of them by surprise. The city was difficult of access, the only way to it being steep and narrow; and the consul, the better to secure his conquest, built a fort at the entrance of the passage to it, where he placed a garrison of 800 men. He also posted another body of men on the top of the mountain, not doubting but by these precautions he should keep quiet possession both of the city and of the whole mountain.

Zonaras reports, that Junius, after this, was taken pri-

^a It does not appear at what time the Carthaginians made themselves masters of these places; it was probably after the defeat of Claudius Pulcher, for, according to Polybius, they had nothing in the island but Drepanum and Lilybæum at the time when the latter was first besieged by the Romans.

soner by Carthalo; but Cicero and Val. Maximus tell us that he killed himself to avoid an ignominious sentence at Rome, for his losing the fleet.

Year of
R O M E
504.
B. C. 248.

Upon the death or disgrace of the two consuls, the dictator Calatinus passed into Sicily to command the army, the first instance of a Roman dictator appearing out of Italy. He performed no exploit.

203d con-
sulship.

In the following year^b nothing very memorable was done by either party. Zonaras relates, that Carthalo, to draw one of the consuls out of the island, made a descent on the Italian coast, but without success: for hearing that the prætor of Rome at the head of an army was advancing against him, he presently re-embarked and returned to Sicily. Here his troops (whom he had not been able to satisfy with the plunder of the Roman territories) began to murmur for want of their pay. To put a stop to the mutiny, he punished the most clamorous with rigour; but this exasperating even those who were more peaceably inclined, a general sedition would probably have ensued, to the ruin of the Carthaginian cause, if he had not been seasonably recalled, and a captain of much greater credit and abilities appointed to succeed him. This was Amilcar Barcha, the father of the famous Hannibal.

Year of
R O M E
505.
B. C. 247.

204th con-
sulship.

^b C. Aurelius Cotta, P. Servilius Geminus, consuls.

CHAP. X.

FROM THE EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR TO THE END OF IT, IN THE TWENTY-THIRD OR TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR AFTER ITS COMMENCEMENT.

Amilcar
Barcha.

506, 507,
508, 509,
510.

511.

Lutatius
Catulus.

512.
35 tribes.

Amilcar, after quieting the discontents of the army, and making a successful expedition on the coast of Italy, encamps on a mountain between Panormus and Eryx in Sicily, and there maintains his post against all the efforts of the Romans for almost three years. At length (in 508) he finds means to seize upon the city of Eryx, situated on the side of a high mountain; and though hard pressed by a Roman garrison at the top of the mountain, and a Roman army at the foot of it, yet in two years' time they are not able to dislodge him. The senate of Rome finding it impossible to complete the conquest of Sicily without a naval strength, a considerable fleet is fitted out at the expense of private citizens, the public treasury being exhausted. This new fleet, under the conduct of Lutatius Catulus, obtaining a complete victory over that of the enemy, near the Ægates, the Carthaginians are constrained to yield to the Romans, by a treaty of peace, the whole island of Sicily; which, except the little kingdom of Syracuse, is reduced to the form of a province. At Rome the tribes are augmented to thirty-five, which number they never after exceeded.

Year of
R O M E
506.
B. C. 246.

205th con-
sulship.

Pliny, b. 1.
c. 56.

It was in the eighteenth year of the war, that Amilcar Barcha became commander in chief of the Carthaginian forces by sea and land.—Having quieted the discontents of the army, he began his expeditions by sailing with the fleet to the coast of Italy; where, making a descent, he pillaged and laid waste the territories of the Locrians and Bruttians. After this he landed his troops in Sicily; and, because the Carthaginians were not masters there of any walled towns, so situated as he could from thence infest the Romans, he took possession of a commodious piece of ground near the sea-coast, between Panormus and Eryx. It was a mountain environed on all sides with rocks and precipices, and on the top of it was a plain of at least twelve miles in compass, the ground yielding both good pasture and good corn. To this mountain the avenues were only three, one from the sea and two from the land; and being by nature strait and difficult, it required but little fortification to secure them.

Here then the brave Amilcar encamped his forces^c to confront as well those of the enemy who were in Panormus, as those who were posted about Eryx, putting himself between the two armies with admirable resolution.

^c Chevr. Folard understands the words of Polybius to mean that Amilcar posted himself in the avenue from the sea to the mountain.

And though he was thus in the midst of his enemies, and had no ally from whom he could hope for succour, he nevertheless gave the Romans great and frequent alarms, obliging them to a constant exercise of all their courage, vigilance, and severest discipline. For, as the place he was in had the command of a port,^d he made use of the opportunity with which this furnished him to scour all the coast of Italy with his fleet, as far as to the territory of Cuma: and when afterward in Sicily the Romans had brought their camp within five furlongs of his army, on the side towards Panormus, he gave them battle so often, and had such variety of encounters with them, that (as Polybius tells us) it would be scarce possible to relate all the particular actions. We must judge, says he, of this war, as we do of a combat between two strong and vigorous gladiators, who in close conflict have been incessantly giving and receiving wounds. Neither the spectators nor the combatants themselves would be able to recount every feint and every stroke, and to say how and why they were made: but we judge of the skill, strength, and resolution, of the parties, by their perseverance in maintaining the fight, and by the event. So with regard to the war in question, a minute detail of the various stratagems, surprises, advances, attacks, which were daily practised on both sides, would be very difficult to an historian, and not very useful to the reader. A general relation of what was performed, with the success of the whole, will suffice to make us know the worth and abilities of the commanders.

Year of
R O M E
506.
B. C. 246.

205th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 57.

In a word, then, no stratagem which could be learned from history, no new one which present circumstances and opportunity could suggest, none that required even

^d Frontinus (in lib. 3. Strat.) reports, that Amilcar, in order to supply Lilybæum with provisions, made use of a stratagem to draw the Roman fleet out of the harbour. But, according to Polybius, the Romans had no fleet at this time, or if any, none that was able to contend with Amilcar, and oblige him to have recourse to stratagem.

Polybius tells that the Romans abstained from all naval preparations for five years. And, therefore, when Florus speaks of a battle gained at sea by the Romans during this time, it seems to be a tale without foundation.

Year of
R O M E
506.
B. C. 246.

205th con-
sulship.

the utmost hardiness and impetuosity to execute it, was neglected; and yet all this while nothing decisive was done. The strength on both sides being equal, the camps impregnable, and the space between them very small, it hence came to pass that there were every day skirmishes and encounters between parties, but a general action never. For in all the engagements, so soon as one party found themselves hard pressed by the other, the weaker instantly threw themselves behind the entrenchments, where they knew they had a secure shelter; and from whence they presently returned to the charge.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 58.

In this manner was the war carried on for almost three years;^e till at length (as our author speaks) Fortune, who presided as an impartial umpire at this contention, transported the combatants to another theatre, where, shutting them up in yet closer lists, they were engaged in a more perilous conflict.

The Romans (as has been before observed) had placed garrisons on the top and at the bottom of Mount Eryx. Amilcar nevertheless found a way, lying towards the sea, by which he conveyed his men (before the enemy had the least notice of it) into the city of Eryx, that was about the middle of the ascent. By this means the Romans, who held the top of the mountain, were in a manner besieged, and it is wonderful with what resolution and constancy they sustained all the hardships to which their situation exposed them: but it is yet more

^e Y. of R. 506.—L. Cæcilius Metellus, second time; N. Fabius Buteo.

Y. of R. 507.—M. Otacilius Crassus, second time; M. Fabius Licinus.

Y. of R. 508.—N. Fabius Buteo, C. Atilius Balbus.

A. Gell. b.
10. c. 6.

Val. Max.

b. 8. c. 1.

Sueton. Life

of Tib.

Liv. Epit.

b. 19.

In the year 507 there happened at Rome an accident, which serves to shew how much it behoved even persons of the highest rank to avoid all petulancy of speech, and not by any indecent words to violate the dignity of Roman discipline. Claudia, the daughter of the famous Claudius the Blind, and sister to that Claudius Pulcher who lost the battle of Drepanum, wherein many thousand Romans perished, returning in her chariot from the public show, happened to be stopped in her way by the multitude that thronged the street. The lady, proud and impatient, cried out, "Gods, how this city is over-crowded! I wish my brother Claudius were alive again, and had the command of another fleet!" These words, even from a woman, were thought unpardonable. She was brought into judgment for them by the ædiles, before the tribes, and was there fined 25,000 asses of brass. [80*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* Arbuthnot.]

wonderful, that the Carthaginians should be able to defend themselves, when hard pressed by the enemy both from above and from below, and when deprived of all means of subsistence, except by one avenue from the sea. And here again on this new stage of action were exerted, on both sides, all the art and vigour that can possibly be conceived, in an infinite variety of stratagems and assaults. Nor was an end put to this fierce struggle (as the historian Fabius falsely reported) by the failure of strength in the contending parties, exhausted by the sufferings they underwent; for they sustained famine, fatigue, and all the hardships incident to sieges, with so unwearied a fortitude, that they scarcely seemed to feel them; but a conclusion was given to the war after a different manner, and before either party in Sicily had gained any superiority over the other. Polybius compares the rival powers to two valiant birds, that, weakened by a long combat, and unable any more to make use of their wings in the fight, yet support themselves by their sole courage, and with joint consent coming close together, peck and maul each other with their bills, thus mutually striving by these last efforts to obtain the victory.

Year of
R O M E
509.
B. C. 243.

208th con-
sulship.

Two^f whole years were wasted by the Romans, in fruitless attempts to dislodge the invincible Amilcar from Eryx. And now the senate of Rome, who had hoped every thing from the bravery of their land forces, became perfectly convinced that they should never achieve the conquest of Sicily without the help of a naval strength. If, by means of a fleet, they could once get the mastery of the sea, it would then be impossible for the Carthaginian general to hold out much longer, because his supplies of provision would be totally obstructed. But where to find money at this time for a naval armament of sufficient strength was a difficulty that seemed

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 59.

^f Y. of R. 509.—A. Manlius Torquatus; C. Sempronius Blaesus, second time.
Y. of R. 510.—C. Fundanius; C. Sulpicius.

Year of
R O M E
510.
B. C. 242.

209th con-
sulship.

not easy to be surmounted; for the expense would be great, and the public treasury was exhausted. On this pressing occasion the richest of the citizens shewed a laudable zeal for their country's service. They built each of them a quinquiremis at his own cost; and this example had so good an effect, that those who were not able singly to do the like, yet concurring, two or three of them fitted out a galley at their joint expense. In short, a fleet of 200 quinquiremes^s was thus put to sea by private citizens, who required no other condition, but to be reimbursed when the state of the public affairs would allow of it. And this armament was vastly better than any of the former, inasmuch as all the new galleys were built upon the model of that light vessel which had been taken from Hannibal the Rhodian.

Year of
R O M E
511.
B. C. 241.

210th con-
sulship.

Liv. Epit.
b. 19.

The consuls chosen for the new year were C. Lutatius Catulus and A. Posthumius. The latter being at the same time high-priest of Mars, the pontifex maximus declared it unlawful for him to abandon his priestly functions; nay, he absolutely forbade it, accompanying his prohibition with threats, and Posthumius was obliged to submit. But this religious scruple occasioned the creation of a new magistracy in the republic. The senate and people, not thinking it advisable to trust the command of their army to one general alone, nor yet to expose themselves to the inconveniences which might arise from the too long absence of the prætor of Rome, to whom it naturally fell to supply the place of Posthumius in the field, they created a second prætor for that purpose. This officer they styled prætor peregrinus; and he was not only to assist the general abroad, but to judge or appoint judges in all civil causes between Roman citizens and strangers. The former prætor took the title of prætor urbanus; and it was now regulated, that his residence should be at Rome, and his jurisdiction confined to the cognizance of causes between Roman ci-

^s Three hundred, according to Eutropius, b. 2. c. 27.

tizens only. It was also decreed that the persons who were to fill these offices should be chosen annually in the *comitia* by centuries, but their different provinces be determined by lot.

Year of
R O M E
511.
B. C. 241.

210th con-
sulship.

Valerius Falto, the first prætor peregrinus, embarked with the consul Lutatius, on board the new fleet for Sicily. They began the campaign with the siege of Drepanum, and they very soon made a breach in the wall; nevertheless they did not carry the place; for as the consul at the head of his men was mounting to the assault, he received a dangerous wound in his thigh; whereupon the soldiers quitted the enterprise, to take care of their general, whom they carried back to the camp. After this the siege was discontinued; for Lutatius being persuaded that the Carthaginians would soon appear with a fleet upon the coast, and that a victory over them at sea would contribute much more than any other exploit towards the entire conquest of Sicily, turned all his thoughts to discipline his men, and prepare them for a naval engagement.

Oros. b. 4.
c. 10.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 59.

The Carthaginians, greatly surprised at the news of a Roman navy at sea, had dispatched away a fleet,^h with all expedition, under the conduct of an eminent commander, named Hanno; of whose character, because of the share he will have in several important events of this history, it may not be improper to give some features; an able pen, on the present occasion, has thus described him:

C. 60.

“—A man wise in picture, exceedingly formal, and skilful in the art of seeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I do not find, but it was upheld by a factious contradiction of things undertaken by men more worthy than himself. This quality procured to him (as it has done to many others) not only approbation among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprises, but an opinion of great foresight,

Sir W. R.

^h Of 400 sail, according to Eutropius.

Year of
R O M E
511.
B. C. 241.

210th con-
sulship.

opinion confirmed by every loss received. More particularly he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subject provinces; whereby he procured unto the Carthaginians much wealth, but therewithal such hatred, as turned it all to their great loss. He had before this been employed against the Numidians, and wild Africans, who, in making war, were more like rovers than soldiers. Of those fugitive nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies to his own great dishonour, and to the great hurt of Carthage; which lost not more by his bad conduct than by his malicious counsel, when having shewed himself an unworthy captain, he betook himself to the long robe. Yet is he much commended in Roman histories as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserve the league between Rome and Carthage: in which regard how well he deserved of his own country, it will appear hereafter; how beneficial he was to Rome, it will appear hereafter, and in his present voyage, wherein he reduced the Carthaginians to a miserable necessity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which he thenceforth commended.ⁱ

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 60.

Hanno had well furnished his navy with all necessary provisions for the soldiers at Eryx (for dexterity in making such preparations was the best of his qualities), but he had neglected to man his galleys with able mariners, trained to the practice of sea-fights; he had taken the first that presented themselves; and his soldiers

ⁱ It is proper to inform the reader, that though Sir W. R. is here followed in supposing that the Hanno who now commanded the Carthaginian fleet was the same with that Hanno who afterward headed the faction against Amilcar Barcha and his son Hannibal, there is some reason to doubt it. Polybius, indeed, says nothing from which we can infer that they were different persons; and the importance of the present expedition makes it probable, that the Carthaginians would not commit the charge of it but to a man in the highest reputation and esteem, as he, whom Sir W. R. characterises, was at this time. Yet by some words which Livy (as we shall see hereafter) puts into the mouth of that Hanno, who signalized himself by his opposition to Hannibal's measures, one would think that the speaker could not be the person who lost the battle at sea against Lutatius. For the historian makes the enemy of Hannibal, on two several occasions, remind the Carthaginians of that shameful and fatal overthrow, as an event which they ought never to forget.

And if we may believe Zonaras, the Hanno who suffered the defeat at the Ægates, was crucified at his return home for his misconduct.

were raw men that knew nothing of service. He had been careless in these matters, through a foolish contempt of his enemies; not remembering that it was the resistless force of tempests, rather than any other strength of opposition, which had made them forsake the seas. Yet in one thing he judged right, or at least had been well instructed; for his intention was first of all to sail to Eryx, and there to discharge his ships of their loading, and when he had thus lightened them, to take on board the choice of the land forces together with Amilcar himself; and then to offer the enemy battle. This was an excellent course if it could have been performed. But the consul Lutatius, who, on the first notice of Hanno's being at sea, had sailed from Drepanum to the island of Ægusa (one of the Ægates),^k used all possible diligence to prevent the execution of the enemy's design; not that he was informed of their design, but that he knew it was, for them, the best which they could have, and because he feared no danger so greatly as an encounter with Amilcar. For these reasons, though he was not yet cured of his wound, and though the weather was very rough, and the seas went high, when the next morning he descried the Carthaginian fleet, coming with a flown sheet from the island of Hiera^l (where they had put in), he chose rather to fight with the enemy, who had the wind of him, than upon unlikely hope of better opportunity to suffer their convoy to pass to Eryx.

All that Hanno should have done, Lutatius had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in rowing; he had lightened his galleys of all unnecessary burdens, and he had taken on board the best men of his land forces. The Carthaginians therefore, at the very first encounter, were utterly broken and defeated: fifty of their galleys were sunk and seventy taken, the rest by a sudden change of wind escaping to the island of Hiera.

Year of
R O M E
511.
B. C. 241.

210th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 61.

^k Islands lying off of Lilybæum and Drepanum.

^l Another of the Ægates.

Year of
R O M E
511.
B. C. 241.

210th con-
sulship.

The consul, after the battle, stood away with the fleet for Lilybæum, there to dispose of his prizes and prisoners; of which latter the number amounted to near 10,000.

When at Carthage, they received the news of Hanno's defeat, so contrary to all expectation, they were greatly at a loss what measures to take. If, to have their revenge, nothing had been necessary but courage and emulation, they were never better provided than at this juncture, to prosecute the war. But what could they do? Amilcar, on whose valour and judgment the honour and safety of the commonwealth depended, was surrounded by his enemies, and could not be relieved. For, as the Romans were now masters of the sea, it was not possible for the Carthaginians to send either provisions or reinforcements to their armies in Sicily. In this extremity they could fix upon nothing better than to send by an express full powers to the general himself, to take what course he should think most proper; and this they did, leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsel.

Amilcar, who had done every thing that could be expected from the most intrepid courage, and the most consummate wisdom, and whom no adversity, accompanied with the least hope or possibility of recovery, had ever vanquished, but who yet knew when to yield as well as when to resist, began now to turn his thoughts wholly to the preservation of the army under his conduct; for he plainly saw that Sicily was lost. He dispatched therefore an ambassador to the consul, with an overture of peace. Lutatius having well considered it, gathered so many arguments from the present poverty of the Roman state, exhausted beyond expectation by the war, that he readily listened to the proposal. At first he demanded, that Amilcar and his soldiers should deliver up their arms; but this the Carthaginian absolutely refused, declaring that he would rather perish than

Corn. Nep.
in Amilc.
c. 1.

undergo so great an infamy; and the consul acquiesced. In short, a treaty was concluded on terms to this effect:

Year of
R O M E
511.
B. C. 241.

“There shall be peace between Rome and Carthage (provided the Roman people approve of it) on the following conditions:

210th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 62.

“The Carthaginians shall evacuate all Sicily.

“They shall deliver up all the Roman prisoners ransom free.

“They shall pay to the Romans, within the space of twenty years next following, 2,200 talents of silver,^m whereof 1000 shall be paid immediately.

“They shall not make war upon king Hiero, nor upon any of the allies of Rome; nor shall the Romans molest any of the allies of Carthage.

“Neither of the contracting powers shall raise any fortress, or levy any soldiers in the dominions of the other.

“Nor shall either of them enter into confederacy with the allies of the other.”

These articles being brought to Rome, and not being entirely approved there, ten commissioners were sent into Sicily to terminate the affair. These added 1,000 talents to the former sum, and shortened the time for payment to ten years; and they also required, that the Carthaginians should not only leave Sicily, but withdraw their troops from all the islands between Sicily and Italy. Amilcar not thinking it advisable to break off the negotiation for the sake of these new demands, the treaty was ratified in form: but (probably) not in the consulate of Caius Lutatius, but of his successors Q. Lutatius and A. Manlius, in the year of Rome 512.

Livy, b. 30.
c. 44.

Y. of R.
512.

Such was the end of the first Punic war, after it had lasted twenty-three or twenty-four years:ⁿ a war (says

^m 437,250*l.* Arbuthnot.

ⁿ Polybius makes this war to have lasted twenty-four years, and so do others: but Eutropius puts a conclusion to it in the twenty-third year; which reckoning agrees with the Capitoline marbles, since, according to them, Appius Claudius Cau-

Year of
R O M E
512.
B. C. 240.

211th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 64.

Solinus.

Polybius) the longest, the least interrupted, and the greatest (that is, the most abounding with great actions and events), of any to be met with in history. The Romans, in the course of it, lost 700 ships of war, and the Carthaginians about 500 ;^o the greatness of which losses sufficiently proves the greatness of the two states, and of the war itself, wherein (according to the same author) the Romans in general shewed themselves the braver nation, and Amilcar the ablest captain.

And now the great affair at Rome was to determine the fate of Sicily, the manner in which it should be governed, and the emoluments which the republic should draw from so fine a conquest.

The whole island, excepting the little kingdom of Syracuse, was declared a Roman province, that is to say, a province that should be ruled by Roman laws and Roman magistrates. A prætor was to be annually sent thither to be its governor ; and a quæstor to take charge of the revenues. These revenues were either fixed or casual. The fixed were called tributes, and were a certain sum, which the province was obliged every year to pay into the public treasury. The casual were the tenths of the product of the lands, and the duties upon merchandise exported and imported. And these tenths and customs were generally farmed by the publicans.^p

dex, who began the war, was consul in the year 489, and C. Lutatius Catulus, who made the treaty with Amilcar, was consul in 511.

Livy, towards the close of his 30th book, says, the first Punic war ended when Q. Lutatius and A. Manlius were consuls. These were the successors of C. Lutatius ; and perhaps their consulate was begun when the ten commissioners came into Sicily and the peace was ratified.

^o How came it to pass, that in Polybius's time, when the Romans were arrived at almost universal empire, they could not fit out such fleets, and make such naval preparations, as in the time of the first Punic war ? This question is on the present occasion started by Polybius himself, who adds, that a plain and satisfactory reason may be assigned for the change, but defers giving it, till he shall come to speak of the form of the Roman commonwealth. His discourse on this latter subject not being transmitted to us, we are at a loss to know how the difficulty may be resolved.

^p Among the advantages which Rome gained from her wars in Sicily, may be reckoned an improvement of her taste for letters, and juster notions of poesy. Sicily abounded with excellent poets. In the first year after her peaceable possession of this island, when C. Claudius and M. Sempronius were consuls, appeared L. Livius Andronicus, the reformer of the Latin theatre. He introduced upon the

Caius Lutatius the consul, and Q. Valerius the prætor, had both of them the honour of the triumph at their return to Rome. The consul indeed disputed the pretensions of the latter to it, because Valerius had not acted in a post of equal authority with him; and upon a reference to the arbitration of Atilius Calatinus, the point was decided against the prætor; nevertheless, as his conduct in the war had been uncommonly meritorious, he obtained his suit by a decree of the people.

Year of
R O M E
512.

B. C. 240.

211th con-
sulship.

Val. Max.
b. 2. c. 8.

But the public joy at Rome for the late important conquest was greatly damped by two misfortunes, which about this time followed close upon one another. The Tiber on a sudden overflowed with such violence, as to overturn a great number of houses in the lower grounds; where the water continuing a considerable time, it much damaged also the foundations of many others.

After this there happened a greater calamity by fire, which breaking out in the night, destroyed not only numberless houses, but an incredible multitude of people. It consumed all the buildings within the circumference of the Forum. Cæcilius Metellus, the pontifex maximus, signalized his pious zeal on this occasion: for when the fire had seized the temple of Vesta, and when the virgins in a fright had all deserted it, he ventured his life to save the palladium: making his way through the flames, he brought it safely out of the sanctuary. One of his arms was much hurt in the attempt, and he entirely lost his sight. To reward so heroic an action of piety, it was decreed by the people, that he should have the privilege of being carried to the senate-house in a chariot, as often as he went thither; a distinction which had never been granted to any man before.

B. 1. c. 4.

stage connected fables, after the Greek manner, instead of the buffooneries and rambling discourses with which the people were before entertained.

About this time was born at Rudes, a city of Calabria, Ennius, the famous poet and historian. He was the inventor of hexameter verses among the Latins; but his *Life of Scipio Africanus*, which was his masterpiece, he wrote in choraics. He is thought to have eclipsed the poet Nævius, his contemporary.

Year of
R O M E
512.
B. C. 240.

211th con-
sulship.
Livy, Epit.
b. 19.

It is probable that the Roman tribes (by the addition of those called Velina and Quirina) were about this time augmented to thirty-five, which number was never after increased.

CHAP. XI.

The Falisci, a people of Hetruria, rebel against the Romans, but in a few days are forced to submit. Carthage is reduced to great extremities in a war, which for more than three years is carried on against her, by her foreign mercenaries in conjunction with her African subjects. The conduct of the Romans upon this occasion.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 65.

THE peace between Rome and Carthage was hardly ratified, when both these states found themselves on a sudden engaged in new and unexpected wars at home, by the rebellion of their own subjects.

Eutrop. b. 2.
Liv. Ep. b.
19. Zonaras.

The Falisci in Hetruria, through some unaccountable levity or madness, rose up in arms, and declared war against the Roman power. This intestine commotion caused a great alarm and terror throughout all Italy; and it occasioned no less wonder, by the speedy issue to which it was brought. The consuls, Q. Lutatius and A. Manlius, at the head of the legions, are said to have quelled the rebels in six days. Two battles were fought. In the first the success was doubtful; but in the second, the Romans obtained a complete victory. The Falisci having lost 15,000 men in the action, humbly submitted themselves, and sued for peace. They were despoiled of their arms, horses, household-goods, slaves, and half their territory. Their city, strongly situated in a steep craggy place, was ordered to be demolished, and the inhabitants to build a new one for themselves in the flat open country. Nay, the people of Rome were meditating a more severe revenge against a nation that had so often rebelled; but they restrained their wrath by the advice of a venerable Roman named Papirius, whom the consuls had employed to draw up in writing the form of the rebels' surrendry. He represented to the multi-

tude, that the Falisci had yielded themselves, not to the power but the faith (or honour) of the Romans;^a and this sacred name of public faith had such a prevalency on the minds of the people, that they readily acquiesced in what had been agreed upon.

Year of
R O M E
512.
B. C. 240.
211th con-
sulship.

Carthage, not so fortunate as Rome, had a much longer and more dangerous conflict to sustain at the very gates of the capital.

The avarice of a republic of merchants, who better understood the value of money than the merit of brave soldiers, was the source of this intestine mischief. They would needs persuade those foreign troops, who had fought so gallantly under Amilcar in Sicily, and had endured so steadily all the hardships of war, in the defence of a state to which they had no tie but their wages; they would needs, I say, persuade these strangers to remit, out of affection to that state, some part of what was due to them from it, by compact, for their services: whereas in truth they ought rather to have rewarded them with rich gratuities, beyond their stipulated pay. In the pursuit of this penurious project, they fell into strange imprudences. It could not be well imagined, that a proposal to foreign mercenaries to contribute out of their pay to the expenses of the war, would be very cheerfully received or easily digested. Nevertheless, that they might hear the grave oratory of Hanno on this head, the Carthaginians suffered these strangers, amounting to 20,000 men, to assemble all in one place, in the neighbourhood of the capital; and this at a time when Carthage had not on foot a sufficient body of her own people to resist such an army in case of a mutiny. And they committed a yet greater mistake, as Polybius observes, in constraining the soldiers to take with them, from the city to the place of rendezvous, their wives and children; because these, had they remained in Carthage,

^a "Faliscos non potestati, sed fidei se Romanorum commisisse." Val. Max. b. 6. c. 5.

Year of
R O M E
512.
B. C. 240.

211th con-
sulship.

would have served as hostages for the good behaviour of the fathers and husbands.

In a word, the rhetoric of Hanno had no effect but to kindle the highest resentment. The mercenaries turned their arms with fury against their late masters; the African subjects of Carthage, easily drawn into rebellion, because greatly oppressed, took this opportunity to attempt the recovery of their freedom; and the Numidians, the old enemies of the republic and greedy of her destruction, joined their forces to the rebels.

In this war, which lasted three years and almost four months, it was not with the Carthaginians, as in former times, when they fought for glory, or to give a wider extent to their empire; it was no sportive enterprise of ambition; all was at stake; the very being of their government, their estates, their lives, were all in the utmost peril, from the desperate fury and close attacks of the most cruel and implacable enemies they had ever contended with. Amilcar saved his country. Superior by his skill and courage, not only to the impetuous force of multitudes, but to the cautious bravery of an army, which he himself had trained and disciplined, it was through his abilities that his republic remained victorious in the conclusion of this inexpiable war; a war that was never to be ended but by the total destruction of one of the contending parties.*

[* This war, being a very curious part of history, and serving greatly to give us a more perfect knowledge of the character of that rival state, whose destruction alone could establish the Roman greatness, it may neither be unseasonable nor disagreeable to the reader, if the substance of Polybius's account of it be here inserted.]

THE AFRICAN WAR, OR WAR OF THE CARTHAGINIANS WITH
THEIR MERCENARIES.

Polyb. b. 1.
c. 66. et
seq. and Sir
W. R. b. 5.
c. 2.

“ WHEN Amilcar had finished the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war, he led his troops from

Eryx to Lilybæum, and there committed to Gisco (governor of the place) the care of transporting them into Africa. Gisco, as foreseeing what might happen, acted in this affair with great caution. For, instead of embarking the forces all at once, he shipped them off successively, and in small parties, allotting so much time between the embarkations as might suffice for his prudent purpose; which was, that those who were first sent might be paid off and dismissed to their own countries, before the others should arrive. The Carthaginians, however, whose treasury was much exhausted, did not correspond to the intention of Gisco, but hoping they should be able to obtain from the whole army, when assembled, a remission of some part of what was due to them, detained at Carthage the several divisions as they came."

Polybius does not assign any reason, nor does any reason readily occur, why it should have seemed more easy to obtain this remission from the whole army together, than from the parts when disjoined. "One would think (as a judicious historian observes), that to per- Sir W. R. suade any small number of men, lodged in so great a city as Carthage, to have some consideration of the distress and poverty of the state, would have been no hard matter; and if the first comers had been thus persuaded, and had been friendly discharged, it would have left a good precedent to the second and third, whilst their disjunction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force." Perhaps the best conjecture towards accounting for the conduct of the Carthaginians in this particular is, that they had really no intention to disband these troops, and yet were unwilling, for good reasons, to let their design of keeping them on foot be known, before they were all safely arrived in Africa. And though avarice had determined the senate to try whether the soldiers could be persuaded to remit some part of what was due to them, there was no design to refuse

them their full payment in case they insisted upon it. They never dreamed that the bare proposal of such a remission as they desired would have the sudden and fatal consequences which it had.

Polyb. l. 3.
c. 9.

Corn. Nep.
Amilc. c. 1.

That the leading men at Carthage had resolved to continue these troops in the service, may, I think, be fairly collected from Polybius, who assures us that Amilcar left Sicily with firm resolution to renew the war against Rome without delay; and that he would have executed his purpose, if it had not been hindered by the revolt of the mercenaries. Now is it in the least probable, that the Carthaginian general, with this project of speedy revenge at his heart, would consent to break a veteran army, which he himself had disciplined, legions animated with the same spirit as himself?

“ Be this as it will, the Carthaginians did not follow the scheme of Gisco. They detained the first and second comers, telling them, that they would make a fair reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (incident among soldiers) were committed, which much disquieted the city, not accustomed to the like. It was thought fit therefore to remove them all to some other place, where they might be less troublesome; and Sicca, a little town at no great distance, being pitched upon for this rendezvous, the officers were civilly requested to conduct all their men thither, who, while they there waited the coming of their fellow-soldiers from Sicily, should receive, each of them, a piece of gold to bear his charges.

“ This motion was accepted, and the soldiers began to dislodge; leaving behind them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as intending very soon to fetch all away when they came back for their pay. But the Carthaginians, who wanted to rid the city entirely of these ungovernable guests, and who feared, that if the women and children remained there, it would be difficult to hinder some of the soldiers from staying be-

hind, and others from returning, which would frustrate the intention of the measure now taken, they prevailed with them to march away with all that belonged to them, wives and children, bag and baggage.

“ To Sicca then they all removed, and there lay waiting for news of their fellows’ arrival, and their own pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to mutiny, the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be when all their money came in; how much would fall to every single share, and for how long a time the city was behindhand with them in reckoning.—They were all grown arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, who could find most reason to increase their demands to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the encouraging words and promises of their captains, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind as so many obligations, not to be cancelled without satisfying their expectation by some extraordinary bounty.

“ In this manner passed the time away, till at length, the whole army being arrived and united, Hanno (chief magistrate of Carthage) appeared at Sicca to clear the account. Now was the day come, when they were all to be made rich, especially if they could hold together, in maintaining resolutely the common cause. Full of these thoughts and expectations, they assembled themselves to hear what good news this messenger had brought; with firm purpose to help his memory in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them, which were all to be considered in the reckoning.

“ Hanno begins a very formal oration, wherein he bewails the poverty of Carthage; tells them how great a sum of money is to be paid to the Romans; reckons up the excessive charges the commonwealth had been at,

in the late war, and in conclusion, desires them to be contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bore to the city, to remit the rest. Few of the hearers understood this orator's discourse: for the Carthaginian army was composed of sundry nations, as Greeks, Africans, Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards, and others, all of different languages. But when such as conceived the whole tenor of his speech had informed the rest what message he brought, they all broke out into such a storm of rage, that nothing would serve to appease them.—The insurrection and revolt were universal, each nation at first caballing apart, and then all the several nations joining together in a general sedition; of which the difference of languages greatly increased the tumult and confusion.

“Hanno would fain have assuaged their fury, but he knew not how: for he less understood their dissonant loud noises than they did his oration. An army, collected out of so many countries, that have no one language common to all, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that Hanno could do, was to use the help of their own officers as his interpreters and messengers; but these interpreters mistook his meaning, some for want of skill, others on purpose; and such as delivered his errands in the worst sense, were the best believed. In short, nothing was to be seen, but fluctuation of mind, jealousies, distrusts, and caballing. Among the other causes of the soldiers' anger, was this also, that the Carthaginians, instead of sending to them some one of those officers, under whom they had served in Sicily, who knew their merits, and who so often had promised them rewards, had sent a man who had not been present in any of those actions where they had signalized their courage. In short, they considered themselves as not only wronged, but insulted. Full of indignation therefore, they hastily left Sicca, and,

to the number of 20,000 men, advanced towards Carthage, as far as Tunes, where they took up their quarters, about fifteen miles from the capital.—And now, when it was too late, the Carthaginians became convinced of their mistakes; for it was a mighty fault in them to permit such a body of strangers to assemble all in one place; and it was yet a greater error to turn out of their city the wives, children, and goods, of these poor soldiers, which, had they retained them in show of kindness, they might have used as hostages for their own safety, and as means to bring the army to their own terms: but now the terror they were in from the neighbourhood of these mutineers, carried them to yield to every demand, though never so unreasonable. They furnished a market at Tunes for the soldiers, whom they suffered to buy what they pleased, and at what price they pleased. Deputies, out of the body of the senate, were from time to time dispatched to them, to assure them that all their demands, if possible to be performed, should be satisfied. The soldiers easily perceived the cause of this change; and taking advantage of the fright the city was in, they every day invented some new article to insist upon; and their insolence was the greater from the persuasion, that having served with honour against the Romans in Sicily, neither the Carthaginians, nor any other people, would have the courage to face them in the field.—No sooner therefore had they adjusted their demands of pay, but they proceeded farther to exact satisfaction for the horses they had lost in the service. When that was agreed to, the next demand was on account of short allowance of provisions for many years. They would be paid for the deficiency; and in this reckoning, the corn should be valued at the highest price it had at any time borne during the whole war.

“In short, as there were many factious and seditious spirits in the army, these incited the multitude to make

new and exorbitant demands, such as it was impossible for the republic to comply with ; nevertheless, as the Carthaginians promised to do every thing in their power to satisfy them, it was at length agreed, that the difference should be referred to some one of the generals who had been in Sicily, and that the soldiers should choose the arbitrator. Accordingly they pitched upon Gisco, partly out of affection to him, who had shewn himself at all times a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into Africa ; and partly out of a dislike they had conceived of Amilcar, because he had not visited them in all this busy time. [It is probable that Amilcar had no desire to be used as an instrument in defrauding his own soldiers of their wages ; especially considering, that as he could best bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant that means to content them were not wanting, had the citizens been willing to do it.]

“ Gisco then embarks and comes among them, and to please them the better, brings money with him. He calls to him first of all the principal officers, and then the several nations apart, rebuking them gently for what had passed, advising them calmly concerning the present, and exhorting them to continue their affection to a state, which had long entertained them in its pay, and would be always mindful of their good services. He then offered to give them their whole pay in hand, proposing to defer the consideration of other reckonings to a more convenient time. This might have been well accepted, and might have served to restore things to quiet, if two seditious ringleaders of the multitude had not opposed it.

“ Among the mutineers there happened to be one Spendius, a Campanian, who had been a slave to a Roman master. He was strong of body, and in all occasions of danger very forward ; this fellow, fearing to fall into the hands of his master (for by the custom of

Rome his fault was punished with death), laboured both with words and actions, to trouble and perplex the treaty they were upon ; and to hinder, by all means possible, their agreement with the Carthaginians. Another there was, whose name was Matho, an African, of free condition, and a soldier among them, who having been an active stirrer in this conspiracy, and fearing punishment, joined with Spendius to obstruct the accommodation, possessing the Africans with the belief, that as soon as the strangers should be paid, and dispatched to their own countries, it would be their lot to pay for all ; and that the Carthaginians would take such revenge on them for what they had done, that all Africa should tremble at it. The soldiers grew hereupon enraged anew, and in regard they were not likely to receive of Gisco any other satisfaction than their arrears of pay, what was due for their horses and bread being respited to another time, they therefore took thence occasion of fresh disorders, and ran together in a mutinous manner. To Spendius and Matho they lent a willing ear, who railed both against Gisco and the Carthaginians, and if any one presumed to offer them temperate counsel, he was forthwith stoned to death, even before it could be understood what the purport of his discourse was, whether for or against Spendius ; and now great slaughter was made both of officers and private soldiers, and nothing was heard during the tumult but ‘ Throw, throw, down with him ;’ and what greatly augmented the rage of those people, was the excess of wine they had drank, having newly risen from their repast. So that the word ‘ throw’ was no sooner heard, but the person against whom it was designed was immediately slain. At length there appearing no one who presumed to open his mouth to divert their determinations, they chose Spendius and Matho for their leaders and commanders in chief.

“ Gisco was not without a due sense of the danger he was in among these people, but he let that consider-

ation give place to the duty he owed his country. He foresaw that if this mutiny once came to a head, the commonwealth would be driven to great straits; to prevent which, he was willing to be exposed to any hazard. He therefore, with great constancy of mind, pursued his purpose of reducing them to their duty by all means possible: sometimes treating with the officers, sometimes with the sundry nations apart. It happened that the Africans coming rudely to Gisco, to demand the corn-money, which they pretended was due to them; he, to reprove their insolence, bid them in a contemptuous manner go ask their captain, Matho, for it. This answer put all into a flame. Without any hesitation, they tumultuously ran, and seized on the money, which had been brought in order to their payment.

“Matho and Spendius fomented with all their art and industry this audacious proceeding of the multitude, being persuaded that to do some outrageous act, in violation of the treaty they were upon, and contrary to the law of nations, would be the surest way to put things past accommodation, and to kindle the war they so much desired. Thus, therefore, not only the money and baggage of the Carthaginians were seized by the mutineers, but Gisco and all the Carthaginians who accompanied him, were arrested, put in irons, and thrown into prison; and these violences were immediately followed by an open declaration of war against Carthage.

“And now Matho dispatched deputies to the cities round about, exhorting them to lend him succours, enter into confederacy with him, and bravely recover their liberty. It was not needful for the deputies to use much persuasion, the very fame of this rebellion sufficing to draw the whole country into it. The merciless impositions of the Carthaginians upon their African subjects, were the cause of this universal proneness to a revolt. They had taken from the country people during the late war one half of their corn, and had doubled the

tributes paid by the inhabitants of the cities, not exempting even the poorest from these exactions. When new magistrates were to be elected for the provinces, the choice never fell on those who were likely to govern the people with lenity and moderation, but on such whose rigour promised the electors the richest fruits of oppression.—Hanno, for example, was of this sort, and therefore a great favourite at Carthage.

“ All these things considered, it is no wonder that the Africans were not backward to rebel. Not only such as could bear arms readily tendered their service in this commotion, but the very women (who had seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison by the tax-gatherers) brought forth their jewels and other ornaments, offering all to sale for the maintenance of so just a quarrel. And by this great forwardness and liberal contribution, Matho and Spendius were supplied with a strong reinforcement of 70,000 Africans, and were moreover furnished with money, not only to give the soldiers the arrears of their pay (which, to engage them in the revolt, they had promised), but sufficient to carry on the war begun, though it should be of long continuance.

“ The mercenaries, using the advantage of their present strength, laid siege to Utica and Hippo, two maritime cities of great importance, lying to the west of Carthage, and not far from it; nor did they abandon their camp at Tunes, which, on the other side, lay commodiously to hinder the Carthaginians from passing up into the country that way.

“ Carthage was situate on a peninsula, which is bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by a lake. The isthmus that joins this peninsula to the continent is about three miles broad. Utica stood on that side of Carthage which regards the sea, Tunes on the other side upon the lake: so that the enemy, from those two posts, marching sometimes by day and sometimes

by night, to the very walls of the capital, filled the inhabitants with extreme terror. The Carthaginians, in this distress, appointed Hanno to be their general. He had gained some reputation in that capacity, when employed to conquer that part of Africa which lay towards Hecatompolis. Hanno did not fail to make with diligence all needful preparations (for that was his talent): he got together whatever was necessary, as well to relieve a town besieged, as to batter and assail any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with a hundred elephants, he came to Utica so suddenly, that the mercenaries, as men surprised, forsook their trenches, and retired to a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his huge beasts.

“Hanno, having been accustomed to make war with the Africans and Numidians, who upon any defeat were wont to fly for two or three days together, imagined that the enemy he had only routed were utterly ruined, even beyond a possibility of recovery; neglecting therefore to keep guard, and leaving his men at liberty, he immediately entered the town, there to recreate and divert himself. But those old soldiers, with whom he was now at war, had learned of Amilcar to sustain such shocks as they had just suffered without being discouraged, and to retire and to fight again many times in one day, as occasion required. Wherefore, as soon as they perceived that Hanno knew not how to make use of a victory, they instantly rushed down from their retreat, assailed their own camp, and with great slaughter drove the Carthaginians out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within the walls of Utica; and they also got possession of all the stores that Hanno had brought for the relief of the town. Nor was this the only occasion wherein Hanno gave marks of his insufficiency: twice he might have defeated the enemy in pitched battle, and twice by surprise; yet he unaccountably neglected these

opportunities, and even suffered the enemy to take possession of all the passes in the isthmus which joins the peninsula, whereon Carthage stood, to the firm land.

“The Carthaginians, dissatisfied with the conduct of Hanno, had now recourse to the undisputed abilities of Amilcar, whom they sent into the field with 10,000 men and seventy elephants. Amilcar was for some time at a loss how to meet with the enemy upon equal ground. For, beside the other places of advantage which the mercenaries had seized, Hanno had suffered them to get possession of the only bridge by which the river Macar or Bagrahas was passable to those who were to travel from Carthage into the continent. This river had not many fords, and the few it had were so well watched, that it was not easy for even a single man to get over without being seen. As for the bridge itself, the enemy guarded it with the utmost vigilance, and had built a town close by it, for the more commodious lodging of the troops that were appointed to that service. Amilcar, having in vain tried all means possible to force a passage, at length bethought himself of an expedient to gain one by stealth. He had observed that upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the Macar used to be choked up with sand and gravel, which formed a kind of bar across it. Marching therefore to the mouth of the river, he there waited, without communicating his design to any body, the blowing of those favourable winds; which no sooner happened, but he passed the stream with his army by night unperceived, and the next morning appeared in the plain, to the great astonishment both of the Carthaginians and of the enemy.

“Spendius and his followers were extremely troubled as well as amazed at this news, as knowing that they had no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of Hanno, but with an able captain, even their own master in the art of war, whom they still admired though they

* Chev.
Folard.

hated him. Amilcar marched directly towards those of the enemy who guarded the bridge.—Spendius advanced to meet him with 10,000 men, whom he drew out of the town that was near it. He had ordered 15,000 to come from before Utica and join him. Upon the arrival of this reinforcement, the fear with which the mercenaries had been struck was changed into presumption. They thought to surround Amilcar, and bear him down by numbers. Amilcar had disposed his elephants in the front, his cavalry and light-armed infantry in the second line, and his heavy-armed foot in the rear of all. He had * probably expected that the 15,000 men from Utica would have fallen upon his rear, instead of joining the forces with Spendius; and this expectation was the reason of his placing his main strength in the rear. But when he saw that the enemy, neglecting their advantage, had joined their two bodies of troops together, he immediately changed the order of his battle, making his horse wheel about and go to the rear, and his infantry advance. This sudden retreat of the Carthaginian cavalry was mistaken by the mercenaries for a real flight and a mark of fear. They advanced therefore briskly to the attack, without observing any order, and in full confidence of victory. But no sooner did they perceive that cavalry, which they had thought routed, appear again in good array, covering the whole body of the Carthaginian foot (for, by the general's order, the horse wheeling from the rear to the right and left, had now placed themselves in the same line with the infantry), than their astonishment at this movement quite took away their courage. They instantly turned their backs and fled, and being warmly pursued by the horse and elephants of Amilcar, suffered a very great slaughter. In this overthrow, 6,000 of the mercenaries were slain, and 2,000 taken prisoners; the rest escaped, some to the camp before Utica, others to the town by the bridge, whither Amilcar followed them so fast, that he easily

possessed himself of that place, the enemy not having sufficiently recovered their spirits to make a defence, but flying thence to Tunes at his approach. After this, he speedily reduced several other towns, partly by force, partly by composition, and by this happy progress, gave the Carthaginians some better hopes of their affairs.

“As for Matho, he still continued the siege of Hippo, advising Spendius, and Autaritus, chief captain of the Gauls, to follow Amilcar so as never to lose sight of him, yet always to keep the higher grounds, or the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the horse and elephants of the Carthaginians. He also sent into Numidia and Africa, admonishing the people to furnish those two commanders with supplies, and to exert themselves on this occasion for the recovery of their freedom. Spendius, with 6,000 men chosen out of the several nations, encamped at Tunes, and with 2,000 Gauls, that followed Autaritus (these being all that remained of those who had served under this captain in Sicily, the rest having deserted to the Romans at Eryx), pursuant to the counsel of Matho, continually coasted the Carthaginians, but always keeping the foot of the hills. One day, when Amilcar was encamped in a plain encompassed on all sides with hills, the succours which Spendius had waited for arrived, and the Carthaginian general was not a little embarrassed thereby ; for he had now to deal with a body of Africans in front, and another of Numidians behind him, while the army of Spendius lay on his flank. In this difficulty, the fame of Amilcar’s personal worth was of great benefit to his country. In the enemy’s troops there happened to be a certain Numidian, named Naravasus, a man of distinction both for his birth and courage. He had inherited from his father an inclination to the Carthaginians, and it was much increased by what he had heard of Amilcar’s merit. Thinking that he had now

an opportunity of gaining the friendship of this people, he came to the camp, attended by about 100 Numidian horse. Having halted near the lines, without any show of fear, he there made a sign with his hand.—Amilcar, not a little wondering at the hardness of the action, sent out to him a horseman ; to whom Naravasus signified, that he desired a conference with the general. The latter not readily complying with the motion, the Numidian no sooner perceived his distrust, but dismounting, he gave his horse and arms to those who were with him ; and with a noble confidence entered the camp alone. Every body wondered at the bravery of the man, but received him amicably. Being conducted to Amilcar, he told him, he wanted not good inclinations for the Carthaginians in general ; but that his principal motive of coming there was to engage in a friendship with him ; which, if he approved, he should find him for the future a faithful friend, both in counsel and in action. This discourse, together with the manly assurance and ingenuous simplicity with which it was spoken, filled Amilcar with unspeakable joy ; insomuch, that he not only consented to make him his companion in all his enterprises, but, to purchase his fidelity to the Carthaginians, promised him his daughter in marriage.

“After this conference and treaty, Naravasus brought to the camp 2,000 Numidians that were under his command ; with which reinforcement Amilcar offered the enemy battle. Spendius, on his part, being strengthened by the Africans, advanced boldly into the plain, where the battle was obstinately fought. Amilcar, in the end, had the day : the elephants did great service : and Naravasus signalized himself most eminently. Spendius and Autaritus escaped by flight, about 10,000 of their men being slain, and 4,000 taken prisoners. Amilcar received kindly all those of the prisoners that were willing to take his pay, and serve under him, and he armed them with the spoils of the dead. As for

those that were not willing to serve, he assembled them all, and then told them, that he freely pardoned their past fault, and gave them their liberty ; but bid them remember, that if ever they were taken again in arms against the Carthaginians, they were to expect no mercy.

“ During these transactions, the mercenaries that were in garrison in Sardinia mutinied, after the example of Matho and Spendius ; and having shut up Bostar, their chief commander, in the citadel, they at length murdered both him and all the Carthaginians with him. Hereupon the republic, in order to quell these mercenaries, despatched from Carthage into that island a body of troops, which, if we may judge from their proceedings, were also mercenaries (a strange policy of the magistrates). These soldiers no sooner arrived, but they entered into the views of the mutineers, and joined the revolt. The united forces seized on the leader of the new comers and crucified him ; they likewise, in a most cruel manner, murdered all the Carthaginians they could meet with, possessed themselves of the towns, and remained masters of the whole island ; until at length a quarrel happened between them and the natives, who, prevailing, constrained them to leave the country, and fly for refuge into Italy. But thus Sardinia became entirely lost to the Carthaginians.

“ To return to the mercenaries in Africa.

“ Matho, Spendius, and Autaritus, having advice of the clemency which Amilcar exercised towards the prisoners, and fearing the effect it might have upon the Africans, and their other troops, resolved to engage them in some new act of villany, such as should put them past all hopes of indemnity. With this view they assembled the whole army. A messenger presently arrives with a pretended letter from those who had followed their steps in Sardinia. This letter admonishes them to be careful in guarding Gisco, and the rest of

the prisoners (whom they had seized at the treaty of Tunes), there being some persons in the army, who held secret intelligence with the Carthaginians for their release. Spendius took occasion, from this letter, to warn the soldiers not to rely on the specious humanity of Amilcar towards those who had fallen into his hands; whose real intention, he said, was not to spare them, but by a feigned clemency to draw the rest to submission; to the end that, having all at his mercy, he might at once take vengeance upon all. He likewise counselled them, to be especially watchful not to suffer Gisco to escape; who being a principal leader, and in great authority, would prove one of their most dangerous enemies. Spendius had hardly ended his discourse, when a second courier, pretending to come from Tunes, arrived with a letter, pressing the same matter that was contained in the other. Upon this, Autaritus, the Gaul, immediately stepped forth, and declared to the assembly, that their safety and success could only be found in renouncing all hopes of reconciliation with the Carthaginians; and that whoever should appear to have turned his thoughts that way, ought to be distrusted as a traitor to the common cause, and as being in secret correspondence with the enemy; and he advised them to be guided wholly by those, who were for carrying things to the utmost extremity against the Carthaginians. After this, he gave it as his opinion, that they ought to put to death by torments, not only Gisco and all the Carthaginians then in their custody, but all those that should hereafter fall alive into their hands. Autaritus was always in these assemblies of the soldiers a leading man, having the advantage, by his knowledge of several languages, of being able to make himself understood by the greatest part of his hearers. His proposal was received with almost universal applause; nevertheless there were some of every nation, who joined in one common request, that in regard to the many benefits

they had received from Gisco, he might at least have the favour to suffer only death, and not be put to torment. As they spoke in several languages, and all at once, it was not presently understood what they demanded; but no sooner was their intention known, and some one in the assembly had cried out, ‘Down with them, knock them all on the head,’ but these intercessors were stoned to death by the multitude. Then, by order of Spendius, was Gisco, with the other Carthaginian prisoners, to the number of 700 persons, brought out to suffer the sentence pronounced against them. The executioners (beginning with Gisco, that same Gisco whom but a little before the whole army had owned for their benefactor, and whom they had made choice of to be arbitrator of their differences with the republic) cut off their hands, broke their legs, and then threw them alive into a ditch, there to expire in misery. The Carthaginians receiving intelligence of this cruelty, and being deeply affected with the sad fate of so many of their citizens, sent orders to Amilcar and Hanno, to use their utmost diligence to revenge it. They likewise dispatched heralds to the mercenaries, to demand the bodies of the dead; but the villains were so far from complying with this demand, that they threatened to treat whatever messengers should hereafter be sent to them in the same manner they had treated Gisco. And in fact it became an established law among them, that all Carthaginian prisoners they took should be tormented to death; and that those who were allies of the Carthaginians should have their hands cut off, and in that condition be sent back to them: and this law was afterward rigorously executed.

“Amilcar, seeing no means left to put an end to the unbounded audaciousness of the enemy, but by utterly exterminating them, sent to Hanno to come and join him with the forces, which, without performing any thing worthy of notice, he had hitherto separately

commanded. It was hoped, that with their united strength they might be able to give a happy issue to the war. And in the meantime it was resolved, that in return for the barbarity practised by the enemy, all those of them, who should fall alive into the hands of the Carthaginians, should be thrown to wild beasts to be devoured.

“But now, when affairs began to have a promising aspect, a dispute, that arose on a sudden between the two generals, was carried so far, that by it they lost many fair occasions of beating the enemy, and even gave them frequent advantages in the war. Upon the news of this division, the magistrates of Carthage came to a resolution, that one of the two should quit his command, and that the option should be left to the army.

“This quarrel, so unseasonable, and its consequences abovementioned, were not the only misfortunes that befel the Carthaginians at this time. A convoy from Emporium with provisions, and other stores, much wanted for the army, was lost by tempest at sea; and to fill the measure of their adversity, the towns of Utica and Hippo, that had hitherto stood firm to the Carthaginian party, not only in this war, but even in the time of Agathocles, and when the Romans made their descent on Africa, now abandoned them on a sudden, without any plausible motive; and not only entered into a league of fast friendship with the Africans, but conceived an implacable hatred against the Carthaginians; which they sufficiently testified by murdering all those they had of that nation in garrison, and throwing their bodies over the walls, without suffering them to be buried. These events encouraged Matho and Spendius to think of laying siege even to Carthage itself.

“The Carthaginian army having declared in favour of Amilcar, Hanno was constrained to relinquish his authority, and was succeeded by Hannibal, whom the senate appointed to command in his stead. Assisted by this

new colleague, and especially by Naravasus, who was eminently useful in all expeditions, Amilcar scoured the country, and endeavoured to cut off all means of subsistence from the enemy, who now invested Carthage.

“ The city, blocked up on all sides by land, was forced to have recourse to her allies. Hiero, king of Syracuse, who had all along had a watchful eye upon the events of this war, and had supplied the republic with every thing she had desired of him, was now, in her greatest distress, more than ever diligent to assist her ; as being well aware, that to maintain his own authority in Sicily, and his alliance of friendship with the Romans, it was necessary that Carthage should be preserved in a condition to balance their power ; otherwise he himself might soon be at their mercy, and instead of their friend become their subject.

“ In this (says Polybius) he acted wisely, for it greatly L. 1. c. 83. behoves a prince not to neglect a mischief of this kind, in the beginning, nor to suffer the exorbitant growth of a neighbouring power, till he is no longer able to contest with it for his own indisputable right.

“ Not only king Hiero, but the Romans also (faithfully observing their treaty of peace), supplied the Carthaginians with such provisions and stores as they wanted ; so that the city, being thus succoured, was in a condition to defend itself against the efforts of the besiegers.

“ In the meantime, Amilcar was so active and diligent in preventing any supplies from going to the camp of Matho and Spendius, that he at length reduced them to great straits for provisions, and in the end constrained them to raise the siege. And now Spendius, assisted by one Zarxas an African leader, and by Autaritus the Gaul, issued into the field at the head of 50,000 chosen men, to try the fortune of war against Amilcar. (Matho was left at Tunes, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the business.) The elephants of

Carthage and the horse of Naravasus made Spendius afraid of descending into the plains, so that he betook himself to his former method of keeping the hills and rough grounds, or occupying the strait passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew itself with little disadvantage. But Amilcar, having more skill than he in the trade of war, artfully contrived to draw him to many skirmishes; in all which the success was such, as added courage to the Carthaginians, and abated the strength and spirit of their enemies. Thus he continued alarming and provoking them by night and by day; and through his skill in laying ambushes, never failed to entrap some of them when they engaged in small parties, nor to cut off great numbers when the action was more general; and those that fell alive into his hands he gave to be devoured by wild beasts.

“ At length he surprised them in a place that was very commodious for his own army, and very disadvantageous to theirs. They presently saw their disadvantage, and therefore had not heart to fight. Amilcar prudently foreseeing that necessity might draw them to attempt the most desperate enterprises, took the opportunity of their present fear, and shut them close up with a trench and rampart. There they waited miserably and in vain for succour from Tunes; and having spent all their provisions were so pressed with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing they had not deserved any favour from Carthage; and hoping still that their friends at Tunes would not neglect them. But when at length they were driven to such extremity, as to be forced to devour their own companions, and yet saw no appearance of relief, then was their obstinacy quite broken, and they began to threaten their captains. Spendius, Zaxas, and Autaritus, having therefore consulted together, came to a resolution to yield themselves to Amilcar, if required, as the condition of peace. They sent a herald

to demand a pass, which being granted them, they came in person to the Carthaginian general. What they could say to him is hard to conjecture; yet by the conditions that Amilcar granted, it would seem that they took the blame upon themselves, and begged pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, That the Carthaginians should choose out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in one single coat. When the treaty was thus concluded, Amilcar told Spendius, and those that were with him, that he chose them as part of the ten; and then immediately ordered them to be seized and secured. The army receiving intelligence that their leaders were detained, and not knowing that a treaty was concluded for them upon such gentle terms, presently imagined they were betrayed. In amazement therefore they all ran to arms. But now they wanted captains to order and conduct them; and the same astonishment that made them break the covenants of peace, of which they were ignorant, gave Amilcar both colour of justice in accomplishing revenge, and facility in doing the execution. They were all slain, being 40,000 or more in number.

“ The news of this exploit (as may well be supposed) gave new life and spirit to the people at Carthage, and was terrible to the revolted cities. Amilcar with Naravasus and Hannibal, carried the war from town to town, and found all places ready to yield except Utica, Hippo, and Tunes, the two first standing out through fear of deserved vengeance, and the last being held by Matho, with the remainder of the rebel army. It was thought fit to begin with Tunes, where lay the chief strength of the enemy. Coming before this town, they brought forth Spendius with his fellows, and, in view of the garrison, crucified them under the walls, to terrify those of his old companions, that were still in arms. With this rigour the siege began, as if speedy victory had been assured.

Hannibal quartered upon that side of Tunes which lay towards Carthage ; Amilcar on the opposite side ; too far asunder to help one another in sudden accidents. It behoved them therefore to be more circumspect. Nevertheless, Hannibal, secure, as if all danger were past, neglected to keep good guard. Matho perceived it, and, using his advantage, sallied out with unexpected fury against that part of the Carthaginian army, and so successfully, that after a great slaughter of the enemy, he put the rest to flight, forced their camp, pillaged it, and took Hannibal himself prisoner. After the victory, having caused the dead body of Spendius to be taken down from the cross, he ordered Hannibal to be fixed alive in his place, and executed him with unspeakable torments. The rest also of the noblest of the Carthaginians, who had fallen into his hands, were by his command slain round the body of Spendius. Of all this Amilcar knew nothing till it was too late ; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the siege ; but was obliged to break it up, and remove to the mouth of the river Bagradas, where he encamped.

“ The terror in Carthage, upon the news of this disaster, was not less than had been the joy for the late important victory. All that could bear arms were sent into the field under Hanno : and the senate commissioned thirty principal men of their body to labour with all the force of persuasion, to bring Amilcar and him to a reconciliation. This could not be effected presently. Amilcar was perhaps nearly touched in his honour, that the carelessness of Hannibal seemed to be imputed to him, by sending his enemy to share with him the conduct of affairs, and be a check upon his proceedings. Nevertheless, after many conferences, the authority of the senators prevailed ; and the two generals passed their words to live in friendship, and act in concert for the public good. And thenceforward all affairs were successfully managed to the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens.

“ Matho, during these transactions, was come abroad into the field, wisely purposing to make advantage of the reputation of his late success, while it gave some life to his cause. But this African leader wanted the necessary skill to cope with Amilcar, who in all skirmishes and encounters between parties never failed to worst him, and thereby to diminish both his strength and his credit. Matho, sensible of this growing mischief to his affairs, resolved therefore to try the fortune of one battle, whereby either his ambition should be accomplished, or his cares at an end. The Carthaginians were no less disposed to a general action, having many advantages above their enemies, and especially (which was worth all the rest) such a commander as was not easily to be matched in that age. Both parties being thus agreed, the confederates and friends of both were called together, and the towns drained of their garrisons to augment the armies. At length with joint consent, in time and place, the battle was fought. The Carthaginians won the day. The greatest part of the African army was slain upon the spot; the rest fled to a town, that, not being defensible, quickly surrendered; Matho himself was there taken alive. Immediately upon this victory all the African cities which had been in the rebellion submitted to their old masters, Utica and Hippo only excepted; these, by their treacherous and outrageous proceedings, having cut off from themselves all hopes of pardon. However, these also were constrained to surrender at mercy. Matho and his companions, being led in triumph to Carthage, were put to death by all the torments that revenge could devise.

“ Thus was a period given to this inextinguishable war, which had lasted three years and near four months, and had abounded with more acts of wickedness and cruelty than any other to be met with in story.”

Year of
R O M E
515.
B. C. 237.

214th con-
sulship.

ROME during all this time^r took no advantage of her rival's distress to promote her ruin, but continued faithfully to observe the treaty of peace with her ; and even assisted her as a friend in many instances. Once, indeed, there seemed to be some danger of a rupture. For as the Carthaginians, at the beginning of this war, made prize of all vessels that came on the coast of Africa, to supply the rebels with provisions, it happened that they had at one time in custody 500 Italians, whom they had taken carrying on this traffic for the profit of private merchants. The Romans, offended at the detaining of these traders in prison, began to turn their thoughts to revenge ; but they were soon appeased by a respectful embassy from Carthage, who restored the prisoners in so frank a manner, that the Romans, not to be behind her in courtesy, enlarged, without ransom, all the Carthaginian captives, that yet remained of those who had been taken during the Sicilian war. They also permitted their merchants to supply Carthage with whatsoever she stood in need of, and prohibited all commerce with her enemies. Nay, more than this, when the people of Utica, having revolted from the Carthaginians, would have put that city into the hands of the Romans, the latter rejected the overture ; as they also did an offer made them of the island of Sardinia by the mercenaries there, who, following the example of those in Africa, had turned their arms against the masters in whose pay they were, and had forcibly seized upon that island.

Sir W. R.

This behaviour towards a rival power (says a learned writer) might have served as a notable example of Roman faith to all posterity, had not the issue proved that it proceeded wholly from the hope of greater profit thereby, than could reasonably be expected from an open violation of the treaty of peace. The whole estate of

^r Part of the Y. of R. 512.—Q. Lutatius, A. Manlius.

Y. of R. 513.—C. Claudius, M. Sempronius.

Y. of R. 514.—C. Mamilius, Q. Valerius.

Part of the Y. of R. 515.—Tib. Sempronius, P. Valerius.

Carthage depended, at that time, upon the virtue of Amilcar, and had he been overthrown by the rebels in one main battle, that mighty city must either have fallen into the hands of merciless villains, or have humbled herself under the protection of the Romans, with whom she had lately contended for superiority. She was once during the war reduced by the rebels to so great extremity, as not to be far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the Romans, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich but sinking ship, to run herself aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in Africa, and the Carthaginians began to prepare for the recovery of Sardinia, then did ambition put off her goodly visor. Though the Romans had formerly refused this island, when offered them by the mercenaries (who were afterward driven thence by the natives), they now resolved to take possession of it by force of arms. One of the consuls passed thither with an army, and denounced war against Carthage, under the shameless pretence, that the preparations made (by that enfeebled and impoverished city) to reduce Sardinia, were indeed designed against Rome. The Carthaginians were in no condition at this time to enter upon a new war with so potent an enemy: yielding therefore to necessity, they relinquished all pretensions to the island for ever; and not only so, but submitted to the exactions of the consul, who farther demanded of them, as the price of a peace, the sum of 1,200 talents: * detestable injustice and extortion, which, as Polybius assures us, were the chief cause of that bloody war, in which Hannibal afterward, with hereditary hatred and an implacable spirit of revenge, pushed the Romans to the very brink of destruction.

Year of
R O M E
515.
B. C. 237.

214th consulship.

Polyb. b 1.
c. 88.

Sinnius
Capito
apud Pomp.
Fest. in
voce Sardi
Venales.

* 232,500l.
Arbuthnot.

CHAP. XII.

- 512, 513, 514. For three years the Romans, having no war to maintain, employ themselves in establishing good order in Italy, and planting colonies in the neighbourhood of the Gauls and Ligurians. The republic desires to assist Ptolemy king of Egypt against Antiochus of Syria; but the Egyptian civilly declines the offer. At length the Boian Gauls breaking the peace with Rome, and the Ligurians being in motion, the Romans take the field. The consul Valerius is vanquished in a battle with the Boian Gauls. He afterward defeats them, while his colleague obtains a victory over the Ligurians. Next year the Romans act entirely on the defensive against the Boians; but offensively against the Ligurians, and with success. At 515. Rome the secular games are celebrated. The new consuls march against the Boians and Ligurians, who having called in to their assistance an army of Transalpine Gauls, take umbrage at their numbers, fall upon them, and put them to flight. The conquerors, weakened by their victory, are obliged to make peace with the Romans. The Corsicans in the mean time rebel, with whom Claudius Glycias, being sent against them, enters into a treaty, on terms dishonourable to the republic. She refuses to adhere to the treaty, delivers up Claudius to the resentment of the Corsicans, and then subdues them by force of arms. The Corsicans, in conjunction with Carthage, stir up the Sardinians to revolt. Hereupon Rome threatens the African republic with a war, but is diverted from it by an embassy from Carthage: and Sardinia being easily reduced the next year, the temple of Janus is shut for the first time since the reign of Numa Pompilius. A 518. few months after, the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Sardinians, take arms again. The 519. first instance of a divorce at Rome. Marriage-settlements introduced. Fabius 520. Maximus the consul subdues the Ligurians; his colleague triumphs for his exploits against the Sardinians. At the motion of Æbutius, a tribune of the people, the judicature of the centumvirs is erected. The following year Flaminius, another tribune of the people, proposes a law for dividing amongst the poor citizens of Rome some lands lately taken from the Gauls. In obedience to his father he 521. desists from his enterprise; but one of his colleagues carries it on, and succeeds, 522. notwithstanding the opposition of the senate. Sardinia and Corsica, now entirely subdued, are reduced to the form of a Roman province; and the conqueror of this latter island being refused a triumph, gives the first example of assuming that honour against the will of the senate.

Year of
R O M E
515.
B. C. 237.

214th con-
sulship.

Eutrop.
l. 3. c. 1.

DURING the three years and some months that the war of Carthage with her mercenaries had lasted, the Roman consuls had no affairs abroad, and seem to have chiefly employed their thoughts to establish good order in Italy, and to secure the frontiers against the Gauls and Ligurians, by planting colonies in their neighbourhood. The republic, however, would gladly have engaged in some quarrel, if she could have found a plausible pretence for it. Eutropius tells us, that after the conclusion of the war in Sicily, she sent ambassadors to Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt, to offer him her assistance against Antiochus of Syria, surnamed the God: but the Egyptian having got rid of his enemy before the ambassadors arrived, his answer was only a compliment of thanks. And we have seen, that after the conclusion of the

African war, in which Carthage was triumphant, the Romans would have renewed hostilities against that hated rival, on account of Sardinia, if they had not been prevented in this project, by an unwilling cession of that island to them.

Year of
R O M E
515.
B. C. 237.

214th con-
sulship.

But about the same time these ambitious and restless spirits found sufficient opportunity to keep their hardy legions in exercise. In the consulate of Tib. Sempronius and P. Valerius, those Italic Gauls who were called Boii, and who, after infinite losses and calamities sustained in their struggles with the Romans, had continued quiet forty-five years, resolved at length, upon some very trivial pretences, to break the peace which had been so long maintained with the republic. The old men, all those who had felt the hardships and sufferings of the former wars, being extinct, the young men, their successors, who had experienced nothing of those miseries, and feared nothing from fortune, began, according to the nature of man, to grow turbulent and desirous of some change in their condition; and this was the true source of their rash enterprise.

See b. 3.
c. 25. §. 1, 2.
Polyb. b. 2.
c. 21.

The Ligurians^s also (whom Rome had not yet begun to subdue) being in motion, and seeming to threaten her with war, the consuls for the year were obliged to divide their forces.

Liv. Epit.
20.

Valerius led a consular army against the Gauls, and was vanquished in his first battle with them, in which he lost 3,500 men. Upon the news of this defeat, the Romans immediately dispatched M. Genucius Cipus, one of the prætors, from the city, with a reinforcement for the consul. Valerius looking on this precaution as a personal affront, and believing that he was still strong enough to cope with the enemy, notwithstanding the blow he had received, hastened to attack them again, before Cipus could arrive. His soldiers were no less

Oros. b. 4.
c. 12.
Val. Max.
b. 5. c. 6.

^s Liguria comprehended at this time the whole extent of country between the Arno, the Apennines, the country of the Ananes, the Po, the maritime Alps, and the Ligurian sea (now the sea of Genoa).

Year of
R O M E
515.
B. C. 237.

214th con-
sulship.

zealous than himself to recover their honour; and being animated by this motive behaved themselves so gallantly, that they slew 14,000 of the Gauls, and took 2,000 prisoners. However, this victory did not obtain the consul a triumph, because he had been rash in the attempt, and had not paid sufficient deference to the sentiments of the senate and people.

In the meantime Sempronius, the other consul, gained a battle (though not a decisive one) against the Ligurians.

Year of
R O M E
516.
B. C. 236.

215th con-
sulship.

Zon. b. 8.

These wars were continued by the next year's consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus. Fulvius acquired no honour by the campaign. It was with great difficulty that he preserved his camp from being forced by the Gauls, whose country on this side of the Po he had entered; he was obliged to keep within his intrenchments, and to act entirely on the defensive.

Cornelius had better success against the Ligurians near Hetruria. He obtained a victory, for which he was rewarded with a triumph.

Eutrop.
b. 3. c. 1.

During these wars, preparations were made at Rome to celebrate the secular games:^t Hiero, king of Syra-

Ken. Antiq.
part 2.
b. 5. c. 7.
Lib. 2. c. 4.
Miscel.
c. 58.

^t *Ludi Seculares*, the most remarkable games that we meet with in the Roman story. The common opinion makes them to have had a very odd original, of which we have a tedious relation in Valerius Maximus, of the ancients, and Angelus Politianus of the moderns. Monsieur Dacier, in his excellent remarks on the secular poem of Horace, passes by this old conceit as trivial and fabulous, and assures us, that we need go no farther for the rise of the custom than to the Sibylline oracles, for which the Romans had so great an esteem and veneration.

In these sacred writings there was one famous prophecy to this effect; that if the Romans, at the beginning of every age, should hold solemn games in the Campus Martius to the honour of Pluto, Proserpine, Juno, Apollo, Diana, Ceres, and the Parcae, or three fatal sisters, their city should ever flourish, and all nations be subjected to their dominion. They were very ready to obey the oracle, and, in all the ceremonies used on that occasion, conformed themselves to its directions. The whole manner of the solemnity was as follows: in the first place, the heralds received orders to make an invitation of the whole world to come to a feast which they had never seen already, and should never see again. Some few days before the beginning of the games, the quindecimviri, taking their seats in the Capitol, and in the Palatine temple, distributed among the people purifying compositions, as flambeaux, brimstone, and sulphur. From hence the people passed on to Diana's temple on the Aventine mountain, carrying wheat, barley, and beans, as an offering; and after this they spent whole nights in devotion to the destinies. At length, when the time of the games was actually come, which continued three days and three nights, the people assembled in the Campus Martius, and sacrificed to Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, Latona, Diana, the Parcae, Ceres, Pluto, and Proserpine. On the first night of the feast, the emperor, accompanied by the quindecimviri, commanded three altars to be raised on the bank of the Tiber, which they sprinkled with the blood of three lambs, and then proceeded to burn the offerings and the victims. After this, they marked

cuse, came to see the show, and brought with him 200,000 modii (measures containing a peck and a half) of wheat, that the vast concourse of people might not cause a scarcity of provisions.

Year of
R O M E
516.
B. C. 236.

215th con-
sulship.

The year of the secular games was not a year of tranquillity. The new consuls, P. Cornelius Lentulus and

out a space which served for a theatre, being illuminated by an innumerable multitude of flambeaux and fires: here they sang some certain hymns composed on this occasion, and celebrated all kinds of sports. On the day after, when they had been at the Capitol to offer the victims, they returned to the Campus Martius, and held sports to the honour of Apollo and Diana. These lasted till the next day, when the noble matrons, at the hour appointed by the oracle, went to the Capitol to sing hymns to Jupiter. On the third day, which concluded the feast, twenty-seven young boys, and as many girls, sang, in the temple of Palatine Apollo, hymns and verses in Greek and Latin, to recommend the city to the protection of those deities whom they designed particularly to honour by their sacrifices.

The famous secular poem of Horace was composed for this last day, in the secular game held by Augustus. Dacier has given his judgment on this poem, as the masterpiece of Horace; and believes that all antiquity cannot furnish us with any thing more happily complete.

There has been much controversy, whether these games were celebrated every hundred or every hundred and ten years. For the former opinion, Censorinus* alleges the testimony of Valerius Antias, Varro, and Livy, and this was certainly the space of time which the Romans called *sæculum*, or an age. For the latter he pro-
* De Die Natali, c. 17.
duceth the authority of the registers, or commentaries of the quindecemviri, and the edicts of Augustus, besides the plain evidence of Horace in his secular poem; 21.

Certus undenos decies per annos, &c.

This last space is expressly enjoined by the Sibylline oracle itself; the verses of which, relating to this purpose, are transcribed by Zosimus in the second book of his history.

Ἄλλ' ὅπου ἂν μήκιστος ἴκη χρόνος ἀνθρώποισι
ζωῆς, εἰς ἑτέων ἑκατὸν δέκα κύκλον ὀδεύων, &c.

Yet, according to the ancient accounts we have of their celebration in the several ages, neither of these periods are much regarded.

The first were held A. U. C. 245, or 298.

The second A. 330, or 408.

The third A. 518.

The fourth either A. 605, or 608, or 628.

The fifth by Augustus, A. 736.

The sixth by Claudius, A. 800.

The seventh by Domitian, A. 841.

The eighth by Severus, A. 957.

The ninth by Philip, A. 1000.

The tenth by Honorius, A. 1157.

The disorder, without question, was owing to the ambition of the emperors, who were extremely desirous to have the honour of celebrating these games in their reign; and therefore, upon the slightest pretence, many times made them return before their ordinary course. Thus Claudius pretended that Augustus had held the games before their due time, that he might have the least excuse to keep them within sixty-four years afterward. On which account, Suetonius tells us, that the people scoffed at his criers, when they went about proclaiming games that nobody had ever seen, nor would see again; whereas there were not only many persons alive who remembered the games of Augustus, but several players, who had acted in those games, were now again brought on the stage by Claudius. Sueton. Claud. 21.

What part of the year the secular games were celebrated in, is uncertain; probably, in the times of the commonwealth, on the days of the nativity of the city, *i. e.* the 9, 10, 11, Kal. Maii, but under the emperors, on the day when they came to their power.

Mr. Walker
of Coins,
p. 168.

Year of
R O M E
517.
B. C. 235.

216th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 21.

Zon. b. 8.

C. Licinius Varus, were obliged to take the field to oppose the Gauls. The confidence of their leaders being raised by the multitudes of men they had assembled, and by the expectation of a strong reinforcement of their countrymen from the other side the Alps, they demanded the restitution of Ariminum, formerly taken from them by the Romans. Lentulus and Varus, to gain time (not having their troops complete), referred the matter to the determination of the senate, and in the interim agreed upon a truce with the enemy, whose commanders were very ready to consent to a cessation of arms till they should be joined by the forces they expected from Transalpine Gaul. When these forces arrived, their number proved so great as to give umbrage to those whom they came to assist. The Cisalpine Gauls, more afraid of the new comers than of the Romans, turned their arms against them, and put them to flight; but first slew their own two generals (or kings) Ates and Galates, for having, of their own head, and without consulting the nation, invited such dangerous allies to cross the Alps. The enemy being thus defeated by themselves, two consular armies were no longer necessary to repress them. Lentulus, with his legions alone, not only reduced the Boii to yield a part of their country as the condition of a peace; but took a great number of forts from the Ligurians, partly by force, and partly by composition.

In the meantime, Varus made preparations for going to the island of Corsica, which, by the secret intrigues of the Carthaginians, had been induced to throw off the Roman yoke. The consul, not finding a fleet ready to transport his whole army, sent away before him a small number of ships with a detachment under the command of that Claudius Glycias, who had formerly been named to the dictatorship in derision. Claudius had served, since that time, with good reputation, in several posts of a lower order, but had never commanded in chief.

Seeing himself now at the head of a part of the consular army, his ambition was raised, and fancying it would be much for his honour to gain this island to the republic without bloodshed, he, without the consent of consul or senate, made a shameful peace with the Corsicans. The consul, at his arrival, annulled the treaty, renewed the war, and subdued the island by force of arms. As for Claudius, by a decree of the senate, he was delivered up to the resentment of the Corsicans, for having drawn them (as it was alleged) into a bloody war by a fallacious peace: in which sentence the republic, beside the punishing a breach of duty and order, had the farther view of preventing the reproach that might have been cast upon the consul, for having made war on a people who depended on the faith of a treaty. However, the Corsicans disdained this reparation, and sent Claudius back to Rome. There he was put to death in prison, and then his body, being first carried to the top of the steps called Scalæ Gemoniæ, on which the bodies of the greatest malefactors used to be exposed, was thence dragged away with an iron crook, and thrown into the Tiber.

Year of
R O M E
517.
B. C. 235.
216th con-
sulship.

Dio apud
Vales. p.
593. Val.
Max. b. 6.
c. 3. §. 3.

This execution of Claudius did not satisfy the Corsicans, who had been amused by a treaty of peace, only to give their enemies the better opportunity to subdue them by a war. The near neighbourhood of Sardinia made it easy for them to communicate their discontent to the people of that island; and it is said, that Carthage underhand excited the Sardinians to revolt from the Romans; and that Rome, for this reason, made preparations for a new war with the African republic. Alarmed at this news, the Carthaginians sent ambassador after ambassador to negotiate an accommodation; but all in vain. At length they dispatched to Rome, for the same end, ten of the principal members of their state, among whom was one Hanno, a young man of great spirit and vivacity. When these new deputies had for

Zon. b. 8.
Eutrop.
b. 3. c. 2.

Oros. b. 4.
c. 12.

Year of
R O M E
517.
B. C. 235.

216th con-
sulship.

Dio in ex-
cerpt. xi.
p. 922.

awhile employed the lowest submissions and the humblest entreaties to procure a reconciliation, and all to no effect, Hanno, weary of so much cringing, and full of indignation at the rough and haughty answers of the senate, cried out with an air of confidence and dignity, “ Well, then, if you are resolved to break the treaty, reinstate us in the condition we were in before it was concluded. Restore to us SICILY and SARDINIA. With these we bought of you, not a short truce, but a peace that was to be perpetual.” The senators, ashamed, dismissed the deputies with a milder answer.

Year of
R O M E
518.
B. C. 234.

217th con-
sulship.

After this, the consuls for the new year, C. Attilius Balbus and T. Manlius Torquatus, drew lots for their provinces ; the former continued in Italy, while the latter easily recovered Sardinia, and settled peace there, but without reducing it to a Roman province.

Eutrop.
b. 3. c. 3.
Vell. Pat.
b. 2. c. 38.
Oros. b. 4.
c. 12.
Livy, b. 1.
c. 19.

And now the temple of Janus was shut up for the first time since the reign of Numa Pompilius. For near 450 years the Romans had been almost continually in arms : and so steady was their ambition, and so unwearied their constancy in pursuing its dictates, that in the succeeding parts of this history we shall see them, in spite of numberless misfortunes, still forming new enterprises upon the neighbouring nations, and never ceasing to push their conquests till they have attained to universal empire.

Year of
R O M E
519.
B. C. 233.

218th con-
sulship.

Zon. b. 8.
Livy, Epit.
20.
Tab. Tri-
umph.

The present tranquillity lasted but a few months. In the following consulship, of L. Posthumius Albinus and Sp. Carvilius, three armies were raised to act against the Sardinians, Corsicans, and Ligurians, who had (probably) engaged themselves, by secret treaties, mutually to assist one another. Posthumius succeeded against the Ligurians ; but the prætor Cornelius, who commanded in Sardinia, was, with many of his soldiers, carried off by distemper. Carvilius (from Corsica) transported his legions thither, gained a victory over the Sardinians, and then returned to Rome in triumph.

In this consulship, the censors, observing the number of the citizens to be considerably lessened, and imputing it to men marrying only with a view to interest, deserting their own wives for fear of having many children to maintain, and carrying on unlawful intrigues with other women, they obliged all the citizens to swear, that they would not marry with any other view than that of increasing the subjects of the republic. This oath raised many scruples; and caused many ruptures between husbands and wives. Among the rest one Carvilius Ruga, a considerable man, thought himself bound by his oath to divorce his wife, whom he passionately loved, because she was barren, and, accordingly, he put her away, contrary to his inclination, and married another; the first instance of divorce at Rome in 519 years, notwithstanding that the laws had always allowed it. And it was on this occasion that marriage-contracts were first introduced, to secure women's portions in case of divorces, which we shall see hereafter grow scandalously frequent, as a corruption of manners prevailed in the republic.

Year of
R O M E
519.
B. C. 233.
218th con-
sulship.

Gell. b. 4.
c. 3. and
b. 17. c. 21.
in fine.
Sulp. de
dotibus.
D. Hal.
p. 93.

The fresh revolts of the Sardinians and Ligurians obliged the new consuls, M. Pomponius Matho and Q. Fabius Maximus (the same Fabius who afterward acquired so much glory in the wars of Hannibal), to divide the Roman forces. It now falling to Fabius's lot to make war with the Ligurians, he drove them out of the flat country, and forced them to take shelter under the Alps. In the meantime, his colleague Pomponius sailed for Sardinia, and gained some victories there, for which a triumph was granted him at his return home.

Year of
R O M E
520.
B. C. 232.
219th con-
sulship.
Plut. Life
of Fab.

Tab. Tri-
umph.

It is conjectured, that about this time the Æbutian law (so called from the two Æbutii, tribunes of the people, who proposed it and got it passed) was promulged. It retrenched many frivolous customs, ordained by the twelve tables to be observed in processes relating to civil affairs, and it also directed that three able and ju-

A. Gell. b.
16. c. 10.

Year of
R O M E
520.

B. C. 232.

219th con-
sulship.

Pompon. de
Orig. Juris.

Year of
R O M E
521.

B. C. 231.

220th con-
sulship.

Cic. in Bru-
to, c. 14.
Polyb. b. 2.
c. 21.

Val. Max.
b. 5. c. 5.
§. 5.
Cic. de Inv.
Rhet. b. 2.
c. 17.

Plin. Jun.
b. 5.
Epist. 1.
Cicero de
Orat. b. 1.
c. 23.

dicious men should be chosen out of each tribe to form a new tribunal, which, subordinate to the prætors, might assist them, and remedy the inconveniences often occasioned by their absence from Rome. These new judges were called, for brevity's sake, centumvirs,^u though they were 105 in number; and when they were afterward augmented to 180, they still kept the same name.

The establishment of this new tribunal made no change as to the direction of state affairs, which continued wholly in the senate and *comitia*. Flaminius, one of the tribunes, made a motion to the commons, at this time, to distribute a fruitful country, lately taken from the Gauls, among the poor citizens of Rome. All motions of this kind had ever been opposed by the senators, out of private interest; and now they had indeed a better reason to unite their strength, in order to hinder Flaminius's motion from passing into a law. They foresaw that the Gauls, on both sides the Po, would impatiently bear the distribution proposed of those lands. Neither the threats of the present consuls, M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Publicius Malleolus, nor the entreaties of the senate, nor yet the tears of his own father, whom the patricians had gained over to them, could prevail with Flaminius to desist. On the day appointed for proposing the law to the *comitia*, he mounted the rostra, and spoke to the people in favour of it; but in the midst of his harangue, his father appearing on a sudden, ascended the rostra, took him by the arm, and commanded him to follow him home; and then Flaminius immediately obeyed without reply; and what is most extraordinary, not the least noise nor murmur was heard in the assembly. Nevertheless, the affair was now only postponed; it was afterward carried into execution;

^u They were divided into four courts or chambers. The causes, which fell under their cognizance, were such as related to prescriptions, guardianships, degrees of consanguinity or affinity, damages occasioned by inundations, contests about building or repairing middle walls, the windows a man might open upon his neighbour, with an infinite number of other matters, that often raised disputes between the inhabitants of the same city.

and what the senators had apprehended came to pass ; a dangerous war from the angry Gauls.

In the following year the new consuls, M. Pomponius Matho and C. Papirius Maso, entirely finished the conquest of the two islands of Sardinia and Corsica, which were then reduced to the state of a Roman province, upon the same foot as Sicily. It is probable, that after this regulation Pomponius continued in the new province to govern it in quality of proconsul or prætor, when the year of his consulate, which was not far from a conclusion, should expire ; but Papirius returned to Rome. At his arrival, he found the grand elections over ; a dictator had been created to hold the *comitia*, so that, during the few remaining days of his magistracy, he had nothing to do, and he also quickly perceived, upon trial, that he had no more credit than business. The senate, dissatisfied with him for some reason unknown, refused him a triumph. This provoked him to take a method entirely new, to do himself honour. At the head of his army, he marched to the temple of Jupiter Latialis, on the hill of Alba, with all the pomp with which triumphant victors were wont to march to the Capitol ; he made no alteration in the ceremony, except that instead of a crown of laurel, he wore a crown of myrtle, on account of his having defeated the Corsicans, in a place where was a grove of myrtles. This example of Papirius was afterward followed by many generals to whom the senate refused the honour of a triumph.

Year of
R O M E
522.
B. C. 230.

221st con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 21.
Zon. b. 8.

Fast. Cap.

Val. Max.
b. 3. c. 6.
Plin. b. 15.
c. 29.

Festus in
voce Myr-
tea.

CHAP. XIII.

THE FIRST ILLYRIAN WAR.

523. The Romans send ambassadors to Teuta, queen of a part of Illyricum, to complain of the piracies of her subjects. Teuta, offended at the haughty behaviour of one of the ambassadors, causes them all to be murdered in their return home. To
 524. revenge this insult, Rome employs both her consuls, who, assisted by Demetrius of Pharos, successfully begin the war; which is finished in the following year by
 525. a treaty of peace, dictated by the republic. Her acquaintance with the Greeks commences at this time.

Year of
R O M E
523.
B. C. 229.

222d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 2.
Appian. in
Illyr.

Zon. b. 8.
Dio. in Ex-
cerpt. xii.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 8.

THE next year M. Æmilius Barbula, and M. Junius Pera, being consuls, the republic engaged in a new war out of Italy. Illyricum, or rather that part of the country so called, which lies upon the Adriatic, and confines upon Macedon and Epirus, was at this time governed by a woman, named Teuta, the widow of king Agron, and guardian to her son Pinæus, under age. The success of her late husband's arms, who had vanquished the Ætolians, made her vain and presumptuous; and being governed by evil councils, she, instead of prudently managing the affairs of her ward in peace, commissioned her subjects to practise piracy on the sea-coast, and seize all the places they could; which was, in a manner, declaring herself a common enemy to all nations. Her pirates had taken many ships belonging to the Roman merchants, and she was now besieging the island of Issa, in the Adriatic; the inhabitants of which had put themselves under the protection of the republic. Upon the complaints of those merchants, and to protect the people of Issa, the senate dispatched two ambassadors, Caius and Lucius Coruncanius, to the Illyrian queen, to require of her that she would restrain her subjects from infesting the seas with their piracies. To this demand the queen answered, that she would take care that no injury should be done to the Romans by the Illyrian NATION, but that she thought it was never the custom of princes to hinder private subjects from making what advantages they could from the sea. "But the Romans (replied the younger of the ambas-

sadors) have an excellent custom, which is, to punish private injuries by a public revenge, and to relieve the oppressed. Teuta, by the help of the gods, we shall find means to make you speedily reform your royal institutions." The proud queen, angry to excess at these words, secretly contrived to have the ambassadors murdered on their return homeward. Upon the news of this cruel breach of the law of nations, the senate, having first done honour to the manes of the ambassadors, by erecting, as was usual in such cases, statues three feet high to their memory, equipped a fleet with all expedition to begin the war. Teuta, alarmed with these preparations, dispatched an embassy to Rome, to disown her having had any share in the murder, yet when the Romans demanded that the murderers should be delivered up, she peremptorily refused it.

Year of
R O M E
523.
B. C. 229.

222d con-
sulship.

Pliny, b. 34.
l. 6.
Dio. in Ex-
cerpt. xii.
con. b. 8.

The consuls therefore for the new year, P. Posthumius Albinus and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, both embarked for Illyricum. Fulvius had the command of the fleet, consisting of 200 galleys, and Posthumius of the land forces, which were 20,000 foot, and a small body of horse. The queen, in the beginning of the spring, had augmented her fleet, and sent it to plunder the coasts of Greece. One part sailed to Corcyra* (a small island lying near Pharos in the Adriatic), the rest anchored before Epidamnum. These, who had thought to surprise the town, having failed of their hope, rejoined the squadron that lay before Corcyra: the people of which place had called in the Ætolians and Achæans to their assistance.—Nevertheless, the Illyrians, being assisted by the Acarnanians, had the victory in a brisk action by sea: so that Corcyra, being no longer in a condition to defend itself, capitulated, and received an Illyrian garrison, commanded by Demetrius of Pharos: after which, the conquerors sailed to Epidamnum, and renewed the siege of that place.

Year of
R O M E
524.
B. C. 228.

23d con-
sulship.

Iolyb. b. 2.
c 11.

*Now Cur-
sola.

Fulvius sailed directly for Corcyra; and though he

Year of
R O M E
524.
B. C. 228.

223d con-
sulship.

learned by the way that the city had surrendered, he pursued his course, having a secret intelligence with Demetrius ; who, knowing that some ill offices had been done him with Teuta, and fearing her resentment, had promised the consul to deliver up the place to him ; and this he did with the consent of the Corcyræans, who thought it the only means of getting a protection from the insults of the Illyrians.

By the advice and assistance of the same Demetrius, the Romans (after Posthumius had landed his forces) made themselves masters of Apollonia (a great city, and one of the keys of Illyricum, on the side of Macedon), and of many other places, of which, to reward his services, they appointed him governor. Teuta was quickly constrained by Posthumius's army to retire for safety to the inner part of Illyricum, while Fulvius, with his naval forces, cleared the sea of her pirates.

Year of
R O M E
525.
B. C. 227

224th con-
sulship.

Upon the election of Sp. Carvilius and Q. Fabius Verrucosus to the consulate, Fulvius was recalled from Illyricum, with the greater part of the fleet, and of the land forces ; and Posthumius received orders to stay there with the remainder, in quality of proconsul. Teuta, who perhaps had built some hopes on a change of the Roman magistrates, finding that Posthumius not only wintered in Illyricum, but was raising fresh troops to pursue the war, sent early in the spring from Rhizon (whither she had retired), an embassy to Rome to divert the storm. The senate granted her a peace on these conditions : “ That she should pay an annual tribute to the Romans ; surrender to them all Illyricum, a few places excepted (Appian mentions Corcyra, Pharos, Issa, Epidamnum (or Dyrrachium), and the country of the Atintanes, as yielded to the Romans) ; and (which principally concerned the Greeks) that not more than two of her ships, and these unarmed, should be permitted to sail beyond Lissos,” a seaport on the confines of Illyricum and Macedon. Thus ended the first Illyrian

Polyb. b. 2
c. 12.
in Illyr.

war, which had not lasted quite two years. As for Teuta, whether out of shame, or compelled to it by a secret article of the treaty, she abdicated the regency, and Demetrius took her place.

Year of
R O M E
525.
B. C. 227.

224th con-
sulship.

Posthumius, after this, sent ambassadors to the Ætolians and Achæans, to lay before them the reasons for which the Romans had undertaken the war, what had been the events of it, and upon what terms a peace had been concluded. The ambassadors having performed their commission, returned to Corcyra much pleased with the courteous reception they had met with from those states. In reality, the treaty was of great benefit to the Greeks, and delivered them from vexations and perpetual fears: for all Greece had been plagued and infested with the Illyrian piracies.

Polybius remarks, that this was the first time that any Roman troops crossed the sea into Illyricum; and the first time that there was any intercourse by ambassadors between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, about the same time, sent ambassadors to Corinth and to Athens. They were honourably received. The Corinthians, by a public act, decreed that the Romans should be admitted to the celebration of the Isthmian games.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 12.

And Zonaras tells us, that the Athenians declared the Romans citizens of Athens, and decreed them the privilege of being admitted to the mysteries of Eleusis; that is, of the festival of Ceres, celebrated at Eleusis, a city of Attica.

Zon. b. 8.

CHAP. XIV.

526. The Gauls on both sides the Po take arms. To oppose these formidable enemies,
 527. the Romans make extraordinary preparations; and the next year obtain a complete victory over them. Yet the following consuls make no progress in the war.
 528. Their successors, though Rome, terrified by prodigies, had ordered them to return to the city, hazard a pitched battle, and gain the victory. Claudius Marcellus vanquishes in single combat the general of the Gauls, who, discouraged by his death, are put to flight. Insubria and Liguria submit, and are made one province, which takes the name of Cisalpine Gaul. Istria on the Adriatic is subdued by the republic.
 531.
 532.

Year of
R O M E

526.

B. C. 226.

225th consulship.

BEFORE the Illyrian war was well ended, the Italic Gauls on both sides the Po began to be in motion. Nevertheless, it does not appear that P. Valerius Flaccus and M. Attilius Regulus, the consuls for the new year, took the field against them, or performed any military exploit.^x

The Romans had the extremest dread of those enemies who had formerly reduced their state to the very brink of total destruction. There was a prophecy at this time current at Rome, 'That the Gauls and Greeks should one day be in possession of it.' This prophecy is said to have been found in the Sybilline books. The completion of it seemed now to approach, when the states of the republic were bounded on one side by the Greeks, and on the other by the Gauls. The succeeding consuls, therefore, M. Valerius Messala, and L. Apustius Fullo, consulted with the pontifices, how to quiet the apprehensions of the people; and immediately an edict was published by the decemvirs, who had the care of the Sybilline books, commanding that two Greeks, a man and a woman, and two Gauls, a man and a woman, should be buried alive in the Ox Market; and by this they persuaded the people, that the prophecy was fulfilled, and that the Gauls and Greeks had taken possession of Rome.

Year of
R O M E

527.

B. C. 225.

226th consulship.

Zon. b. 8.
Oros. b. 4.
c. 13.

Pomp. de
Orig. Juris.
Justinian
Instit. b. 1.
Ulpian, c.
11. de tutel.
lis.

^k Some authors say, that the first establishment of two provincial prætors, one for the government of Sicily, and one for that of Sardinia and Corsica, was in this consulate, and not at the time beforementioned. Be that as it will, it was in this year that, at the motion of two tribunes, Villius and Titius, a law passed, empowering the Roman prætors to appoint, as well in the provinces belonging to the republic as at Rome, guardians to those women and children who had none. This law was called *Villia Titia*.—*Catrou*.

The difficulties raised by superstition being thus surmounted, the Romans applied themselves to create divisions among the Gauls, and to levy a prodigious force; which (according to Polybius^y) amounted to near 700,000 foot, and near 70,000 horse, so great was the

Year of
R O M E
527.
B. C. 225.

226th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 24.

^y The numbers found upon the muster, as recorded by Polybius, are as follow :

	Foot.	Horse.
With the consuls marched four legions of Romans, each legion consisting of 5,200 foot and 300 horse	20,800	1,200
They had also with them of the allies	30,000	2,000
Of the Sabines and Hetrurians were sent, under the command of a prætor, to the frontiers of Hetruria	50,000	4,000
Of the Umbrians and Sarcinates (from the Apennines) 20,000, and as many of the Veneti and Cenomani were appointed to invade the Boii, in order to oblige them to keep a part of their forces at home for their own defence	40,000	
At Rome were kept ready to march (on any exigence), of the citizens	20,000	1,500
These were strengthened by a body of the allies, amounting to .	30,000	2,000
On the muster-rolls sent to the senate from the allies were,		
Of the Latins	80,000	5,000
Of the Samnites	70,000	7,000
Of the Iapyges and Messapyges	50,000	16,000
Of the people of Lucania	30,000	3,000
Of the Marsi, Marrucini, Ferentini, and Vestini	20,000	4,000
The Romans had also in Sicily and Tarentum, two legions, consisting each of 4,200 foot and 200 horse	8,400	400
Beside all these, of the common people in Rome and in Campania, were mustered as fit to bear arms	250,000	23,000
	699,200	69,100

Polybius, on occasion of this muster, expresses his admiration of the hardy enterprise of Hannibal, to attack an empire of such prodigious strength with an army of scarcely 20,000 men.

But Sir Walter Raleigh observes, that this muster seems to have been like to that which Lodowic Sforza made, when Lewis XII. invaded Milan; at which time, the better to encourage himself and his subjects, he took a roll of all persons able to bear arms within the dutchy, though indeed he was never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certain it is (adds our historian) that the battles of Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannæ, did not consume any such proportion as was answerable to this large account. Yet were the Romans fain to arm their slaves, even for want of other soldiers, after their overthrow at Cannæ. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the Carthaginians and others were little terrified with the report of such a multitude: for all heads are not fit for helmets; though the Roman citizens were in general as good fighting men as elsewhere might be found.

Another reason may be also assigned why Hannibal should not be much frightened at these muster-rolls, even supposing the far greater part of the men there registered, to be fit to bear arms. Polybius tells us, that the people of Italy, terrified at the approach of the Gauls, did not consider themselves now as being to fight only as allies of Rome, and for the preservation of her empire, but for their own proper safety, their families, their fortunes, all that was dear to them; and that it was for this reason they so readily executed the orders that were sent to them from the senate. The contest with the Gauls was looked upon as the common cause of all Italy.

But when Hannibal passed the Alps, the case was widely different; for we may well conclude, from the neutrality and cold behaviour generally observed by the allies of Rome on that occasion, that they looked upon this war as regarding her only, and in which they themselves had little concern.

Year of
R O M E
527.
B. C. 225.

226th con-
sulship.
Polyb. b. 2.
c. 23.

Year of
R O M E
528.
B. C. 224.

227th con-
sulship.
Polyb. l. 2.
c. 22.

C. 26.

C. 25.

terror which the threatened invasion from these barbarians spread over all Italy. The Gauls, nevertheless, with only 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse, began the hostilities, entered Hetruria, pillaging and laying waste the country, without opposition.

The republic had promoted L. Æmilius Papus and C. Attilius Regulus to the consulship. The latter went into Sardinia, to quiet some commotion there; while Æmilius took upon him the conduct of the war with the Insubrian and Boian Gauls, joined by a numerous army, from the other side of the Alps, of the Gæsataë,^z so called (says Polybius) because they served for pay, the word having that signification.—They were commanded by two kings, Concolitanus and Aneroestus.

Æmilius being uncertain what route the Gæsataë would take after they had passed the Alps, had led his troops to Ariminum, to hinder the enemy from entering upon the Roman lands by the coasts of the Adriatic sea. At the same time a prætor, with a body of 50,000 foot and 4,000 horse, had been ordered into Hetruria, to defend the frontiers of that country. But in his march, he missed of the enemy; who were advanced to the neighbourhood of Clusium (within three days' march of Rome), when they heard that a Roman army was behind them, and would soon be at their heels. They immediately turned back to meet the prætor, and give him battle. It being about the close of day when the two armies came in sight of each other, they both encamped. But in the night, the leaders of the Gauls, having meditated a stratagem, marched away with their infantry, towards Fæsula,^a leaving only their cavalry to appear in the field, when day should return. In the morning, the prætor seeing nothing but horse to oppose him, sallied

^z According to the Jesuits, the Gæsataë were not a particular people of Transalpine Gaul, but probably Germans dispersed through all the Gallic nations, whose profession was arms, and who hired themselves to whoever would employ them in war. They had their name from a weapon they bore, called gæsum.

^a A city of Hetruria at the foot of the Apennines.

out of his intrenchments and attacked them. The Gallic cavalry, according to their instructions, instantly gave ground, and took the road to Fæsula. Their flight drew the Romans after them, never suspecting that they should find the enemy's infantry in their way. The latter on a sudden appeared, and fell vigorously upon the prætor's troops, already fatigued with the pursuit. 6,000 of his men were killed upon the spot; the rest, in disorder, fled to a neighbouring hill, where they intrenched themselves.—The first thought of the Gallic generals was to force the enemy immediately in this post; but considering afterward that their own troops were wearied with the former night's march, they thought it best to give them some repose, and defer the attack till the next day.

Year of
R O M E
528.
B. C. 224.

227th consulship.

In this distress of the prætor's army, the consul Æmilius came seasonably to their relief. Being informed of the approach of the Gæsatae towards Rome, he had instantly quitted his camp at Ariminum, and had marched with expedition to the defence of his country. He was now encamped within a small distance from the enemy; and the prætor's troops, seeing the fires in his camp, and conjecturing the truth, took courage. The Gauls perceiving the same fires, were greatly alarmed at the consul's unexpected arrival; and being unwilling to hazard by a battle the loss of the rich booty they had got, they, by the advice of their king, Anercestus, decamped in the night, purposing to march home through Insurbria; and when they had secured their booty, to return to the war. In their march they kept along the shore of the Hetrurian sea. Æmilius, though his army was now strengthened by the remains of the prætor's troops, did not think it advisable to hazard a pitched battle; but chose rather to follow the enemy close, and watch his opportunity to harass them in their retreat, and, if possible, to recover some part of the spoils they were carrying off. It luckily happened, that his colleague,

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 26—31.

Year of
R O M E
528.
B. C. 224.

227th con-
sulship.

Attilius, having put a speedy end to the troubles in Sardinia, had, in his return home, landed with his army at Pisa, and was now marching along the coast of the Hetrurian sea towards Rome: he was overjoyed when, near Telamon, a little port of Hetruria, he learned, by his scouts, the situation of things. And, in order to intercept the Gauls, he immediately drew up his infantry, making as wide a front as he could; and then commanded them to advance slowly to meet the enemy. He himself hastened with his cavalry to the top of a hill, by the foot of which the enemy must necessarily pass. His ambition was to have the chief glory of the success; and he persuaded himself that by being the first to begin the battle, he should obtain that advantage.

The Gauls imagined at first, that this body of Roman horse was only a detachment from Æmilius's army, and therefore ordered their cavalry to advance and drive them from their post. As for Æmilius, as soon as he perceived fighting at a distance, he concluded it was his colleague Attilius attacking the enemy in front, for he had been informed of his landing at Pisa. He immediately detached all his horse to fetch a compass and join those of Attilius. Upon the arrival of so powerful a reinforcement the Romans renewed the attack with more briskness than ever. Attilius, fighting with the utmost intrepidity, was killed in the engagement. A Gaul cut off his head, and sticking it on the top of a lance, carried it through all the files of the Gallic troops. However, the death of this brave man proved no advantage to them. One of his lieutenants took his place, and the action was continued as before. The Romans in the end had the victory, and kept possession of their post.

During the conflict between the cavalry on both sides, the Gallic generals had time to form their infantry. Having two consular armies to deal with, one in their front, the other in their rear, they divided their battalions pretty equally, one half of them turning their backs

to the other half; and to avoid being attacked in flank, they placed all their waggons and other carriages on the wings. Their plunder they had carried to a neighbouring hill, where they left it under a good guard.

Year of
R O M E
528.
B.C. 224.

227th con-
sulship.

The Gæsataë, who made the first line of the troops that faced Æmilius, confiding in their gigantic stature and strength, and observing that the plain where they were drawn up was full of bushes and briers, to avoid being incommoded in the battle by the thorns catching in their clothes, stripped themselves naked, keeping only their arms. But this vain confidence proved their destruction. For having only small bucklers, which were not sufficient to ward their huge bodies from the darts that were unexpectedly showered upon them by the Romans at a distance, they presently fell into discouragement and perplexity. Some, transported with rage and despair, threw themselves madly upon the enemy, where they found certain death; others, pale, discomfited, and trembling, drew back in disorder, breaking the ranks that were behind them. And thus were quelled, at the very first attack, the pride and ferocity of the Gæsataë.

And now the Roman dartmen, retiring within the intervals of the army, the cohorts advanced to encounter the Insubrians, Boians, and Tauriscans, who fought with great resolution; for though they were hard pressed, and covered with wounds, they sustained the shock and kept their post, and may be truly said to have been inferior to the Romans only in their arms. Their shields were not so large as those of the Romans, and their swords were made only for cutting. Nevertheless they maintained the fight till the Roman cavalry, who had been victorious on the eminence, driving at once full speed upon them, put an end to the struggle. The defeat was general; 40,000 of the Gauls remained dead upon the field of battle, and 10,000 were made prisoners, together with Concolitanus, one of their kings. The rest escaped by flight; but Aneroestus, their other

Diod. Sic.
b. 25. in
Eclog.

Year of
R O M E
528.

B. C. 224.

227th con-
sulship.

king, the bravest soldier and most experienced commander of all the Gauls, cut his throat afterward in rage and despair. Æmilius after this victory marched his army into the country of the Boian Gauls, enriched his soldiers with booty, and then returned to Rome, where he had a magnificent triumph.

Year of
R O M E
529.

B. C. 223.

228th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 31.

The fear of the Gallic war was over, but the desire of revenge remained; and the next year's consuls therefore, T. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, had Gaul assigned them for their provinces. But these great men did not succeed to the expectation of the Romans, nor pass the Po as it was hoped they would. Their marches were retarded by violent rains, and a plague infected their army, which latter calamity not suffering them to return to Rome at the usual time, the famous Cæcilius Metellus was created dictator, to hold the *comitia* in their absence for the new elections.

Fast. Cap.

Year of
R O M E
530.

B. C. 222.

229th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 32.

C. Flaminius Nepos and P. Furius Philo, being chosen consuls, put the design of their predecessors in execution, and notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the Gauls, passed the Po, and entered Insubria; but having suffered much, both in their passage and afterward, and finding they could perform nothing of moment, they made a truce with this people, and retired into the territory of their friends the Cænomani. There they continued awhile augmenting their army with auxiliaries; and then renewed their incursions on the Insubrian plains at the foot of the Alps. Hereupon the princes of this nation, perceiving the fixed determination of the Romans to subdue them, resolved to put all to the hazard of a battle; and having collected all their strength, which amounted to 50,000 men, marched against the enemy, and encamped within sight of them.

Zon. b. 8.
Plut. Life of
Marcel.
and Oros.
b. 4. c. 13.

It happened a little before this, that the Romans were much frightened by various prodigies in the heavens, in the waters, and upon the earth. In Hetruria, extraordinary lights appeared in the air. At Ariminum three

moons were seen at the same time. A river of Picenum rolled waters as red as blood. The Italians felt the violent earthquake that overturned the colossus of Rhodes. At Rome, a vulture lighted in the middle of the Forum, and stayed there a considerable time. The augurs being consulted upon these prodigies, declared that there must have been some defect in the ceremonial at the election of the consuls; upon which, a courier was immediately dispatched from the senate, with letters commanding them to return to Rome. But when these letters arrived, the consuls being on the banks of the river Addua, were in sight of the powerful army of the Insubrians; and Flaminius, either guessing at the substance of the letters, or having been informed of it by his friends, prevailed with his colleague not to open the packet till after the battle.

Year of
R O M E
530.
B. C. 222.

229th consulship.

The Romans, being sensible that the enemy exceeded them in numbers, had intended to use the aid of those Gauls with whom they had reinforced their army. But now, remembering the faithlessness of these people, who were to be employed against troops of the same nation, they could not resolve to trust them in the present important conjuncture. At the same time it was by no means proper to express a diffidence of them, in such a manner as should give them occasion of quarrel. Flaminius, to free himself from this perplexity, made his Gauls pass to the other side of the river on a bridge of boats; and then, by causing the boats to be hauled to his own side, put it out of the power of those suspected troops to do him any harm during the action. By this means also his own army was left without any hopes but in victory; for the river which they had at their backs was unfordable. Thus far the conduct of Flaminius appears commendable; but he was guilty of a great oversight in drawing up his army too near the brink of the river; for he left so little space between that and his rear, that had the Romans been ever so

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 32, 33.

Year of
R O M E
530.
B. C. 222.

229th con-
sulship.

Oros. b. 4.
c. 13.

Zon. b. 8.

little pressed during the engagement, they had no whither to retire but into the water. However, this defect of the consul's management was supplied by the bravery and skill of his soldiers, instructed by their tribunes. These officers had observed in former conflicts, that the Gauls were not formidable but in the ardour of their first attack, and that their swords were of such a fashion and temper as, after two or three good cuts, to stand bent in their hands, and so become useless to them if they had not time to straighten them on the ground with their foot. The tribunes therefore furnished the first line of the Roman troops with the arms of the triarii, or third line; that is to say, with long javelins, like our halberts, and ordered the soldiers first to make use of these, and then to draw their swords. These precautions had the desired success. The swords of the Gauls by the first strokes on the Roman javelins became blunted, bent, and useless; and then the Romans closing in with them, stabbed them in the face and breast with their pointed swords, making a terrible slaughter. Nine thousand of the enemy were killed, and 17,000 taken prisoners.

After the action the consuls opened the packet. *Furius* was for immediately obeying the order; *Flaminius* insisted on pursuing the war: "The victory (he said) was a sufficient proof that there had been no defect in the auguries, and that the letters of revocation were wholly from the envy of the senate; that he would finish his enterprise, and would teach the people not to be deceived by the observation of birds, or any thing else." Pursuant to this resolution, he attacked and took several castles, and one considerable town, with the spoils of which he enriched his soldiers, to prepare them for his defence in that quarrel which he knew would arise between him and the senate. His colleague would not accompany him in these expeditions, but continued encamped, waiting to join him when he should return from his incursion.

When the two colleagues came back to Rome with their armies, the people, as well as the senate, at first shewed their resentment by a very cold reception; but the troops of Flaminius, whom he had enriched, found means to prevail with the former to grant both the consuls the honours of the triumph. The senate, however, obliged these magistrates afterward to depose themselves; such a respect, says Plutarch, had the Romans for religion, making all their affairs depend on the sole will of the gods, and never suffering, even in their greatest prosperities, the least contempt or neglect of the ancient oracles, or of the usages of their country; being fully persuaded, that what most contributed to the welfare of their state, was not the success of their arms, but their steady submission to the gods.

Year of
R O M E
530.
B. C. 222.

229th con-
sulship.

Life of
Marcellus.

The *comitia* being held by an interrex, M. Claudius Marcellus (of a plebeian branch of the Claudian family), who became afterward so famous, was raised to the consulate with Cn. Cornelius Scipio. They were scarce entered upon their office, when a deputation came to Rome from the Insubrians, to implore a peace; but the senate, at the instigation of the new consuls, who represented those Gauls as an untractable people, on whom there could be no dependance, dismissed their deputies with a refusal. Upon this they resolved to bring into Italy a fresh inundation of Gæsataë, who were always ready to fight for hire. Thirty thousand of these mercenaries crossed the Alps, under the command of their king, Viridomarus.

Year of
R O M E
531.
B. C. 221.

230th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 34.

Early in the spring, the consuls passed the Po, and laid siege to Acerræ, a place near that river, and in the neighbourhood of Cremona. The Gauls were now 90,000 strong, yet they thought it more advisable to oblige the Romans to raise the siege of that frontier town, by making a useful diversion, than to hazard a battle. Viridomarus, therefore, with 10,000 men, passed the Po, entered the Roman territories, and advanced towards

Year of
R O M E
531.
B. C. 221.

230th con-
sulship.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Clastidium in Liguria. Upon the news of this motion of the Gauls, Marcellus, followed by only two-thirds of the Roman cavalry, and about 600 of the light-armed infantry, left his camp, and came up with the enemy near the place before-named. He drew up his little army all in one line, giving it as much extent as he could. The Gauls, seeing the infantry of the Romans so inconsiderable, and always despising their cavalry, had no doubt of the victory. But when the two armies were just ready to join battle, Viridomarus advancing before his troops, defied the Roman general to single combat. Marcellus joyfully accepted the challenge (for single combat was his talent), rushed upon his enemy, killed him, and stripped him of his armour; and then the Gæsataë were so disheartened, that the victor, with his handful of Romans, put them entirely to flight.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 34.

Eutrop.
b. 3. c. 6.
Zon. b. 8.

During the absence of Marcellus, his colleague had taken Acerræ, and laid siege to Milan (or Mediolanum), the chief city of Insubria, but was himself besieged by the Gauls, while he lay before the town. The return of the victorious consul changed the scene; the Gæsataë quite discouraged broke up their camp, fled, and repassed the Alps; and Milan immediately surrendered at discretion. Como was reduced to the same necessity: and, in short, the whole nation of the Insubrians submitted to receive law from the republic. Insubria and Liguria were now made one province, and called Cisalpine Gaul; and thus did all Italy become subject to Rome, from the Alps to the Ionian sea.

Vide Pigh.
ad Ann.
531.

Plut. Life of
Marcellus.

Fast. Cap.

See b. 1. c.
2. §. 12. and
b. 2. c. 33.
§. 1.

The senate decreed Marcellus a triumph, and it was said in the decree to be, for having conquered the Insubrians and Germans, which makes it probable that the Gæsataë were originally German. The consul, in his triumphal procession, carried on his shoulders a trophy of the spoils of Viridomarus; and this was the third and last triumph in which any *opima spolia* were seen at Rome. As for Cornelius, Marcellus's colleague, he was

continued in the new province, as proconsul, to regulate the affairs of it; and the same *comitia* which allotted him that post, chose M. Minucius Rufus and P. Cornelius Scipio Asina, to be the consuls for the new year. The conquest of Istria, on the borders of the Adriatic, was the only military exploit during their magistracy.

Year of
R O M E
532.
B. C. 220.

231st con-
sulship.

Eutrop.
b. 3. c. 7.

CHAP. XV.

THE SECOND ILLYRIAN WAR.

Demetrius of Pharos, whom Rome had appointed guardian to the young Illyrian king, despises her orders, and attacks her allies. The present consuls being obliged to abdicate their office, and the season being too far advanced for their successors to begin a new war, Æmilius Paulus, and his colleague Livius Salinator, go the next year with an army into Illyricum. Demetrius flies for protection to the court of Philip of Macedon. Livius, on his return to Rome, is condemned by the tribes, for having applied part of the spoil to his own use. Roman colonies are planted at Placentia and Cremona, in the territories of the Gauls.

533.
534.

ABOUT this time, Demetrius of Pharos, whom the Roman republic had placed in the government of Illyricum, and guardianship of the young king, Pinæus, seeing the Romans engaged in a troublesome war with the Gauls, and that Carthage wanted only a fair opportunity to break with them, had despised their orders, forced the Atintanes to renounce their alliance with the republic, and sent fifty ships of war beyond Lissos, to pillage the islands called Cyclades, in the Archipelago.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 16.
App. Illyr.
Dio. in
Eclog. 9.
ap. Vales.

The new consuls, L. Veturius Philo and C. Lutatius, would have sailed for Illyricum, if they had not been forced to depose themselves upon some defect found in the ceremony of their election. They were succeeded by M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Valerius Lævinus; but the season was now too far advanced to begin the expedition, so that it was postponed to the next consulship. [By a census taken this year, the number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be 270,213. The census, as usual, was followed by a lustrum, the forty-third from its institution.]

Year of
R O M E
533.
B. C. 219.

232d con-
sulship.

Vide Pigh.
ad Ann.
533.
Liv. Epit.
b. 20.

Both the consuls of the new year, M. Livius Salinator and L. Æmilius Paulus, embarked for Illyricum. De-

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 16. 18,
19.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

metrius had assisted Philip, king of Macedon (while a minor under the tuition of his uncle, Antigonus Doson), in his wars with the Lacedemonians, and had thereby secured himself a retreat with that prince, in case of a disaster. He had also fortified Dimalum, a city of importance in Illyricum; and having assembled the choicest of his troops in the island of Pharos, his own country, held his court there. Early in the spring, Æmilius sat down before Dimalum, and by surprising efforts took it in seven days; upon which all the old allies of Rome, who had been compelled to submit to the tyrant, returned joyfully to their former engagements. The next attempt was upon Pharos, the last refuge of the traitor. As the enterprise was difficult, Æmilius thought it necessary to join artifice to valour. The Roman fleet had two consular armies on board it; one of them was ordered to land on the island in the night, and hide itself in forests and behind rocks. This done, a detachment of the fleet appeared off Pharos in open day, as it were with design to land some forces there. Demetrius drew his army out of the town to the sea shore, to hinder the descent; which when the legionaries that were already landed perceived, they left their ambush, and, marching silently, seized an eminence between the city and the port. It was of the last consequence to Demetrius to drive the Romans from this post, and therefore, having encouraged his men, he led them straight to the attack.

This gave the consuls on board the fleet an opportunity to make their descent, and then the Illyrians, finding themselves invested on all sides, presently took to flight. As for the regent, he made his escape to Macedon, in a bark kept ready for that purpose.

Polyb. b. 4.
c. 66.

B. 3. c. 19.

The defeat of the Illyrian army was followed by the taking of Pharos, which the Romans first plundered, and then levelled with the ground. Thus Rome became a second time mistress of Illyricum. However, she did

not reduce it to the state of a Roman province, having some compassion for the young king, who had been embarked in these affairs merely by the fault of his guardians.

The consuls returned to Rome, and obtained a triumph for their victories. Their conduct, nevertheless, had not been in all respects pleasing to the people, as appeared after the expiration of their magistracy.^b Livius and Æmilius were then accused before the tribes of having applied a great part of the spoils taken from the enemy to their own use, and of having distributed the rest of the booty partially among the soldiers. Æmilius upon his trial was acquitted, but Livius was condemned by all the tribes except the Mæcian, an affront which he resented to excess, as we shall see hereafter when he comes to be censor.

In this consulship, the senate observing that the great concourse of strangers from Egypt and the Levant had introduced into the city the worship of Isis and Osiris, to whom several sanctuaries were already built, ordered these to be all demolished, agreeably to one of the twelve tables, forbidding the worship of strange gods. No workman, however, would venture the guilt of sacrilege by doing it, such credit had their worship gained among the people.—The consul Æmilius, therefore, full of zeal for the religion and laws of his country, laid aside his consular robe, took a hatchet, and beat down those oratories to the ground.

But the most important transaction of this year was the planting colonies at Placentia and Cremona in the Gallic territories; this being the chief motive which inclined the Boians and Insubrians to favour Hannibal in his attempt upon Italy, that memorable and surprising event which is next to engage the reader's attention.

^b It was at this time Archagathus of Peloponnesus introduced surgery into Rome. At first he met with great applause, and a shop was built for him at the public charge, in a part of the city where four streets met; but as his constant practice in the cure of wounds was to make large incisions, which are painful remedies, his art soon fell into disrepute.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.
App. in
Illyr.
Auth. of the
Lives of
Illust. Men,
c. 50.

Front. Strat.
b. 4. c. 1.
§. 45.
Liv. b. 29.
c. 37.

Val. Max.
b. 1. c. 3.
§. 3.

Livy, Epit.
b. 20.
Livy, b. 21.
c. 25.

Plin. b. 29.
c. 1.

CHAP. XVI.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, OR THE WAR OF HANNIBAL.—ITS CAUSES AND COMMENCEMENT.

The spirit of revenge with which Amilcar left Sicily, and which he communicated to his son Hannibal, is reckoned the first cause of the second Punic war. The unjust seizure of Sardinia by the Romans, the second and principal cause. The successive victories of Amilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, the third cause.

Hannibal. Hannibal attacks the Saguntines, a people in alliance with Rome, and the only Spaniards who, on the south of the Iberus, remained unsubdued to the Carthaginian dominion. He reduces Saguntum, after a siege of eight months. The
535. Romans order Sempronius, one of their consuls, into Africa, and P. Cornelius Scipio, the other consul, into Spain, and at the same time send an embassy to Carthage, demanding that Hannibal should be delivered up to them, to be punished for his unjust infraction of the peace between the two republics; this being refused, and war denounced on both sides, the Carthaginian general settles the affairs of Spain, leaves his brother Asdrubal to command on the south side of the Iberus, and crosses that river with a great army.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

See b. 4.
c. 10.

TWENTY-TWO years were now past, since Carthage, bending to the superior fortune of Rome, had, with shame and reluctance, submitted to the hard conditions of that treaty, which put an end to the first Punic war. To relinquish the fair island of Sicily to an imperious rival, was a sore and grievous article; and perhaps the payment of those large sums, that were farther exacted for the peace, was a yet more sensible mortification to a republic of avaricious merchants: but necessity compelled; nor could even the courage and abilities of the incomparable Amilcar furnish any remedy, in the then distressful situation of affairs. For after the defeat of Hanno at the Ægates, which made the Romans masters of the sea, neither the army of Amilcar at Eryx, nor the garrisons of Lilybæum and Drepanum, could receive any supply of provisions or military stores. Sicily therefore was unavoidably lost: the army might be preserved; but the only visible way to preserve it, was by a peace with the enemy. Amilcar's immediate object in the treaty was this preservation of the troops. Yet even this neither he nor they would consent to purchase at the expense of their honour as soldiers. They chose rather to perish than to give up their arms. As for the annual sums which the consul Lutatius demanded from Carthage, Amilcar, on the part of his republic, readily yielded to

that imposition. Nor did he much hesitate in complying with the farther demands of money, which the ten commissioners from Rome insisted upon, before they would ratify the peace. What rendered him so tractable on this head, was doubtless (beside the danger of his army) the resolution he had secretly formed, that no more of the stipulated tribute should be paid, than was required to be paid at the time of the ratification. For, as we learn from Polybius, he was determined to renew the war against Rome as soon as it should be possible to do it. Whatever fears some of the citizens of Carthage might have of the war's being transferred from Sicily to their own gates, if a peace were not concluded, it is evident that Amilcar, with that army of hardy veterans he then commanded, feared no enemy but famine; and could he have found means to transport those troops safely into Africa without a peace, he would have entered into no treaty with the Romans.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

B. 3. c. 9.

The indignation of Amilcar, when he was constrained to leave Eryx and abandon Sicily, is assigned by Polybius for the FIRST CAUSE of that memorable war which we are going to enter upon: for though this implacable enemy of the Romans did not live to attempt that vengeance, which to his last breath he was ever meditating, we shall presently see, that his spirit of revenge was not extinguished by his death.

The dreadful and destructive conflict at home, to which, on his return thither from Sicily, he was obliged to give all his attention during more than three years, unavoidably suspended the execution of his purpose against Rome.—And when that domestic disturbance was happily quelled, the treasury and strength of Carthage were too much exhausted to furnish what was necessary to support her in so arduous an enterprise. The Romans, sensible of her weakness, took advantage of it (as we have seen) to extort from her not only the ces-

See b. 4.
latter part
of c. 11.

sion of Sardinia, but the sum of 1,200 talents; a fine

Year of
R O M E
534.

B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 10.

shamelessly demanded for the reparation of an injury they had not received. And this odious extortion is held to be the SECOND and the PRINCIPAL CAUSE of that war, which followed it at almost twenty years' distance. For so barefaced an injustice, so insulting a procedure, as it furnished Carthage with a just ground to attack the Romans whenever she should be in a condition to do it, so it also brought all the Carthaginians in general to concur with their brave captain in his resentment and designs ; it being now sufficiently manifest, that they must either resolve to become obedient subjects of Rome, or take some effectual measures to render themselves the more potent republic.

With this view, Amilcar, soon after the re-establishment of tranquillity at home, by the suppression of the mercenaries and rebels, had a new army committed to him, to be employed in extending the Carthaginian empire in Spain ; a country that both abounded with riches, and was able to supply the republic with a sufficient number of brave troops, to make head against those multitudes of soldiers with which Italy furnished the Romans.

C. 11.

How deeply Amilcar's hatred to Rome had rooted itself in his heart, and that revenge was his chief aim in this expedition, we have a singular and incontestible proof, in what he did just before his departure from Africa. His son Hannibal, at that time about nine years old, was with him, when he performed a sacrifice to Jupiter for the success of his intended voyage. The rites being all ended, and Amilcar having ordered the rest of the assistants to withdraw, he called his son to him, and tenderly caressing the boy, asked him whether he were willing to accompany him into Spain ? The boy not only most readily declared his consent, but with all the blandishments and eager vivacity peculiar to children, begged of his father, that he would permit him to go. Amilcar then taking him by the hand, led him to

the altar, made him lay his hand upon it, touch the sacrifice, and swear, That he would never be in friendship with the Romans.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C, 218.

The Carthaginian passed the Straits of Hercules, and landed with his army on the western coast of Spain.

233d consulship.

Nine years he conducted the war in this country with uninterrupted success,^c reducing many nations to the obedience of his republic; but at length in a battle which he fought with the Vetones, a people of Lusitania* (defending himself a long time with admirable resolution), he was encompassed and slain; carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and reputation, which by many signal victories he had acquired, together with the name of a second Mars.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 1.

* Portugal.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 10.

This happened about the time when the Romans made their first expedition against the Illyrians.

See p. 565.

Upon the death of Amilcar, the command of the army was given to his son-in-law Asdrubal, at that time admiral of the galleys. He was no bad soldier, and a very able statesman; by his wisdom and gentle manners attracting the good-will of many princes of that country, and gaining more subjects to Carthage by his wonderful address in negotiation, than his predecessor had done by the sword. He also built New Carthage (the present Carthagenæ), a town commodiously situated to be a magazine of arms, and to receive succours from Africa.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 13.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 2.

Rome began now to be alarmed. Her jealousy of Carthage had been asleep during Amilcar's remote conquests in Spain: but the formidable growth of her

^c According to Zonaras, in the consulate of Q. Fabius and M. Pomponius, [in the 520th of Rome, when Amilcar had been about five years in Spain] the Romans believing that the wars they had to sustain against the Ligurians and Sardinians, were owing to the secret practices of the Carthaginians, sent to these some ambassadors, who demanded of them, in harsh terms, certain sums of money due by treaty, and that they should forbear touching at any of the islands in the Roman jurisdiction; and, to gain the readier compliance to these demands, the ambassadors presented a caduceus and a javelin, the one a symbol of peace, the other of war, bidding the senate take their choice. The Carthaginians, nothing terrified at this menace, answered, that they would choose neither, but would readily accept whichever they should think fit to leave them.

If this story [which does not seem probable] be true, the boldness of the Carthaginians proceeded doubtless from the great success of Amilcar in Spain.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

See p. 568.
Polyb. b. 2.
c. 13.

rival's power, under the management of Asdrubal, awakened it. She did not dare, however, to exact any thing of the Carthaginians very grievous, or to commence hostilities against them, being at this time in extreme dread of the Gauls, who threatened her with an invasion. Ambassadors were therefore sent to Asdrubal,^d to draw him by fair words into a treaty, wherein he should covenant, "That the Carthaginians would confine their arms within the Iberus." No mention was made of any other part of Spain in this treaty.

As the Spanish affairs had no relation to the peace between the two states, this demand was unreasonable; and the Romans seem to have sought by it a pretext of quarrel, when by freeing themselves from the Gauls, they should be in a condition to begin a new war with Carthage. For should Asdrubal refuse to engage, or, engaging, not perform, they would in either case be furnished with such a pretext, though perhaps in neither would the pretext be just.^e

Asdrubal was full of the same spirit as Amilcar, and had the same designs ever at heart. However, he made no difficulty to comply with the motion of the ambassadors, having much to do before he could pass that boundary which the Romans were for fixing to his conquests.

Sir W. R.

By this treaty Rome acquired some reputation in Spain. For when it was conceived by the Spaniards, that the African republic, which sought to be mistress over them, stood herself in fear of a more potent state, they began to turn their eyes hither for protection; and the Saguntines, whose city was on the south-side of the Iberus, entered into a confederacy with the Romans, and were gladly received.

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 36.

When Asdrubal had governed in Spain for the space of eight years, he was treacherously murdered by a cer-

^d According to Appian, the treaty was made at Carthage, but the sequel proves this to be false.

^e This will be explained when we come to the proper place for it.

tain Gaul,^f whom he had provoked by some injury. The Carthaginians, upon receipt of this news, suspended the nomination of a new commander, till they could learn the inclinations of the army; and they no sooner understood that the soldiers had unanimously made choice of Hannibal^g for their leader, than they called an assembly, and with one voice ratified the election.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 13.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 3.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 13.

Hannibal, soon after his confirmation in the command of the troops, undertook the reduction of the Olcades. The success was answerable to his desires. Having amassed much treasure by the sale of the booty taken in several towns, he marched to New Carthage, which he made his winter-quarters; where liberally paying the soldiers who had served under him, and promising them further gratifications, he both gained their affections, and inspired them with extraordinary hopes.

Early the next spring, he led his army against the Vaccæi, and made a fortunate expedition: but in his return home, being attacked by the Carpetani, whom great numbers of the fugitive Olcades and Vaccæi

c. 14.

^f Livy and Appian say, that Asdrubal was killed in revenge by a slave, whose master he had put to death.

^g It is surprising that the judicious Mr. Rollin (in his Hist. Anc. 380.) should follow Livy, in relating an idle story full of absurdity, and which he afterward (following again the same author) manifestly contradicts.

The Latin historian reports, "that Asdrubal [about three years before his death] wrote to Carthage to have Hannibal, who was then hardly at the age of puberty, sent to him, that the young man might be trained up to war, so as one day to imitate his father's prowess. He adds, that Hanno and others opposed this motion in the senate, imputing to Asdrubal dishonest intentions with regard to the lad; but that it was carried by a majority.—That Hannibal arriving in Spain, drew all eyes upon him; and that the old soldiers observed in his person and manner a wonderful resemblance to his father, &c. That he served three years under Asdrubal, and was then declared general of the army." Now is there the least probability, either that Hannibal should arrive at such a masterly knowledge in the art of war in three years' service; or that the Carthaginians should trust the conduct of their army and their empire in Spain to a young man of so short experience? That Livy was very careless in delivering this tradition, appears sufficiently from the age he gives to Hannibal, at the time of his being sent into Spain, at Asdrubal's request, *HUNC VIX DUM PUBEREM*, when he was scarce fourteen. By the historian's own account, Hannibal was nine when Amilcar went into Spain; Amilcar lived there nine years; and Asdrubal had commanded near five years before he sent for the young man.

Mr. Rollin, aware, I suppose, of this inconsistency, drops the *vix dum puberem*, and makes Hannibal to be twenty-two at the time of his going from Carthage to Asdrubal; and by this indeed he avoids the anachronism: but then he seems not to have been aware, that the whole story is overthrown by what Hannibal says in the senate of Carthage, at the end of the second Punic war, "That he had never before been at home since he was nine years old." See Livy, b. 30. and Mr. Rollin, vol. i. p. 436.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

(driven out of their own countries) had joined, he was reduced to very great straits. Could the enemy have compelled him to a pitched battle, he had inevitably been undone ; but he, with great skill, making a slow retreat, till he had got the river Tagus between him and them, so judiciously disposed his horse and elephants, as entirely to defeat their endeavours to cross the river after him, which they attempted to their prodigious loss, by several fords at one and the same time. After which, passing the river himself, and pursuing his advantage, he, with terrible slaughter, routed his army of 100,000 barbarians.

The Vaccæi being thus vanquished, there remained no nation on that side the Iberus who durst think of opposing the Carthaginians, except the Saguntines. Hannibal had hitherto carefully forbore all hostility against this people, being ever mindful of his father's advice, which was, to avoid giving occasion to the Romans to declare war against Carthage, until such time as by the enlargement of her dominion and strength she was in a condition to cope with them. This time was now at hand ; and the great success of the Carthaginian arms in Spain, under the conduct of Amilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal, is therefore assigned by Polybius for the

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 10.

THIRD CAUSE of the SECOND PUNIC WAR.

C. 15.

While Hannibal was meditating the first blow he intended to give, and was clearing the way for the attack, by the several enterprises abovementioned, the Saguntines dispatched frequent messengers to the Romans, partly out of apprehension of their own impending danger, and partly out of friendship to their allies, that they might be perfectly informed of the progress of the Carthaginians. Little attention was given at Rome to these advices for a long time ; but at last it was judged proper to send some ambassadors into Spain, to examine into the truth of the facts.

Hannibal, having carried his conquests as far as he

had proposed that year, returned to take up his winter-quarters in New Carthage, which was then become the seat of the Carthaginian government in Spain. There he found the Roman ambassadors; and, giving them audience, was by them admonished, “upon no account to attempt any thing against the Saguntines, a people received into the protection of Rome; and also to be mindful of the treaty with Asdrubal, and to forbear passing the river Iberus.”

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

Hannibal, young, full of martial fire, fortunate in his enterprises, and mortally hating the Romans, answered with a careless and haughty air (personating a friend to the Saguntines), “That a sedition having formerly happened among the citizens of Saguntum, the Romans, to whose arbitration they referred the dispute, had unjustly condemned to death some of the magistrates; and that he would not suffer this injustice to go unpunished; for it had ever been the custom of the Carthaginians to undertake the cause of those who were wrongfully persecuted.”

The ambassadors departing with this answer, sailed to Carthage (pursuant to their instructions in case of such a reception from Hannibal) there to expostulate upon the matter with the senate; though they well saw that a war was unavoidable. Little indeed did they imagine that Italy would be the theatre of it; but concluded that Saguntum and its territory would be the scene of action.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 16.

Hannibal at the same time sent to Carthage for instructions how to proceed, with regard to the Saguntines, who, as he said, “encouraged by their confederacy with Rome, committed many outrages against those who were in alliance with Carthage.” According to Livy, these allies of Carthage were the Turdetani, between whom and the Saguntines Hannibal had contrived to raise a quarrel, that he might have a pretence, in quality of friend to the former, to attack the latter.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 6.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 16.

What answer the Roman ambassadors received from the Carthaginian senate is not recorded; but we may well gather from the sequel, that it was by no means satisfactory.—The senate of Rome, nevertheless, being in the same prepossession as their ambassadors, concerning the seat of the war, that it would be in a remote country; and considering also, that the war, when once begun, would probably be carried to a great length, resolved, before they entered upon it, to give a period first to their affairs of Illyricum, and punish the perfidy of Demetrius; believing that they should be able to effect this, and yet have sufficient opportunity to defeat the designs of Hannibal.

But these proved vain deliberations; for Hannibal was too much in earnest. He marched with his army towards Saguntum, at the same time that the Roman consuls embarked for Illyricum; and before the consuls had finished their expedition Saguntum was taken.

c. 17.

The Carthaginian used the more diligence in attacking this strong and wealthy city, for many weighty considerations. The reduction of Saguntum would probably deprive the Romans of all hope of making war in Spain: the nations he had already conquered, terrified by this new success of his arms, would be held in better obedience, and those who were yet unconquered would stand in greater awe of his power. And, what was still of greater importance, he should be able to pursue his enterprises with more security when he had no enemy at his back. He further considered, that this town, should he take it, would yield him large supplies of treasure for carrying on the war; that his army would be more at his devotion, when he had enriched them with booty; and that he should be enabled to secure to himself friends at Carthage, by sending thither a part of the spoil.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 6.

From all these motives he was indefatigable in pressing the siege; which nevertheless lasted many months. The Roman senate no sooner received advice of his hav-

ing begun it, but they sent ambassadors into Spain with instructions to give him warning to desist, and, in case of his refusal, to sail to Carthage, and there demand of the senate the delivering up of their general to the Romans, by way of compensation for the breach of the league between the two states.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.
233d con-
sulship.

HANNIBAL, hearing of the arrival of these ambassadors on the coast of Spain, despatched some messengers to meet them at the sea-side, and to signify to them, "That neither would it be safe for them to come to his quarters; nor had he leisure to give them audience." And, as he knew very well to what place they would direct their course, after receiving such a message, he, without delay, sent proper emissaries to Carthage, to prepare the chiefs of the Barchine faction for the occasion.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 9.

Livy reports that Hanno, the avowed enemy of Amilcar's family, and the head of the opposite faction, was the only man in the Carthaginian senate who was for complying with the demands of Rome; and that he spoke to this effect:

c. 10

"How often have I conjured you by those gods, who are the witnesses and arbiters of leagues and treaties, not to suffer any of Amilcar's race to command your armies! How often have I told you, that neither the manes nor the progeny of that man would ever be at rest, and that no friendship, no peace with the Romans could be preserved inviolate, so long as there remained one alive of the Barchine name and family! Hannibal is an aspiring youth, proudly ambitious of being a monarch; and who thinks nothing so conducive to his purpose, as to draw upon us war after war, that so he may live in arms, and be always surrounded with legions: and you, by making him the general of your armies, have furnished fuel to his fire; you have fed the flame which now scorches you. Your forces at this time besiege Saguntum, contrary to the faith of treaties. What can you expect, but that Carthage be soon invested by the Roman legions,

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

under the conduct of those very gods, who in the former war took vengeance on us for the like perfidiousness^h? Are you yet to learn what kind of enemies they are whom you provoke? Are you still strangers to yourselves? Are you ignorant of the fortunes of the two republics?

“Your worthy general would not vouchsafe the ambassadors of your allies a hearing; he has violated the law of nations. The ambassadors of our friends, worse treated than the messengers from an enemy were ever known to be, have now recourse to you. They demand satisfaction for the unjust violation of a treaty. They would have you clear the body of the nation from the shame of so odious a breach of faith, by giving up into their hands the author of the crime. The more moderate they are at present, the more exasperated, I fear, and the more implacable will they be hereafter. Remember the *Ægates*, and the affair of *Eryx*, with all the calamities you suffered for four-and-twenty years together. And yet we had not then this boy at the head of our armies; but his father, *Amilcar* himself, a second *Mars*, as some are pleased to style him. But we could not then forbear making attempts upon *Tarentum* in violation of treaties, as we do now upon *Saguntum*. The gods declared themselves against us in that war, and, in spite of all our pretences of right, made appear, by giving victory to our enemies, which of the two nations had unjustly broken the league.

“It is against *Carthage* that *Hannibal* now plants his mantelets and erects his towers; it is her wall that he now shakes with his battering rams. The ruins of *Saguntum* (I wish I may prove a false prophet!) will fall

^h Hanno refers here (as he afterward explains himself) to some attempts of the Carthaginians upon *Tarentum* (at the time, I suppose, when *Pyrrhus's* troops held that city). In the *Epit. of Livy*, b. 14. it is said, that the Carthaginians came with a fleet to the succour of *Tarentum*, whereby they broke their league with the Romans. And this doubtless is the foundation whereon *Zonaras* builds his report, that the motive assigned by the Romans for their beginning the first Punic war, was the assistance which the Carthaginians had given the *Tarentines* against Rome. See p. 453 of this volume.

upon our heads ; and the war begun with the Saguntines must be maintained against the Romans.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

“ But, say you, shall we then deliver up Hannibal into the hands of his enemies ? I know that my opinion will have little weight with you, because of the old animosities between his father and me ; yet I must declare, that as I rejoiced when Amilcar fell, because, had he lived, he would have engaged us before now in a war with the Romans, so I hate and detest this youth as a fury and the firebrand to kindle a Roman war. Yes, I think it fit, that Hannibal be delivered up to expiate the breach of the league ; and, if nobody had demanded him, I should vote to have him transported to the remotest corner of the earth, whence his name might never reach our ears to disturb the repose of our state.

233d con-
sulship.

“ My conclusion therefore is, that deputies be forthwith sent to Rome to pacify the senate ; others into Spain, with orders to the army to raise the siege of Saguntum, and deliver up their general to the Romans ; and a third deputation to the Saguntines, to make reparation for the injuries they have sustained.”

The senate, though they heard this orator with respectful attention, as a man of authority and reputation among them, paid no regard to his remonstrance, invective, or advice, on the present occasion. Nay, the senators in general exclaimed, that he had spoken more like an enemy than a subject of Carthage. As for the Roman ambassadors, they were dismissed with this answer, “ That the war was begun by the Saguntines, and not by Hannibal ; and that the Romans would act injuriously to Carthage, if to her ancient alliance with them, they preferred the later friendship of the Saguntines.”

Livy, b. 21.
c. 11.

ⁱ The reader, I am persuaded, will not easily believe that a speech of this tenor was really delivered either by Hanno or any other Carthaginian senator. The greater part of the matter of it doubtless belongs to Livy no less than the form. However, this much we may conclude from the party-spirit of Hanno, that he disapproved the proceedings of Hannibal, and was against a rupture with Rome.

Year of
R O M E
534.
B. C. 218.

233d con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 17.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 14.

Hannibal was all this time pressing the siege of Saguntum with uninterrupted diligence. He animated his soldiers in person, working in the trenches among them, and mingling with them in all hazards. The defence was brave even to obstinacy; and it is said to have lasted eight months. When the besieged could no longer hold out, many of the citizens, rather than listen to the hard terms of peace which Hannibal exacted (as the giving up their arms, leaving their city to be demolished, and moving off with nothing more of all their substance than two suits of apparel), threw themselves into a great fire, where they had first cast all their most valuable effects. While this was doing, it happened that a tower, which had been much battered and shaken, fell down on a sudden. A body of Carthaginians immediately entered at the breach; and Hannibal, upon notice of this accident, seizing the opportunity, made a general assault, and carried the place without difficulty. He gave orders, that all who were found in arms should be put to the sword: an unnecessary order, for they themselves were firmly determined to die fighting: many of the inhabitants shut themselves up with their wives and children, and burned the houses over their heads. But notwithstanding all this destruction of men and effects, the place yielded to the conquerors great store of wealth and many slaves. The money he appropriated for carrying on the war against Rome, the slaves he divided among the soldiers, and all the rich household stuff he sent to Carthage.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 17.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 16.

The Roman ambassadors, who had been dispatched to the Carthaginian senate, brought the answer, they had there received, to Rome, about the same time that the news arrived of the destruction of Saguntum.

Livy tells us, that the compassion of the Romans for this unfortunate city, their shame for having failed to succour such a faithful ally, their indignation against the Carthaginians, and their apprehension of the main event

of things (as if the enemy were already at the gates of Rome); all these various passions were so strong in their minds, that at first they only mourned and trembled, instead of consulting for the common safety.

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 17.

But it being now no longer a question whether they should enter into a war, they quickly began to make the necessary preparations for action. The consuls P. Cornelius Scipio and Tib. Sempronius Longus drew lots for their provinces. Sicily and Africa fell to Sempronius, and Spain to Cornelius. Sempronius, with two Roman legions, consisting each of 4,000 foot and 300 horse, and with 16,000 foot and 1,800 horse of the allies, on board a fleet of 160 galleys, was to go first into Sicily, and thence into Africa, in case the other consul should prove strong enough to hinder the Carthaginians from coming into Italy. Cornelius for this purpose had two Roman legions, with 14,000 foot and 1,600 horse of the allies committed to his conduct; and with a fleet of sixty quinqueremes, he was to sail to Spain, and endeavour to prevent Hannibal's leaving that country. The consul had no stronger a navy appointed him, because it was supposed that the enemy would not come by sea, nor choose to fight in that kind of service. And his army was also the less numerous, because the prætor Manlius had two Roman legions, with 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse of the allies, to guard the province of Gaul. The whole number of the forces raised by the republic on this occasion was 24,000 Roman foot and 1,800 horse, 40,000 foot and 4,400 horse of the allies; and their ships of war amounted to 220.

These extraordinary preparations sufficiently shew the terror the Romans were in at the approaching war. And indeed it will not appear to be ill grounded, if we consider, that the Carthaginians, ever since Amilcar's going into Spain, had been fighting and conquering, and that the Spaniards, by whom their army was strengthened, were men steady even to obstinacy. Besides, the Roman

Abb. Vert.
b. 8.

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 4.

Abb. Vert.
Polyb. b. 3.
c. 34.
vid. inf. p.
600, 601.

republic had now no general equal to Hannibal, a man of immense views ; ever judicious in his enterprises ; a wonderful genius for seizing the critical moment to execute his designs ; the greatest master in the art of appearing not to act, when he was most busy ; inexhaustible of expedients ; as skilful in recovering himself out of danger, as in drawing an enemy into it. He had been bred up to arms from his infancy, and though now only in the flower of his age, had the experience of several years' command of an army. For Asdrubal, being himself no great warrior, had committed to him the conduct of all dangerous and difficult enterprises. So that no general then living had had more exercise than he ; nor were any troops better disciplined than his. Hannibal's design of carrying the war from the remote parts of Spain into the very centre of Italy, is said, by an ingenious writer, to be the boldest project that ever captain durst conceive, and what was justified only by the event. But this does not seem to have been the opinion of Polybius, who tells us, that Hannibal had taken all prudent measures for facilitating his march, and for securing the assistance of the Gauls about the Alps and about the Po, which it was the easier to do, because he and they had one common interest with respect to the Romans, the hated enemies of both.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 20.
Livy, b. 21.
c. 18.

Though the Romans made the preparations above-mentioned for war, as a thing certain and unavoidable, yet that nothing might be wanting to the exact observance of forms, they dispatched a third embassy to Carthage,^k to demand once more, what they did not expect

^k Polybius mentions only two embassies from Rome to the Carthaginians, on the affair of Saguntum, one before the siege, another after the town was taken. Livy also mentions only two ; but, according to him, the first was during the siege, when (he tells us) Hannibal refused the ambassadors an audience ; the second, after the reduction of the place. That we may not reject Polybius's authority, who relates an audience which Hannibal, before the siege of Saguntum, gave at Carthage to some ambassadors from Rome ; nor yet accuse Livy, or his vouchers of inventing the story of Hannibal's refusing audience, and of all that followed thereupon at Carthage, we have supposed (what seems most probable), that there were three embassies from Rome in relation to Saguntum ; the first before the siege, the second while it was carrying on, the third after the place was taken.

would be yielded, that Hannibal and his council should be delivered up to them ; and the ambassadors were also now instructed to declare war in case of refusal.

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

When they were come to Carthage, and admitted to audience, the senate heard the haughty demand they brought with a coldness approaching to contempt. Nevertheless, one of the senators, best qualified, was directed to speak in maintenance of the Carthaginian cause. This orator, without taking the least notice of the treaty made with Asdrubal (as if no such treaty had been made, or, if made, was nothing to the purpose, because made without authority), dwelt wholly on that which was concluded at the end of the Sicilian war ; in which, as he alleged, there was no mention of Spain. He allowed, indeed, that it was there covenanted, that neither of the contracting parties should make war on the allies of the other ; but added, that the Saguntines were entirely out of the question, they not being at that time in alliance with Rome ; and he caused the articles of the treaty to be read.

234th consulship.

Polyb. l. 3.
c. 21.

The Romans refused absolutely to enter into a verbal discussion of this point. They said, there might have been room for such a discussion, had Saguntum been then in the same state as formerly, but that this city having been sacked, contrary to the faith of treaties, the Carthaginians must either clear themselves of perfidy,

To the first ambassadors Hannibal gave audience and a haughty answer, of which they made complaint to the Carthaginian senate. Those who came next were refused audience by him, and they also carried their complaints to Carthage. The last embassy was sent only to Carthage.

Father Catrou, not liking, I suppose, that the Romans should appear in so disadvantageous a light as they do, upon this occasion, is angry with Livy, for making them send even twice to Carthage before they declare war ; though if any thing may be depended upon in the Roman story, this fact has a title to credit.

It may indeed seem hard to be accounted for, that the Romans, contrary to their former methods of proceeding, should so shamefully neglect to succour their allies, the Saguntines, and, when the case required the most vigorous measures, should lose so much time in vain and fruitless embassies to a people they had formerly vanquished and rendered tributary. Chevalier Foulard conjectures, that the Romans were really intimidated by Hannibal's superior genius and skill in war, being conscious of their having no general of equal ability with the Carthaginian. And may we not also reasonably suppose, that at the time when Hannibal began to threaten Saguntum, the Roman republic was not in a condition to send by sea into Spain an army of sufficient strength to make head against the numerous and victorious troops of Carthage?

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217. by delivering up the authors of the injustice, or confess
themselves guilty by refusing the satisfaction required.
234th con- And finding that the senate would give no answer to the
sulship. question, whether Saguntum was besieged by public or
private authority, but would confine the debate to the
Livy, b. 21. justice or injustice of the action, the eldest of the am-
c. 18. bassadors, gathering up the skirt of his gown, and mak-
Polyb. b. 3. ing a hollow in it, "Here," said he, "we bring you
c. 33. peace and war, take which you will." At which they
all cried out with one voice, "Give us which you please."
"I give you war then," said the ambassador, letting his
robe loose again. "We accept it," they all answered;
"and with the same spirit that we accept it, we will
maintain it."

Livy, b. 21. A mutual denunciation of war being thus made, the
c. 19. ambassadors did not return directly homeward, but, pur-
suant to their instructions, passed into Spain, to solicit
the states and princes of that country, who were on the
north side of the Iberus, to enter into an alliance with
Rome, or at least not to contract any friendship with the
Carthaginians. They were courteously entertained by
the Bargusians. But when they came to the Volscians,
they received from this people an answer, which being
reported all over the country, was a means to turn away
all the other nations from siding with the Romans.
"With what assurance," said they, "can you ask of us
to prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians,
after we have seen the Saguntines, who did so, more
cruelly betrayed by you, their allies, than destroyed by
their open enemies. Go seek for confederates among
those who never heard of the ruin of Saguntum. The
miserable fate of this city will be a warning to all the
nations of Spain, never to repose confidence in Roman
faith or amity." The same kind of reception they met
with from all the Spanish states to which they afterward
addressed themselves. So that, finding their negocia-
tions in this country fruitless, they passed into Gaul, en-

deavoured to persuade the several nations there, not to suffer the Carthaginians to march through their territories into Italy. The first public assembly of Gauls, to whom they made this proposal, burst into so loud a laughter, mixed with a murmur of indignation, that the magistrates and seniors could hardly still the noise of the younger sort, so impudent and foolish did it seem, to request of them, that they would suffer their own lands to be ravaged and spoiled, to preserve those of other men who were utter strangers to them. But silence at length being made, the ambassadors were answered, that neither had the Romans deserved so well, nor the Carthaginians so ill, at their hands, that they should take arms, either in behalf of Rome, or against Carthage. That, on the contrary, they had heard, that some of their countrymen had been driven out of their possessions in Italy by the Romans, constrained to pay tribute, and made to undergo other indignities. The like answers to the like demands were made in the other public councils of Gaul. Nor did the ambassadors meet with any thing like friendship, or even peaceable disposition towards them, till they came to Marseilles, which was in alliance with Rome; and where, upon careful inquiry made by their allies, they learned that Hannibal had been beforehand with them, and by the force of gold, of which the Gauls were ever most greedy, had gained them over to side with him. And with this unpleasing news they returned to Rome.

Hannibal was all this time extremely busy in settling the affairs of Spain, and in taking all the proper measures his foresight could suggest, for the happy execution of his great designs. After the reduction of Saguntum, he had retired into winter-quarters at New Carthage. And the better to dispose his Spanish soldiers to his service, he had given them permission to return to their respective homes till the beginning of the spring, when, he told them, he expected their appearance again.

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 20.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 33.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 21.

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

In the meanwhile, as one of his chief cares was to provide for the safety of Africa, he transported thither, of Spaniards (raised among the Thersites, Mastii, and Olcades), 13,850 foot, and 1,200 horse, together with 800 slingers of the baleares. And while he thus furnished Africa with Spanish troops, he took order for the security of Spain,¹ by sending for a supply of near 15,000 Africans, to be commanded by his brother Asdrubal, whom he intended to leave governor in his absence. He furnished him also with fifty quinqueremes, and four quadriremes, and five triremes, that he might be in a condition to oppose any descents that should be attempted there by the Romans.

Livy and Polybius commend the prudence of the Carthaginian in this exchange of troops; because both the Africans and Spaniards would probably prove the better soldiers for being thus at a distance from their respective countries, and they would be a kind of pledges or hostages for the mutual fidelity of the two nations.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 34.

Besides these precautions, Hannibal (as has been already hinted) had dispatched ambassadors to the Gauls on both sides of the Alps, to sound their dispositions, and to engage them to take part with him in his enterprise. For this end he was extremely liberal, not only of his promises, but of his gold, believing it would be a main step towards a happy issue of his undertaking, if, by avoiding war in his way to Italy, he could lead his army entire against the Romans. The answers he received were favourable to his wishes; "that the Gauls most willingly agreed to his proposal, and expected him with impatience." They also sent him word, that though the passage of those mountains was difficult, it was not insuperable. Animated with new hope by these reports, he began early in the spring to march his troops

¹ Livy reports, that Hannibal selected 4,000 young men out of the chief cities in Spain, and of the best families, and caused them to be brought to [New] Carthage, there to remain as hostages for the fidelity of the Spaniards. These were probably the same youths which are afterward said to be left by him in Saguntum, as we shall see in its proper place.

out of their winter-quarters; and having now the concurrence of the senate and people of Carthage to his purpose, he began openly to discourse of his intended war against Rome, exhorting the soldiers (whom he assembled for this purpose) cheerfully to engage in the expedition; and telling them, in order to raise their indignation against the Romans, that they had impudently demanded a surrendry of both him and all his chief officers into their hands. He also expatiated on the fertility of the country which he purposed to invade, the good-will of the Gauls, and the confederacies he had made with their princes; and when the army had loudly declared their readiness to go whithersoever he was disposed to conduct them, and he had, with thanks, applauded their fidelity, and prefixed the day for their march, he dismissed the assembly.

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

The Spaniards, whom Hannibal had permitted to visit their families during the winter, being returned to their service, and the day^m appointed for the general rendezvous being come, the whole army took the field. It consisted of 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse, and with this mighty force the Carthaginian immediately began his march from New Carthage towards the river Iberus.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 35.

But now, before the reader accompanies Hannibal into Italy, he may perhaps be willing to make a pause, and inquire into the justice of the cause that leads him thither.

“ If the destruction of Saguntum (says Polybius) be considered as the CAUSE of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, we must necessarily determine, that the Carthaginians engaged in it very unjustly: whether regard be had to the treaty of Lutatius, whereby each party became bound to offer no violence to the allies of the other: or regard be had to the treaty of Asdrubal, in which it was stipu-

See p. 523.

See p. 586.

^m According to Livy, Hannibal, before he began his expedition against the Romans, went from New Carthage to Gades, there to discharge some vows he had made to Hercules, and to bind himself by new ones, in order to obtain success in the war he was going to enter upon. Polybius says nothing of the matter.

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 6.

See p. 589.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 15.

lated that the Carthaginians should not carry their arms beyond the Iberus.

“ But if, for the cause of the war made by Hannibal, we assign the seizure of Sardinia by the Romans, and the money which they extorted from Carthage at that time, we shall be obliged to confess, that the Carthaginians acted not unjustly in entering upon this war. For they did no more than lay hold of a favourable opportunity to revenge themselves on those, who had taken advantage of their distresses, to injure and oppress them.”

Here then the question of right is decided by our author. For he had before declared, and enlarged upon it, that the siege of Saguntum and the passing the Iberus were only the beginnings of the war and not the causes; and that the affair of Sardinia, and the money extorted at that time, were the principal cause of it. And he now declares, that this principal cause is sufficient to justify the Carthaginians.

Our author nevertheless, in another part of his history, observes, that though Hannibal had a just motive to begin the war, and though he did begin it from that just motive, yet because he did not publicly assign that motive for beginning it, but made use of a false pretext, his enterprise seemed contrary to justice. After relating the haughty and evasive answer of Hannibal to the first ambassadors that were sent to him from Rome, he adds,

“ Thus Hannibal, transported by a violent hatred, acted in every thing without consulting his reason, and instead of declaring the true motives of his proceeding, had recourse to false pretexts, after the manner of those, who, prepossessed by their passion, do what they have determined without regard to equity or honour: otherwise, had it not been better to have demanded of the Romans the restitution of Sardinia, and the money, which, during the weakness and distress of the Carthaginian republic, they had extorted from her, and, in case

of refusal, to declare war against them? But as he concealed the true cause, and made use of the false pretext of injuries done to the Saguntines, he seemed to enter into that war without reason, and contrary to justice.”

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

The reader observes, that Polybius here takes it for granted, that Hannibal, in attacking Saguntum, made war upon the Romans. Now Hannibal and the Carthaginians denied that the treaty with Lutatius could be broke by the siege of Saguntum. They alleged, that, as the Saguntines were not allies of Rome at the time of making that treaty, they could not be comprehended in it. Polybius indeed thinks, that future allies, as well as present, ought to be understood to be comprehended in that treaty; and so said the Romans. But what then? It was surely a point that might well bear a debate. Yet the Roman ambassadors (as we have seen) would enter into no discussion of this matter with the Carthaginians, but, upon their refusal to give up Hannibal, as having unjustly violated that treaty by the siege of Saguntum, declared war.

And this makes it difficult to conceive why Polybius, on the present occasion, mentions the treaty with Asdrubal; that treaty, according to him, relating only to the Carthaginians passing the Iberus, which river Hannibal did not attempt to pass till after the declaration of war by the Romans. Polybius never speaks of the Saguntines as concerned in that treaty, but says expressly, that, when it was concluded, no mention was made in it of any other part of Spain, *i. e.* of any part on the south of that river; consequently, no mention of the Sagun-

Polyb. b. 2.
c. 13.
B. 3. c. 19.

tines. Livy indeed tells us, that the Saguntines were included in the treaty with Asdrubal, and makes the Carthaginians confess it; which, if true, we must suppose that a new article in favour of the Saguntines was inserted into that treaty, after Rome had entered into an alliance with them.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 18.
Sir W. R.

Year of
R O M E
535.

B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 3.
c. 29.

Livy adds, that the Carthaginians, in their conference with the Roman ambassadors, would have evaded the obligation of the treaty with Asdrubal, by saying,ⁿ that it was concluded by him without authority from Carthage, and that, in paying no regard to it, they did but follow the example of the Romans, who had refused to abide by the first treaty of Lutatius in Sicily, for the like reason. Doubtless, if the Carthaginians employed this subterfuge, it was weak and trifling, because (as the same author, from Polybius, observes) in the treaty of Lutatius this clause was added, That it should be firm and inviolable, if ratified by the people of Rome; but in Asdrubal's treaty there was no proviso of like import.

But it is possible that Asdrubal might make an absolute treaty, and yet have no authority for so doing. At least, it was a common practice with the Roman generals, to make such treaties; and it was as common with the Roman senate to break them, as having been concluded without sufficient authority.

To return to the main question, the justice of the war made by Hannibal:

It is plain, that if the treaty of Sicily could not be construed to extend to future allies as well as present; and if Asdrubal's treaty was made without sufficient authority from Carthage (both which the Carthaginians pleaded), there can be no pretence to charge Hannibal with beginning a war against Rome, by his attacking Saguntum.

But let us suppose, with the Romans, that the Saguntines were unquestionably within the treaty of Sicily; and also, that Asdrubal, in his treaty, acted with ample

ⁿ Livy, in making the Carthaginians use this plea at the time of the conference in question, seems to found himself on Polybius; and perhaps Polybius ought to be so understood: but as the Greek historian tells us, that the Carthaginian orator passed over the treaty of Asdrubal in silence, as if no such treaty had ever been made, or, if made, was nothing to the purpose; I imagine, that the plea abovementioned was not employed at the time of the conference; but that afterward, when they used to speak of the justice of their cause, they urged among other things the nullity of Asdrubal's treaty: for, as Polybius relates, the Roman ambassadors did not, at their audience in the Carthaginian senate, object that treaty, nor set forth their rights, or pretensions of right, till after the war was begun. B. 3. c. 29.

authority. What will follow? Not, that the second Punic war is to be imputed to the injustice of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, or that they were the first violators of the treaty of peace between the two nations. No: the Romans had scandalously violated that treaty by their seizure of Sardinia, and extortion of the 1,200 talents; and all conventions between Rome and Carthage following that first violence and breach of the peace, were no better than Roman injuries, as implying this menace, on the part of the Romans, "Do whatsoever we require; otherwise we will make war, without regard to our oath, which we have already broken." And as their engaging Asdrubal to covenant, that he would not pass the Iberus, was a new breach of the peace of Sicily, and a new insult upon Carthage; because Rome had as yet no foot in Spain, on the one side of that river, whereas Carthage, on the other side, held almost all the country: so the alliance which the Romans made with the Saguntines, was in reality a breach of their treaty with Asdrubal. For the Romans could have no sort of colour for requiring that Asdrubal should not pass the Iberus, but an implicit covenant that this river should be a boundary, over which they themselves would not pass in any discovery or conquest by them intended to be made upon Spain; and that the Carthaginians should be free to push their conquests as far northward as to this limit. And so Livy says expressly, that by Asdrubal's treaty, "the river Iberus was to be the boundary between the two empires." Only he adds (inconsistently with Polybius's account), that the Saguntines were included in that treaty.

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

Sir W. R.

Livy, b. 21.
c. 2.

It would seem then that the Carthaginians were not obliged, by any treaties with Rome, or by any consideration of justice, to abstain from the war which Hannibal began. And as to that open declaration of his true motives, the want of which made his enterprise seem dishonourable, he could not have made that declaration

Year of
R O M E
535.
B. C. 217.

234th con-
sulship.

Polyb. b. 3
c. 16.

without throwing a bar in the way to the execution of his main design, the marching into Italy. For by demanding the restitution of Sardinia, and of the 1,200 talents, he would have discovered the extent of his meditated revenge, and would thereby have put the enemy on such preparations for war, as might have disappointed all his views of doing justice to his country. It was to avoid this inconvenience, that he would seem at first to have no design but against the Saguntines; and we find his policy had its effect: for the Romans (as has been observed) had not the least apprehension of his intending so soon to invade Italy, but imagined that the seat of the war, they should have with him, would be in Spain.

END OF VOL. II.

B S B
MÜNCHEN

